

A Companion to Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice

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A Companion to Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice

Edited by

Katelijne Schiltz



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Contents

Acknowledgements	IX
List of Illustrations	X
List of Tables	XII
List of Music Examples	XIII
Abbreviations	XV
Contributors	XVI

Introduction: Mapping Musical Life in Cinquecento Venice	1
<i>Katelijne Schiltz</i>	

PART 1

Musical Institutions

1	San Marco	19
	<i>Giulio M. Ongaro</i>	
2	Music at Parish, Monastic, and Nunnery Churches and at Confraternities	45
	<i>Jonathan Glixon</i>	
3	Parish and Monastic Churches: Civic Custom and the Quotidian in the System of Institutional Patronage	79
	<i>Elena Quaranta</i>	
4	Music and the Academies of Venice and the Veneto	99
	<i>Iain Fenlon</i>	

PART 2

Music in the Public and Private Space

5	Music, Ritual, and Festival: The Ceremonial Life of Venice	125
	<i>Iain Fenlon</i>	
6	Ridotti and Salons: Private Patronage	149
	<i>Rodolfo Baroncini</i>	

PART 3

Musical Actors

- 7 **The *Maestri di Cappella*** 205
 Francesco Passadore
- 8 **Silent Voices: Professional Singers in Venice** 230
 Paolo Da Col
- 9 **Instrumentalists and Instrument Makers before c. 1550** 272
 Bonnie J. Blackburn
- 10 **Instruments, Instrument Makers, and Instrumentalists in the Second
 Half of the Sixteenth Century** 292
 Jeffrey Kurtzman
- 11 **Music Printing and Publishing in Cinquecento Venice** 321
 Sherri Bishop
- 12 **From Aaron to Zarlino: Music Theorists in the Social and Cultural
 Matrix of Sixteenth-Century Venice** 345
 Rebecca Edwards

PART 4

Genres, Styles, and Cross-Cultural Traditions

- 13 ***Cori Spezzati* in Composition and Sound** 371
 David Bryant
- 14 **The Frottola in the Veneto** 395
 Giovanni Zanovello
- 15 **Venetian Instrumental Music in the Sixteenth Century** 415
 Eleanor Selfridge-Field
- 16 **Language, Style, and Subgenre in Venetian-Language Polyphony** 440
 Daniel Donnelly

- 17 Jewish Art Music in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century
Italy 469
Don Harrán
- 18 The 'Other' Coastal Area of Venice: Musical Ties with Istria and
Dalmatia 493
Ivano Cavallini
- Selected Bibliography 529
- General Index 536

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Katelijne Schiltz

List of Illustrations

Map

- 0.1 The Venetian territories 14

Figures

- 1.1 Gabriel Bella (1730-1799), *The presentation of the new Doge to the people* 21
- 4.1 Giovanni Maria Falconetto, Odeo (Vicenza, 1530) 105
- 4.2 Portrait of Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga, frontispiece from his *Commentarium rerum suarum libri tres* (Rome, 1791) 106
- 4.3 Title page, *Libri che ... ha nuovamente mandato l'academia venetiana alla fiera di Francfort* (Venice, 1559) 113
- 4.4 Jacopo Sansovino, vestibule of the Library of St. Mark's, Venice 115
- 5.1 Giacomo Franco, *Andata to S. Giorgio Maggiore on Christmas Day*, engraving 130
- 5.2 Matteo Pagan, *Procession in St. Mark's Square*, woodcut, c. 1550 134
- 5.3 Venice, Scuola dei calegheri 136
- 5.4 Giacomo Franco, *Corpus Christi Procession in Piazza San Marco*, engraving 139
- 9.1 Gentile Bellini, *Procession in Piazza San Marco*, 1496 (detail of musicians) 279
- 9.2 Title page of Silvestro Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara* (Venice, 1535) 290
- 10.1 Antonio Siciliano, six-string discant viola, mid-sixteenth century 303
- 10.2 Paolo Veronese, instrumental consort, foreground detail of *The Wedding Feast at Cana* 306
- 10.3 Jacopo Tintoretto, allegorical outdoor scene, *Women Playing Music* 307
- 11.1 Colophon, *Frottole libro primo* (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1504) 325
- 11.2 Colophon, *Il primo Libro de le Canzoni Franzese, nuovamente stampate. Et per Andrea Antigo intagliate, et con diligentia corrette* (Venice, 1535) 328
- 11.3 Title page of the tenor, Jacques Arcadelt, *Il primo libro di madrigali d'Archadelt a quatro con nuova gionta impressi* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1539) 333
- 11.4 Title page of the cantus, *Moralis Hispani, et multorum eximiae artis virorum musica cum vocibus quatuor, vulgo motecta cognominata* (Venice: Ottaviano Scotto, 1543) 334
- 11.5 Title page of the cantus, Gioseffo Zarlino, *Iosephi Zarlini ... Modulationes Sex vocum, per Philippum Iusbertum musicum Venetum Collectae, ac per eundem nunc primum in publicum datae* (Venice: Francesco Rampazatto, 1566) 340
- 13.1 San Marco, ground plan 379

- 13.2 San Marco, interior, with the hexagonal *pulpitum magnum cantorum* to the right of the iconostasis, the two-storey *pulpitum novum lectionum* to the left 380
- 13.3 San Marco, the hexagonal *pulpitum magnum cantorum* (right) and *pulpitum novum lectionum* (left) 382
- 14.1 Anonymous, *Muta pensiero*, Modena, Biblioteca Estense ed Universitaria, Ms. α.F.9.9, fol. 67^r 402
- 14.2 Michele Pesenti, *Inhospitas per alpes* and *Integer vitae scelerisque purus*, in *Frottole libro primo* (Venice: Petrucci, 1504) 409
- 15.1 Title page of Silvestro Ganassi, *Regola Rubertina* (Venice, 1542) 422
- 15.2 Girolamo Dalla Casa, *Il vero modo di diminuir, libro primo* (Venice, 1584) 433
- 16.1 Anonymous, vilotta alla napoletana, *Tu m'arobasti*, showing internal repeat structure. Image scanned from Gardano's *Primo libro delle villotte alla napoletana* (Venice, 1571) 451
- 16.2 Andrea Gabrieli, *O mia morusa bella*, tenor part, from *Greghesche et Iustiniane ... à tre voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1571) 454
- 16.3 Andrea Gabrieli, *O mia canzun*, tenor part, from *Greghesche et Iustiniane ... à tre voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1571) 460
- 17.1 Frans Pourbus the Younger, *Duke Vincenzo I Gonzaga* at the age of about 38-40, with the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, c. 1600-1602 474
- 17.2 MUS 101 of the Eduard Birnbaum Music Collection, no. 5, תַּשִּׁיחַ תְּהִי 484
- 18.1 Marin Držić, title page of *Tirena comedia Marina Darxichia prikasana u Dubrovniku godiscta M.DXLVIII u koioi vlasi boi na nacin od morescke i tanaz na nacin pastirschi* (Venice, 1551) 519

List of Tables

- 6.1 Patrons belonging to the patriciate, 1540-1600 158
- 6.2 Patrons belonging to the citizen class, 1540-1600 168
- 6.3 Repertorial choices in Table 6.1 178
- 6.4 Repertorial choices in Table 6.2 179
- 14.1 Metre and rhythm in Michele Pesenti, *Inhospitas per alpes* 413
- 16.1 All works belonging to the Venetian-language corpus, 1564-75, categorised by print genre 442
- 16.2 All works belonging to the Venetian-language corpus, 1564-75, categorised by musical style 449
- 18.1 Layout of the Credo from Gabriello Puliti's *Messa concertata* 514

List of Music Examples

- 1.1 Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Sicut lilium inter spinas*, b. 1-22 38
- 1.2 Giovanni Gabrieli, *O magnum mysterium*, bb. 1-28 39
- 2.1 Excerpt from *Salve regina, Liber processionum secundum consuetudinem monialium sancti Laurentij de Venetiis* (Venice, 1542), fols. 64^v-65 57
- 2.2 Excerpt from *Regina celi, Liber processionum secundum consuetudinem monialium sancti Laurentij de Venetiis* (Venice, 1542), fols. 63^v-64 57
- 2.3 Excerpt from *Gaude virgo, Liber processionum secundum consuetudinem monialium sancti Laurentij de Venetiis* (Venice, 1542), fols. 62^v-63 57
- 14.1 Michele Pesenti, *Poiché 'l ciel e la fortuna*, bb. 1-25 407
- 14.2 Michele Pesenti, *Integer vitae*, bb. 1-14 410
- 14.3 Michele Pesenti, *Inhospitas per alpes*, bb. 1-8 412
- 15.1 Diminutions on the madrigal *Io canterei d'amor* by Cipriano de Rore, as 'diminished' by Girolamo Dalla Casa (*Il vero modo di diminuir, con tutte le sorti di stromenti* [Venice, 1584], 7) and by Giovanni Bassano (*Motetti, madrigali, et canzoni francese ... diminuiti per sonar con ogni sorte di stromenti* [Venice, 1591], 6) 435
- 15.2a/b Girolamo Diruta's differentiation between a) conventional *tremoletti* and b) Merulo's more carefully articulated ones, from *Il Transilvano* (Venice, 1593), 20 436
- 15.3 Gio. Battista Bovicelli's passage showing the articulation of a line of descending minims (*Regole, passaggi di musica* [Venice, 1594], 13) 437
- 16.1 Francesco Bonardo, *Se la bellezza fusse pers'al mondo*, bb. 1-6. From *Il primo libro delle Iustiniane a 3 voci* (Venice: Scotto, 1570), no. 3 444
- 16.2 Lodovico Agostini, *Paxe no trovo*, bb. 8-11. From *Musica di Lodovico Agostini ... sopra le rime bizzarre* (Milan: Pozzo, 1567) 447
- 16.3 Petrucci/Anon., *Aime sospiri*, bb. 1-9. From *Frottole: libro sexto* (Venice: Petrucci, 1505). Transcribed from Walter H. Rubsamen, 'The Justiniane', 180-82 455
- 16.4 Anon., *Ayme sospiri*, bb. 1-9. Cancionero de El Escorial (Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS IV.α.24), fol. 85^v. Transcribed in Walter H. Rubsamen, 'The Justiniane', 180-82 456
- 16.5 Costanzo Porta, *O chyrazza glicchi*, bb. 1-6. From *Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche* (Venice: Gardano, 1564) 459
- 16.6 Andrea Gabrieli, *Ancor che col partire*, bb. 14-16. From *Il Primo libro delle Iustiniane*, ed. Marco Materassi, 24 462
- 16.7 Francesco Bonardo, *Amur se mi til dao*, bb. 36-39. From *Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche* (Venice: Gardano, 1564) 462

- 16.8 Pietro Taglia, *Donna curtese e bella*, bb. 51-53. From *Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche* (Venice: Gardano, 1564) 463
- 16.9 Giaches de Wert, *Chel bello Epithimia*, bb. 65-67. From *Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche* (Venice: Gardano, 1564) 463
- 16.10 Antonio Molino, *Perche de la vertù nol manchi gnende*, bb. 20-23. From *I dilettevoli madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice: Correggio [Merulo], 1568) 464
- 16.11 Lodovico Agostini, *Varde qua drento*, bb. 14-19. From *Musica di Lodovico Agostini ... sopra le rime bizzarre* (Milan: Pozzo, 1567) 466
- 17.1 Davit Civita, *Pargolett'è colei*, in *Premittie armoniche a tre voci* (1616), no. 4, bb. 5-20 479
- 17.2 Allegro Porto, *Tra Mirti pargoletti*, in *Nuove musiche* (1619), no. 2, bb. 1-7, with canto 1 in a hypothetical reconstruction 489
- 17.3 Salamone Rossi, *Ohimè, se tanto amate*, from *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1600), bb. 1-9 490
- 17.4 Salamone Rossi, *Ohimè, se tanto amate*, monodic arrangement by the composer for canto and chitarrone, bb. 1-9 491
- 18.1 Julije Skjavetić / Giulio Schiavetto, *Pater noster (prima pars)* 499
- 18.2 Silao Casentini, *Colli e voi piaggie apriche*, madrigal dedicated to Charles II, Archduke of Austria 504
- 18.3 Gabriello Puliti, *Messa concertata*, Credo, bb. 1-24 512

Abbreviations

<i>Grove Music Online</i>	< www.oxfordmusiconline.com >
I-BGc	Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica
I-Fas	Florence, Archivio di Stato
I-Vas	Venice, Archivio di Stato
I-Vasp	Venice, Archivio storico del Patriarcato di Venezia
I-Vmc	Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr
I-Vnm	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

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Mapping Musical Life in Cinquecento Venice

Katelijne Schiltz

Only few European cities have attracted so much scholarly attention as Venice. As a powerful trading city with an exceptional political structure and a strong sense of self-confidence, Venice has been inspiring generations of historians, social and economic historians, art historians, literary historians, linguists—and musicologists.¹ Attention has been drawn to the city's government, to its social, religious, and intellectual life, to its cultural achievements in the fields of writing and publishing, architecture, painting, sculpture, and fashion. Many of these perspectives also find their way into the present volume. For it will become clear that music cannot and should not be considered an isolated phenomenon, but is deeply rooted in and connected with its environment. The eighteen chapters of this book all take up this basic assumption and comment upon it each in its own way. In the various chapters, music is discussed against the background of broader developments that concern Venetian society in general and its citizens, *sestiere*, and myriad institutions in particular.

In traditional historiography, music and musical life at the Basilica di San Marco have long been at the centre of attention.² Not only is it the best-documented institution, which—especially after the arrival of Adrian Willaert (c. 1490-1562)—had an international reputation that could rival the standards of famous Italian courts. But it is also the institution that had its own liturgy (the so-called *patriarchino*)³ and that was at the centre of many religious and political events, a fact that is also due to the basilica being the private chapel of

1 *A Companion to Venetian History 1400-1797*, ed. Eric R. Dursteler (Leiden, 2013), the fourth volume of Brill's Companions to European History, offers a good overview of current research in all these fields.

2 This tradition goes back to Francesco Caffi's *Storia della musica sacra nella già cappella ducale di San Marco in Venezia dal 1318 al 1797*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1854; reprint ed. Elvidio Surian [Florence, 1987]).

3 Major work on this liturgy was carried out by Giulio Cattin, *Musica e liturgia a San Marco: testi e melodie per la liturgia delle ore dal XII al XVII secolo. Dal graduale tropato del duecento ai graduali cinquecenteschi*, 4 vols. (Venice, 1990-92).

the Doge as well as to its unique location.⁴ Together with the Palazzo Ducale, the Biblioteca Marciana, and the Loggetta situated around the Piazza, San Marco was part of a complex of buildings with a highly symbolic value, both for Venetians and the city's many visitors.

For several decades, however, musicological scholarship has also turned its attention to other institutions. This major step was necessary in order to complement the picture of religious and secular musical life in the city and to grasp its complex soundscape. Work on confraternities, churches, academies, and salons has also revealed dynamics of these institutions and their role in Venetian society, while at the same time showing the close interaction between them on various occasions.

Given the central role of these institutions in organising daily life in general and musical life in particular, the first block of chapters in this Companion seeks to map their musical activities and organisation. For obvious reasons, San Marco takes pride of place. The volume opens with a contribution by Giulio M. Ongaro, who is the author of a major study on the chapel in the sixteenth century (especially under the direction of *maestro* Adrian Willaert) and of many other publications relating to music in Cinquecento Venice.⁵ The roots of music-making at San Marco can be traced back to the early fifteenth century, but a major expansion of the chapel took place at the end of that century, only to increase—and internationalise—further in the course of the sixteenth century. Ongaro shows that both the political and economic circumstances were propitious, and he investigates the evolution of the size and the composition of the chapel. Especially during the dogeship of Andrea Gritti, the deliberate advancement of music at San Marco was part of a more general *renovatio urbis* that also affected other arts.

It is to Jonathan Glixon that we owe a whole range of fundamental studies on music in the confraternities—the so-called *scuole grandi* and *scuole piccole*. These lay confraternities played a crucial role in the city's social network, as they took care of their members both in devotional and religious matters (e.g. by organising funeral and memorial masses for deceased members) and by providing financial assistance. Furthermore, many of them were patrons of the arts. Glixon has contributed a chapter that not only includes the confraterni-

4 A very useful overview of scholarship on music in Venice is Jonathan Glixon, 'Music in Venice: A Historiographical Overview', in *A Companion to Venetian History 1400-1797*, ed. Eric R. Dursteler (Leiden, 2013), 865-87.

5 Giulio M. Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St. Mark's at the Time of Adrian Willaert (1527-1562): A Documentary Study' (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1986).

ties, but also the numerous parish, monastic, and nunnery churches.⁶ Parish and monastic churches are also at the centre of Elena Quaranta's chapter. Her monograph with the telling title *Oltre San Marco* has radically changed our view of music making in Cinquecento Venice insofar as it turns the spotlight on the activities of the many 'other' churches in Venice, which she was able to investigate thanks to extensive archival research.⁷

Although the topic of both Glixon's and Quaranta's chapter overlap to a certain extent, their essays can be read as complementary studies. At the same time, they show exemplarily how one subject can be approached from different perspectives and with different methodologies. Glixon intends to map the daily, weekly, monthly, and annual musical activities of the confraternities and churches against the background of the available resources, which could vary significantly from one institution to another. Their repertoire includes both monophonic and polyphonic music, both vocal and instrumental pieces. Quaranta for her part focuses on the range of archival documents in order to discuss the stability and continuity that characterizes musical life at the parish and monastic churches. She shows that especially tax returns are a 'homogeneous body of documentation on music-making'.

Generally speaking, a certain amount of overlap between chapters is not only inevitable—the reader is also guided by cross-references in the footnotes, which act as signposts and as an invitation for drawing connections—but also a sign of the compact network of people and institutions, whose paths crossed regularly on various occasions. Indeed, this complex maze of interactions marks every aspect of musical life in Cinquecento Venice.

In some cases, however, it is necessary to look beyond the borders of the city on the wooden piles. Indeed, although most chapters deal with people and institutions in Venice itself, the scope of this book is not limited to the city itself, but also takes into account the broader context of the *Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia*. A discussion of the intellectual and cultural network in general and the catalyzing role of academies in particular, for example, necessarily has to include the Veneto as well. According to Scipione Bargagli, author of a panegyric on a ademies, these institutions not only had an impor-

6 See especially his Glixon, Jonathan, 'Music at the Venetian "Scuole Grandi", 1440-1540', 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1979), *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260-1807* (New York, 2003), and *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters? Venetian Nunneries and Their Music* (New York, 2017).

7 Elena Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco: Organizzazione e prassi della musica nelle chiese di Venezia nel Rinascimento* (Florence, 1998).

tant intellectual function, but an educational and political role as well.⁸ It is here that music, which was a vital constituent of the liberal arts, was to play a crucial role: the harmony it creates and the proportions of the intervals on which it is based became a powerful image for a well-balanced state.

In Chapter 4, Iain Fenlon traces the activities of three academies in the Venetian mainland. The city of Padua, famous for its university, hosted several academies such as the influential *Infiammati* (which had strong connections with the Sienese *Accademia degli Intronati*), the *Costanti* (which had Francesco Portinaro as *maestro di musica*), the *Eterei*, and the *Elevati* (to whose members Portinaro, in 1560, dedicated his fourth book of madrigals, of which some of the texts may have been written by the academicians themselves). A strong interest in the connection between music and theatre on the one hand and a close collaboration with other local institutions on the other, can be seen using the example of the *Accademia Olimpica* in *Venezia*. Especially in 1585, when the *Teatro Olimpico* was inaugurated, a close connection developed between the academy and one of the most famous Venetian composers of that time, Andrea Gabrieli, who wrote music for the performance of *Edipo Tiranno*.

A major institution where music, apart from literature and sciences, formed the backbone of the academy's activities, is the (still extant) *Accademia Filarmonica* of *Verona*, founded in 1543. An inventory, which mentions both a considerable number of music instruments and a whole series of manuscripts and prints from established and local composers alike, testifies to the rich musical life of this academy, which was also promoted and kept up to date by well-known *maestri* such as Giovanni Nasco and Vincenzo Ruffo. Above all, a number of prints dedicated to the Academy shows its reputation stretched far beyond the city boundaries.

Compared to the vibrant musical practice at the *Filarmonica*, music was first and foremost studied on a theoretical level at the *Accademia Venetiana della Fama*. This Venetian academy, carefully divided into four departments, has attracted considerable attention from scholars despite its short lifespan. Music was part of the mathematical *stanza* and thus considered in its quadrivial origin. This is also reflected in the academy's ambitious publication programme—called *Summa librorum* (1558–59)—which (though never realised) foresaw the edition of ancient and contemporary treatises. This part of the programme clearly carries Gioseffo Zarlino's thumbprint. Zarlino, whose

8 Scipione Bargagli, *Delle lodi delle accademie* (Florence, 1569).

monumental treatise *Le istituzioni harmoniche* appeared in 1558, was a member of the academy and well-known for his encyclopaedic knowledge.⁹

As Fenlon writes, it is especially through the transfer of the academy's seat from the house of its founder, Federico Badoer, to the Biblioteca Marciana, built with the aim of re-modelling the Piazza San Marco as part of a large-scale *renovatio urbis* (see above) that its connection to the state becomes apparent. This neat amalgamation of cultural-intellectual activities and political intentions also characterizes much of public musical life in the city. It is to this complex and multilayered interweaving that Chapter 5 is devoted. At the same time, this chapter is part of a second block: after a mapping of the numerous institutions where music was made, this block, though closely related to the first, seeks to transcend the local level of institutions and investigates music-making both in public and private contexts.

Venice, proud of its unconquered (and thus, as some writers observe, quasi virgin-like) state, is famous for its ceremonial life, that typically mixes liturgical and civic rituals.¹⁰ While such ceremonies usually took place around the Piazza di San Marco, the involvement of processions—organised according to specific hierarchical arrangements and including numerous dignitaries and institutions—meant these rituals extended towards other corners of the city. Major feasts in the annual liturgical calendar were intertwined with important events in the history of the Republic. Through the coupling of the feast days of Saint Mark with powerful images such as the foundation myth of Venice, the city was propagated as the new Rome. Other feast days also offered welcome opportunities for reminding the Venetians (as well as the city's visitors) of important political events or for highlighting Venice's strengths. Famous is the *sposalizio del mare*, i.e. the marriage of Venice and the sea, on Ascension day (or Festa della Sensa, as it is still called today). This day, celebrated with a boat procession, a wedding ceremony—with the Doge throwing a ring into the sea—, and a mass at San Nicolò del Lido symbolically cemented the city's dominance of the Adriatic. It is easy to imagine works on a grand scale by San Marco's composers were sung on this day.

9 See also Iain Fenlon, 'Gioseffo Zarlino and the Accademia Venetiana della Fama', in Iain Fenlon, *Music and Culture in Late Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 2002), 118–38.

10 See also Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981), Iain Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven-London, 2007), and David Bryant and Umberto Cecchinato, 'Venice, City of Music: Festivities and Entertainment in the Early Modern Age', in *Musik und Vergnügen am Hohen Ufer. Fest- und Kulturtransfer zwischen Hannover und Venedig in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Sabine Meine, Nicole K. Strohmman, and Tobias C. Weißmann (Regensburg 2016), 39–60.

A major event in the history of Venice undoubtedly was its victory in the battle of Lepanto in 1571. This military triumph was eternalised not only in paintings, poems, and sculptures, but also in music by composers such as Andrea Gabrieli, Giovanni Bassano, and Giovanni Croce. In short, Venice was a city that knew how to celebrate. And it also knew how to impress its guests. Fenlon discusses the famous visit of the French King Henry III in 1574, a few years after the battle of Lepanto. As one can also read in the various accounts of this visit, the city spared neither trouble nor expense to welcome the King. Sounds of all kind must have been omnipresent: the signals of trumpets and drums, the ringing of church bells, but also music that was composed specifically for this occasion.

Whereas music made for and performed in institutions and public places is quite well documented, one tends easily to overlook the more private forms of music making, especially the private patronage that took place in salons and so-called *ridotti*. Because of their less formalised character, they are by definition much more difficult to map. But as Rodolfo Baroncini convincingly shows in Chapter 6, it is not impossible. On the contrary, he has unearthed a vast body of archival material, which had been largely ignored by musicologists, i.e. baptismal and marriage registers. As they mention the names of godparents, these sources not only reveal a web of social relationships, but they can also help to explain why composers—both familiar and lesser-known names—chose specific dedicatees for their prints. Thanks to an innovative methodology, Baroncini is thus able to disclose an incredibly rich network of patrons from both the patriciate and the citizen class. It becomes clear that it is here, in the homes of state officials and merchants (both Venetians and foreigners), that new repertoires were promoted. Especially interesting is the presence of musicians from San Marco: in some cases, as Baroncini shows, their activities at *ridotti* and salons seem to have had an impact on appointments within the basilica's musical staff. After all, the worlds of public and private patronage were not always too distant.

A third block of this book is devoted to the activities of various groups of people for whom music was their daily bread. This section maps people performing (singing as well as playing), directing, and printing music as well as those writing about music and building instruments. In Chapter 7, Francesco Passadore investigates the responsibilities and activities of chapel masters, both at San Marco and in other churches, such as Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari and Santi Giovanni e Paolo (or Zanipolo, as the Venetians say). The situation at San Marco is especially interesting, as the church—and, as we have seen above, at the same time the private chapel of the Doge—was governed by three Procurators, which once again shows the amount of political interest

that was at stake here. Especially the arrival of Adrian Willaert in 1527 boosted both the size, the quality, and the renown of the chapel. Passadore traces the history of San Marco's chapel masters from the time of Alberto *francese* and Pietro de Fossis to Adrian Willaert, Cipriano de Rore, and Gioseffo Zarlino to Baldassare Donato and Giovanni Croce, the latter two marking the transition to the seventeenth century.

Paolo Da Col (Chapter 8) opens up a fascinating panorama of singing activities in sixteenth-century Venice, including both men and women, choruses and soloists as well as singer lutenists. He traces the paths of professional singers in churches, confraternities, convents, and *ridotti*, and discusses both the organisation of singers in *compagnie* and private singing schools. How were singers trained? What subjects did they learn? How were singers selected? Especially in the case of San Marco, sources inform us about the process from announcing a vacant position to the selection to the various tests during the audition. Da Col addresses the role of singing teachers at San Marco and other churches, but also at *ospedali* and in the context of private lessons. As far as San Marco is concerned, from 1580 onwards the job of instructing the clerics in the practice of polyphony was often given to future chapel masters, underlining the importance the Procurators attached to this position. Furthermore, Da Col surveys the rich vocabulary used for describing vocal qualities and timbral components. That these were not always judged positively, goes from the various criticisms one comes across: singers could be blamed (apart from moral and financial problems) for all kinds of reasons: their bad intonation, but also their age and even their imitating animals or actors who recite comedies.

Instruments too were firmly established in the Venetian soundscape, whether played indoor (in churches, confraternities or private houses) or outdoor (in processions and in the streets), for public or private occasions (weddings, banquets etc.), performed by professionals or lay people.¹¹ Bonnie J. Blackburn and Jeffrey Kurtzman (Chapters 9 and 10) discuss the activities of both instrumentalists and instrument makers before and after 1550 respectively. Venice was indeed a hub city for manufacturing, repairing, tuning, and exporting instruments. Lute making was a specialty of Germans, who settled in Venice and for whom the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (the German trading centre, situated near the Rialto) must have been a major meeting point. Whereas their role is well documented for the second half of the Cinquecento—with the Unverdorbens, the Malers, and Tieffenbruckers as the most prominent family dynasties—Bonnie Blackburn shows there already existed a network of

11 See for example Stefano Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani, 1500-1800: Quattro secoli di liuteria e cembalaria* (Venice, 1987).

German lute makers in the first half of the century. Kurtzman has found evidence that people also earned their money not only by building whole lutes (both high-quality instruments and cheap lutes), but also by producing lute parts, which could then be exported to other cities and countries. Later in the century, Venice also became a centre for building archlutes and vihuelas, which were popular both in Italy and in Spain. Bowed string instruments were produced by *lireri* in various sizes and for various playing techniques. Whereas trumpets and trombones—played among others by the famous Pifferi dei Doge, a group of musicians with international renown, as they can also be admired on Matteo Pagan's famous engraving of a procession in the Piazza San Marco—were usually imported from Germany, the manufacturing of wood instruments seems to have been firmly in the hands of the Bassano family, whose instruments were famous well across the borders of the city; the Accademia Filarmonica of Verona (see above) possessed many of them. In the field of keyboard instruments, Lorenzo da Pavia seems to have been almost unrivalled as a builder of organs, harpsichords, and clavichords at the beginning of the sixteenth century; later on in the century, there were a number of manufacturers of strung keyboards, whereas considerably less is known about organ builders.

Venice was not only a city where music was performed—indeed, as Eleanor Selfridge-Field writes in her contribution, ‘there was no such thing as a non-musical space in Venice’—it was also a leading centre for music printing and publishing (as it was for printing in general). The expansion of the Venetian printing sector from the beginning to the end of sixteenth century is the subject of Sherri Bishop's contribution (Chapter 11). It was in this city that in 1498, Ottaviano Petrucci obtained a twenty-year privilege to print polyphonic and instrumental music, which would revolutionise the market, as it meant that music was now accessible for a larger public of institutions, amateurs, and collectors.¹² After *Harmonice musices odhecaton A*, a collection of chansons issued in 1501, many more prints were to follow. Petrucci indeed covered almost all existing genres, from chansons and frottole to motets, *laude* and masses (the latter mostly in volumes dedicated to a single composer) to lute intabulations. Whereas Petrucci operated with the so-called multiple-impression technique (meaning the staves, the music, and the text were each printed in a separate phase), it was the Paris-based printer Pierre Attaingnant who in the late 1520s successfully developed the single impression technique, so that music could now be printed faster and cheaper.

12 See the major study by Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Oxford-New York, 2006).

From the end of the 1530s onwards, two firms were to dominate the world of music printers and publishers, both in Venice and throughout Italy: Girolamo Scotto was a member of a real dynasty of printers (his predecessors had published books on classical authors, philosophy, theology, medicine, and law) and near the end of his life he even became leader of the Venetian Guild of printers and booksellers, a very prestigious and honorable accolade; Antonio Gardano seems to have had good contacts with the ‘Willaert circle’ as soon as he, a Frenchman, arrived in Venice.¹³ Though the repertoire of both printers overlapped to a considerable extent, research has shown their relationship should be considered not as rivals, but rather as cooperative. During the decades of Scotto’s and Gardano’s activities, a number of other printers were active in Venice, such as Francesco Rampazetto, Claudio Merulo (who, as an organist at San Marco, must have had excellent access to the work of his colleagues), and Giulio Bonagiunta, whose output was considerably smaller.

The last chapter in this block on ‘musical actors’ is dedicated to the rich legacy of music theorists active in the Serenissima. In Chapter 12, Rebecca Edwards starts with the group of contributors to the so-called *Correspondence*, Giovanni Spataro, Pietro Aaron, and Giovanni Del Lago (to whose activity as collectors we owe the survival of many of the letters).¹⁴ Their lively correspondence tackles a plethora of theoretical issues (often on the basis of existing compositions, some of which would otherwise be unknown), such as counterpoint, tuning, the use of consonances and dissonances, mensuration signs, puzzle canons etc. and is spiced with criticisms and attacks directed both between the protagonists and towards other colleagues—things one would not otherwise read in the published writings of these persons.

The leading theorist of the Cinquecento undoubtedly was Gioseffo Zarlino, a native of Chioggia. His encyclopaedic training finds a reflection in his monumental *Istitutioni harmoniche* from 1558, a synthesis of *musica speculativa* and *musica prattica*, which—though not unchallenged by other theorists—was to have an influence on music thinking for a long time. Above all, especially in the books on counterpoint and mode, the importance of music printing can be shown, as Zarlino demonstrates his theories with polyphonic exempla of

13 See especially the descriptive bibliographies by Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)* (New York-Oxford, 1998) and Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer, 1538-1569: A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study*, 3 vols. (New York, 1988-2005).

14 See the monumental *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky, and Clement A. Miller (Oxford, 1991).

which many were taken from existing printed works.¹⁵ Near the end of his life, all his writings (apart from his music treatises *Le institutioni harmoniche*, *Dimostrationi harmoniche*, and *Sopplimenti musicali* including texts on the order of the Capuchin friars, on the calendar system, and on patience), were brought together in the multi-volume *Tutte l'opere*.

Judging from his lively writing style, Lodovico Zacconi must have been a colourful figure. His two-part *Prattica di musica* (1592 and 1622) benefits from his years of activity and experience as a singer in various chapels. His treatise is a goldmine for vocal theory and performance practice, especially in the field of ornamentation (*passaggi*).

Treatises and manuals on performance practice allow a link with Eleanor Selfridge-Field's contribution (Chapter 15) on instrumental music in Cinquecento Venice, which is part of a final block on 'Genres, Styles, and Cross-Cultural Traditions', both religious and secular, intimately linked to the Venetian dominion.¹⁶ She distinguishes the existing genres—*ricercar*, *canzone*, *toccata*, and *balli*—in terms of their stylistic characteristics and discusses the venues, the most prominent composers, and collections of instrumental music. The level of music making can also be glimpsed from a number of manuals on the tuning and playing techniques of specific instruments. For the first half of the sixteenth century, we have Silvestro Ganassi's works *Opera intitolata Fontegara* (1535) and *Regola Rubertina / Lettione seconda* (1542-43) on the recorder and bowed strings respectively; Girolamo Dalla Casa's *Il vero modo di diminuir con tutte le sorti di stromenti di fiato, & corda, & di voce humana* (1584) teaches how to improvise *passaggi* on the viola da gamba. Near the end of the century, Girolamo Diruta's *Il Transilvano: Il vero modo di sonar organi e istromenti da penna* (1597) offers a compendium of organ playing in the form of a dialogue.

David Bryant (Chapter 13) tackles a topic about which there has been much confusion in musicological literature: double-choir music in general and *cori spezzati* (which can be traced in musical sources until well into the eighteenth century) in particular. Any study of this performative practice—which is not, as one often used to read (and, unfortunately, still reads in [non]specialist books), an exclusively Venetian tradition, but also existed in other cities of the Veneto—needs to take into account a whole range of factors, such as liturgical and ceremonial traditions, compositional practices, and the architectural space for which this music was composed. Through a fruitful combination of

15 See especially Cristle Collins Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory: Hearing with the Eyes* (Cambridge, 2000).

16 See also Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi* (New York, 1994).

various types of sources (archival documents, rubrics in liturgical and ceremonial books, descriptions etc.), Bryant can present a very differentiated picture of this practice. Double-choir music was performed on very solemn occasions, mostly for psalms at Vespers and sometimes at Compline, but sources reveal the practice occurs also in connection with other texts. There has equally been much confusion about the location from which this music was performed, though it now seems safe to say that the floor of the choir, the *pulpitum novum lectionum*, and the *pulpitum magnum cantorum* (to the left and right of the iconostasis respectively) were the most likely positions.

Belonging to another stylistic tradition are the polychoral *concerti* and *sacrae symphoniae* from the later sixteenth century onwards. These usually set texts for different parts of the liturgy, and the number of vocal and instrumental groups, located at various possible positions in the church, is sometimes expanded to three and even four, with the choirs rapidly alternating between each other. Whereas these practices are relatively well documented for San Marco, Bryant shows that for other churches in Venice as well we have archival and musical sources that testify to double-choir performances on festive occasions.

Daniel Donnelly combines literary and musical analysis in his chapter on Venetian-language polyphony (Chapter 16). Being at the crossroads of trading routes, Venice absorbed influences from the many merchants of various nationalities that populated the city. Or, as the German-American musicologist Alfred Einstein once put it: 'North and South, Orient and Occident meet on the Rialto'.¹⁷ This exchange not only brought prosperity in economic terms, but also had a profound cultural impact. The mix of languages one could hear daily on the street must have been a strong source of inspiration for composers. It even led the poet, actor, and musician Antonio Molino to the creation of the *lingua greghesca*, which combines Greek words with the Venetian language, but also resulted in a reflection about the musical possibilities of the Venetian language itself. Donnelly untangles the web of genres with a focus on the 1560s and 1570s and tries to pinpoint what characterizes their *venezianità*: the comic Giustiniana, the villotta-like Canzon 'alla venetiana', the stylistically varied *greghesca*, and a number of 'Bizzarre rime' (set by a Ferrarese composer!) on texts by the famous poet and playwright Andrea Calmo. On a methodological level, Donnelly shows that a division of the corpus according to musical style can produce more fruitful results than text-oriented generic categories with which scholars usually operate. More particularly, such an approach cannot

17 Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, trans. Alexander H. Krappe, Roger H. Sessions, and Oliver Strunk, 3 vols. (Princeton, 1949), 318.

only reveal stylistic links between genres otherwise treated separately, but also connect the works' characteristics with older Venetian performing traditions.

A broadening of the geographical perspective is necessary when discussing the frottola. Giovanni Zanovello (Chapter 14) sets out by discussing the ambiguous position occupied by the Veneto in the music historiography of the frottola: as scholars had considered it a genre which was associated with court culture, it was difficult to find a place for the Veneto in this picture. This stands in marked contrast to the fact that many frottola composers came from or worked in cities of the Veneto, such as Verona, Padua, Treviso, and Venice itself. Geographical criteria even seem to have determined the order of the first books in Petrucci's series of frottole-anthologies—between 1504 and 1514, he issued no less than eleven books. Zanovello brings to light stylistic differences within the frottola repertoire: whereas many of them are largely homophonic, others show contrapuntal features, which can probably be linked to the composers' training under Franco-Flemish teachers.

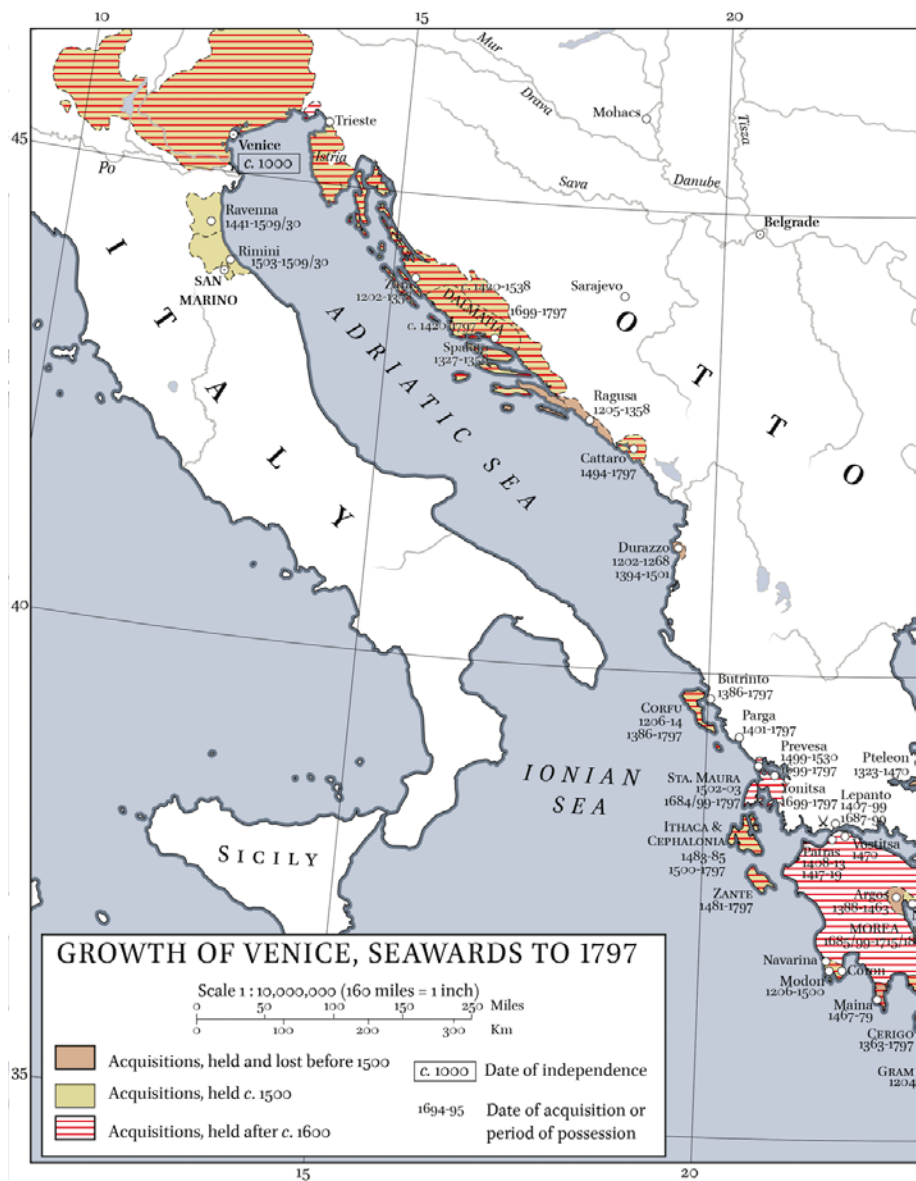
In his chapter on Jewish music too, Don Harrán chose to widen the scope to other Italian cities, especially Mantua and Ferrara. As a matter of fact, it is only in the later sixteenth century that clear traces of Jewish Renaissance composers can be found. Interestingly, most of them mainly wrote secular music. Davide Sacerdote, for example, published a book of six-voice madrigals, which apart from being dedicated to marquis Alfonso del Vasto contains several madrigals for members of the Gonzaga family and noble women. From the work of Davit Civita and Allegro Porto that survives, we only have collections with secular music. An exception is Salamone Rossi, who was a violist and composer at the court of Mantua. Rossi only published sacred works for use in the synagogue. His reluctance to do so comes from the strong opposition against art music in the synagogue among rabbis. But Leon Modena, who was a cantor at the Italian synagogue in Venice, had a different opinion. It is he who encouraged Rossi to print an edition with polyphonic music for use in the synagogue and provided it with a number of paratexts in support of this project. Although Rossi's initiative did not set an example, Harrán shows that a manuscript now in the Hebrew Union College, although incomplete, might have a connection with Modena's ideas. In Venice, Modena founded an academy that must have been a vibrant centre of multi-cultural music-making. As sources testify, they performed vocal and instrumental music that attracted both Jews from various nations and non-Jewish men and women living in the city.

In the last chapter, Ivano Cavallini draws attention to the rich panorama of musical life at the 'other coastal area'. Istria and Dalmatia, which had been part of the Republic of Venice since the beginning of the fifteenth century, not only offered important economic opportunities, but were also centres of extra-

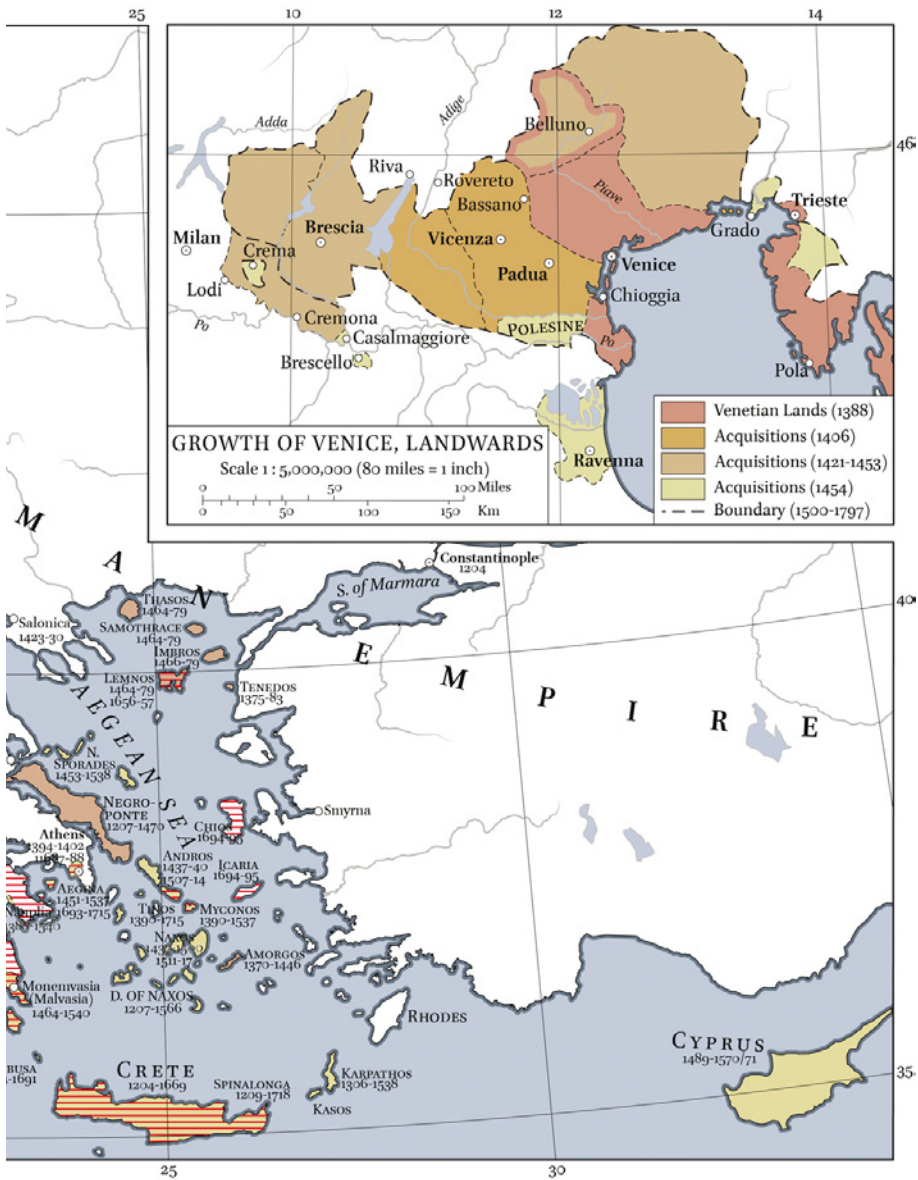
ordinary intellectual activity and cultural creativity. (In order to facilitate the reader's geographical orientation, a map of the Venetian territories—including the colonies at the Adriatic sea—can be found after this Introduction.) The influences were mutual: both the architecture and the poetry in the coastal cities show clear signs of the Venetian realm, and as Cavallini shows, even today Slovenian and Croatian dialects contain a whole range of Venetianisms. A number of well-known musicians, such as Andrea Antico, Jacques Moderne, and Francesco Sponga Usper, were able to find employment and make names abroad as publishers, printers, and/or composers. Others, such as Julije Skjvatić and Andrija Patricij published collections of madrigals and motets, with their works also appearing in collected editions printed in Venice. Furthermore, a number of manuscripts and choirbooks that are kept in Koper and Split testify to the musical life of these chapels.

Cavallini also discusses the influences of the Reformation, the ways in which people tried to evangelize using the medium of print, as well as the reactions of the Catholic church and how this is reflected both in dedications to printed works and in the music itself. Especially noteworthy are the activities of two academies, a topic that complements Chapter 4 of this book: whereas members of the *Accademia dei Concordi* in Dubrovnik were in close contact with leading figures of Venice's cultural and intellectual elite, the members of the *Accademia Palladia* in Koper, which was founded around 1567 and with which Gabriello Puliti had connections, led discussions about the harmony of the spheres, ancient Greek modes etc.

The reader will notice various spellings for some names and places. I have chosen to leave it up to the authors whether to use Venetian or standard Italian spelling. Finally, the comprehensive bibliography at the end of this book lists the most important literature on music in Cinquecento Venice. Divided into eight categories, which are partially congruent with the general structure of the book, they offer solid directions for further reading. Together with the eighteen chapters, the secondary literature listed here testifies to the ongoing, vibrant state of scholarship on Cinquecento Venice, while at the same time offering a panorama—for musicologists and non-musicologists alike—of the rich musical life during one of the *Serenissima's* most productive centuries.



MAP 0.1 *The Venetian territories.* MAP AFTER *THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY*, VOL. 14: *ATLAS*, ED. H. C. DARBY AND HAROLD FULLARD (CAMBRIDGE, 1970), 158.



PART 1

Musical Institutions



San Marco

Giulio M. Ongaro

Visitors to Venice in the sixteenth century, just as the tourists of today, were awed by the vision of St. Mark's square which was notable not only for its grandeur and splendour, by also for its cosmopolitan flavour.¹ This is how the early seventeenth-century English traveller Thomas Coryat described his impressions upon entering the square:

Truely such is the stupendious ... glory of it, that at my first entrance thereof it did even amaze or rather ravish the senses, for here is the greatest magnificence of architecture to be seene that any place under the sunne doth yeelde. Here you may both see all manner of fashion of attire and heare all the languages of Christendome.²

Several of the features of the Piazza would catch the eye of a visitor of Coryat's time: the imposing size of the *campanile*; the Torre dell'Orologio, with its beautiful clock face, completed in 1499; the Procuratie Vecchie, on the North side of the square, rebuilt in the early sixteenth century after a disastrous fire; the still incomplete building of the Procuratie Nuove, whose construction had begun in 1583; and, across the Piazza San Marco, the church of San Geminiano, whose façade had recently been rebuilt by none other than Jacopo Sansovino, and which had an important role in Venetian religious life for centuries, until demolished by Napoleon in 1807. However, there is no question that a visitor's gaze would have been drawn to the church of San Marco for its beauty and for the unusual characteristics of its architecture and decorations. By the Renaissance, the church was almost identical, save for some of its decorations, to the church we know today. The façade, rich with mosaics with a golden background in the Byzantine style, and surmounted by the famous four horses that were taken by the Venetians from the Hippodrome of Constantinople, is

1 A useful summary in English is Iain Fenlon's *Piazza San Marco* (Cambridge, MA, 2012), as well as the third chapter of his *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven-London, 2007), which includes further references. See also Manuela Morresi, *Piazza San Marco: istituzioni, poteri e architettura a Venezia nel primo Cinquecento* (Milan, 1999).

2 Thomas Coryat, *Coryats Crudities* (London, 1611; facs. reprint: London, 1978), 157.

not only stunning but unusual in Italy and in Western Europe, and it would have immediately drawn attention to itself. In fact, Coryat does devote several pages of his travelogue to a thorough description of St. Mark's square and its buildings, with a variety of comments about the magnificence of the church and the beauty of its ceremonies, including remarks about the music he heard there.

Given its importance in Venetian ceremonies, both religious and political, and the way that the entire Piazza seems to be a setting for the church, a visitor might not have realized that San Marco was not the cathedral of the city, but the private chapel of the Doge, the elected ruler of the city. For many centuries, in fact, Venice thrived without a resident bishop, but in 1451 the consolidation of various dioceses allowed for the establishment of the title of Patriarch of Venice, the bishop of the city. The cathedral church, however, was not established at San Marco but at San Pietro di Castello, a church at the margins of the city of Venice in the *sestiere* of Castello, far from the political, economic, and religious centres of the city. For almost a thousand years of its existence, until the capitulation of the Republic to Napoleon in 1797, San Marco served as a place where the most important religious and political ceremonies of the city were celebrated, and the Doge could rightly style himself as the 'patronus ecclesiae suae Sancti Marci', the master of his church of San Marco (see also Figure 1.1). Knowledge of this history is essential to understand better every feature of the church itself and of the ceremonies that took place within it. In particular, it explains the care taken by the Doge and by everyone who was connected with the administration of the church in ensuring that San Marco be seen as a symbol of the piety, the wealth, and the strength of the Republic itself. The fact that San Marco was both the religious and political centre of Venice is one of the vestiges of the Byzantine roots of the Republic. Many of the ceremonies that involved the Doge both inside San Marco and elsewhere in the city had political overtones wrapped in the religious celebration, perhaps more than in other Italian states. In addition, many of the religious festivities celebrated in the city commemorated political events. The most famous example is probably Ascension Day (*Sensa* in Venetian), when the Doge on the magnificent *bucintoro*, the state barge, was rowed to the entrance of the port and performed the ceremony of Venice's symbolic marriage to the sea, throwing a gold ring in the water.³

Music at the basilica was a tradition with roots dating back at the very least to the fourteenth century, but its history was not particularly distinguished

3 See also the contribution by Iain Fenlon on 'Music, Ritual, and Festival: The Ceremonial Life of Venice' to the present volume.



FIGURE 1.1 Gabriel Bella (1730-1799). *The presentation of the new Doge to the people*. VENICE, FONDAZIONE QUERINI STAMPALIA

until the sixteenth century.⁴ Government officials, however, were very much aware of the need for music appropriate to the rank of their church well before then. One of the earliest extant documents about music at San Marco, dating from 1403, shows six ducal counsellors taking steps for the betterment of music at the basilica. The document begins by giving the justification for the action of the counsellors:

Because it is to the honour and fame of our state that there be good singers in our church of San Marco, since this church is the principal church of our city, it was decided by the six undersigned counsellors all in agreement ... that eight young deacons of Venetian birth should be hired, who should learn to sing well ... and we order the Procuratori of our church of San Marco that according to the power given to us, as we said before, they must give to each of the boys one golden ducat a month, to clothe them and to provide them with other necessities ... and the Procuratori will make sure that the singers of the church of San Marco will teach the said boys to sing well....⁵

It is interesting that the counsellors take for granted that San Marco was in fact the most important church of the city, and that good sacred music is something that contributes to the 'honour and fame' of the state, not just an ornament to the religious ceremonies performed. In spite of these measures taken by the Republic, we can say that the history of music at San Marco for the rest of the fifteenth century is not as impressive as that of other musical centres in Italy at the time. It would be a mistake, though, to imagine that the lack of composers of the first rank indicated a low level of interest in music. In the early fifteenth century, for example, composers such as Johannes Ciconia (c. 1370-1412, active in neighbouring Padua), Hugo de Lantins (fl. 1420-30) and Antonius Romanus (fl. 1400-1432) wrote celebratory motets for the Doge, a tradition that seems to have lasted at least several decades.⁶ It has also been proven conclusively that the important Italian composer and singer Johannes de Quadris (born before 1410) was active at San Marco from the 1430s until his death around 1457.⁷

4 See, for example, Julie E. Cumming, 'Music for the Doge in Early Renaissance Venice', in *Speculum* 67 (1992), 324-64.

5 The original document is in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Collegio, Notatorio, Reg. 3, fol. 103^v.

6 See Cummings, 'Music for the Doge'.

7 Evidence was his presence at San Marco is discussed in Laurenz Lütteken, "Music et cantor diu in ecclesia Sancti Marci in Veneciis": note bibliografiche su Johannes de Quadris', in *Rassegna veneta di studi musicali* 5-6 (1989-90), 43-62.

It is in the late fifteenth century that we begin to see documentation for the type of musical establishment that provides the foundation for the expansion of the role and importance of music in the sixteenth century. Several adult singers of polyphony, including some of foreign origin, were employed as early as 1476 or 1477, and beginning in 1486 we have several lists of the payroll for the chapel singers, which show a choir of at least eleven adult singers and twelve younger singers of various ages and ability.⁸ It is noteworthy that the *maestro* in 1486 was a foreigner, Alberto *francese*, and that other foreigners were also employed as singers. In other words, even though we do not necessarily have famous composers active at San Marco in the later part of the fifteenth century, we can say that the efforts of the Procuratori to have excellent music for the 'honour and fame' of the Republic continued throughout this period, and that they turned to the foreign musicians that were so prized elsewhere in Italy at all major chapels.

One additional piece of evidence regarding the musical world of Venice at the turn of the century is that when the first printer of polyphonic music from movable type, Ottaviano Petrucci (1466-1539), set up shop in Venice, he started printing collections of music that obviously would have been also available or already circulating in the city and that his editions included more than twenty volumes of sacred music of some of the most famous composers of the time. His collections indicate that sacred music circulated freely in Venice and this might have provided a repertory to perform at San Marco.⁹

Maestri di cappella and the Chapel in the Sixteenth Century

From 1491 to 1525 the *maestro di cappella* at the basilica was the foreign singer Pietro de Fossis, tasked not only with the care of the chapel, but also with the instruction of boy choristers for the church.¹⁰ He is a rather shadowy figure and we know very little about him and his life, other than the fact that he was a foreigner, perhaps of Flemish or French origins. He must have been a man of great ability as *maestro*, as attested by his long service, but he was not one of the well-known composers of his generation: in fact, we do not have real evidence that he composed at all. For the period in question we do not have books

8 The composition of the chapel in the late fifteenth century is discussed in my dissertation: 'The Chapel of St. Mark's at the Time of Adrian Willaert (1527-1562): A Documentary Study' (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1986), esp. 37-48.

9 See also the chapter by Sherry Bishop in the present volume.

10 On the role of *maestri di cappella*, see also the chapter by Francesco Passadore in the present volume.

of polyphonic music from San Marco, and no compositions attributed to him appear in printed collections of music of the time. We know that he was interested in theoretical treatises about music, since he left some theoretical treatises to the monastery of San Salvador in Venice, and there is evidence that he was held in high esteem by his Venetian contemporaries as a performer. The nobleman Pietro Contarini, in his *Argo vulgare*, describes Venetian events of c. 1508, at the time of his own departure for a foreign government post, and he writes about de Fossis:

Here [i.e. in San Marco] a thousand voices of the flock are raised in concert, and among them there is the *musico* and singing director Pietro de Fossis, French of origin, who the singer Apollo has taken out of the crowd and well instructed in singing. And the Muses call him to accompany them in their singing.¹¹

And Angelo Gabrieli, describing the festivities for the visit of the queen of Hungary in 1502, wrote:

And in these celebration Petro de Fossis, a man of great renown in the art of music, besides his other skills, sang most beautifully for the queen a piece of music composed by our own Armonio.¹²

‘Our own Armonio’ was an organist active at San Marco who apparently had a variety of interests, including as a playwright. Tantalizing glimpses such as these confirm that even though we do not have as much information about this period as we would like, the chapel had an active and rich musical life.

It is true, however, that it is in the sixteenth century that music seems to flourish in Venice and at San Marco so that by the end of the century, far from being a relative backwater in the field of sacred music, San Marco and Venice were at its centre, with a distinctive style of composition by composers we label the ‘Venetian School’. It is a style that also marks a transition towards that of the early Baroque in Italy, and it definitely influenced composers elsewhere.

11 Pietro Contarini, *Argo vulgare* (Venice, c. 1541), fol. Eii: ‘Qui in concerto ... se lievan mille varie vose del grege Linigero, tra li quali era el Musico e Rector del canto piero de fossis, de progenie Gallo, el qual tracto del populo el cantor Apollo ha ben instructo. E le muse el chiaman per compagno ai canti sui.’

12 Angelo Gabrieli, *Libellus hospitalis ... in excipienda Anna Regina Hungariae* (Venice, 1502), fol. 9: ‘In quibus Pietro de Fossis, homo preter alias ejus disciplinas in arte musica multae celebritatis, hoc Reginae Carmen ab Harmonio nostro compositum ... suavissime decantavit ...’

What are the factors that create the circumstances that effected this transformation? Some are undoubtedly tied to political and economic events: the sixteenth century is a golden age for Venice. It started inauspiciously in 1508 with the War of the League of Cambrai, when all major European land powers fought against the Republic, testing its resilience and threatening its survival. The danger to Venice was averted by the diplomatic savvy of the Republic and by infighting among her enemies. This feat of survival against all odds, achieved without allowing a single enemy to ever set foot in the city, became a source of great civic pride. The defining moment, for Venice's self-image, though, was the victory of the fleet of the Holy League over the Ottoman Turks at Lepanto in 1571. Although Venice was just one of the allies, the decisive contribution of its fleet and the bold actions of the Venetian commanders meant that Venice felt this as a Venetian victory.¹³ The event was celebrated extensively in poetry, music, and in the visual arts, and we see its effects in Venetian politics and civic pride throughout the rest of the sixteenth century, even if the practical results of the victory were not long lasting.

Another source of civic pride was the identification of Venice with the true Rome. After the devastating sack of Rome by Imperial troops in 1527 many artists and literary figures moved to Venice, and there is a consistent streak in Venetian writing of the time that sees Venice as the real heir to the Roman Empire, a 'second Rome' that was surpassing the original. It will suffice to look at the amount of building and rebuilding done in the city in the period, the splendid flowering of the visual arts, and so on, to realize that the development and splendour of music at San Marco was part of the general trend in Venetian society of the time.

It is through the lens of these general trends that we should see the developments at the chapel at the end of de Fossis' term as *maestro*.¹⁴ De Fossis became severely ill, and for about two years the chapel was put in the hands of a recently hired singer, Pietro Luppato (or Lupato) about whom very little is known. It seems from some existing documents that Luppato might have been promised the permanent position, but in December 1527 the Procuratori gave the job of *maestro* to the Flemish composer Adrian Willaert (c. 1490-1562), ushering in an era of splendid music making. The appointment was made not only

13 See especially Iain Fenlon, 'In destructione Turcharum: The Victory of Lepanto in Sixteenth-Century Music and Letters', in *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo. Atti del convegno internazionale (Venezia 16-18 settembre 1985)*, ed. Francesco Degrada (Florence, 1987), 293-317; idem, 'Lepanto: The Ars of Celebration in Renaissance Venice', in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 73 (1987), 201-36.

14 About this period and the transition from de Fossis to Willaert, see Giulio M. Ongaro, 'Willaert, Gritti e Luppato: miti e realtà', in *Studi musicali* 17 (1988), 55-70.

with the consent of the Doge, but with his active participation, and it is very likely that the cosmopolitan Doge Andrea Gritti was intentionally trying to elevate the profile of music at San Marco.

By the time Willaert moved to Venice his reputation as a musician and composer was established. After leaving his native Flanders, Willaert had first moved to Paris to study law, but quickly abandoned those studies to concentrate on music. By 1515 the young composer was in Italy, visiting Rome, and soon joining the service of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, a member of one of the most magnificent families of Renaissance Italy, the rulers of Ferrara.¹⁵ Willaert remained in the service of various members of the d'Este family for over ten years, traveling extensively with them, and having a chance to meet and become acquainted with a variety of musicians, artists, and noblemen. It is possible, indeed likely, that he might have met the future Doge Andrea Gritti at a diplomatic meeting between Pope Leo X and the French king Francis I in Bologna in 1515. Andrea Gritti, Doge from 1523-38, was interested not only in music, but in a deliberate program meant to bring Venice to a position of leadership in the arts and architecture. The added cachet of Willaert's Flemish origin, at the time when all the major chapels of the Italian peninsula were trying to hire the best musicians from across the Alps, was probably another factor in the choice of Willaert as *maestro*.

In his years at the helm of the chapel, Willaert was able to increase the size and quality of the choir, and established himself not only as a composer of the first rank, but also as a great teacher, who acted as a mentor to a generation of composers and musicians, and whose works and teachings were elevated to an iconic status thanks to the writings of his pupil Gioseffo Zarlino (1517-90), one of the most important theorists of the sixteenth century and his successor as head of the chapel. In his 1558 treatise *Istitutioni harmoniche*, for example, Zarlino says of Willaert:

Nevertheless, the most exalted God ... has given us the privilege to cause to be born in our time Adriano Willaert, truly one of the most extraordinary among those who have exercised the practice of music; who, like a new Pythagoras, examining in detail what can happen in it [music], and finding infinite errors, began to eliminate them, and to bring it [music] towards that honour and dignity that it once had, and that it should by reason have; and he has shown a way of composing based on reason, with

15 See Lewis Lockwood, 'Adrian Willaert and Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este: New Light on Willaert's Early Career in Italy, 1515-1521', in *Early Music History* 5 (1985), 85-112.

an elegant manner, any musical tune, and has given us an excellent example in his compositions.¹⁶

While the arrival of Willaert was without a doubt a major watershed in the history of music at San Marco, we also need to keep in mind that the Procuratori never entirely relinquished the supervision of the chapel to any *maestro*. They often took charge in periods of transition, dismissing or hiring singers, and this shows the importance that they placed on having sacred music that would continue to be to the 'honour and fame' of the Republic.

In sum, when Willaert started his service in 1527, the church of San Marco had a fairly large choir, in line with those of other important Italian churches, and several of its singers were either of foreign origin, or had already served at important musical establishments in Italy. Willaert added what the church was lacking, a first-rate composer whose reputation as musician and teacher would only grow until his death in 1562, and the author of significant improvements over earlier musical practices at San Marco. He was also a figure of the first rank in the musical life of the city, thanks to his involvement in secular compositions and in the musical salons of the time, sowing the seeds of the Venetian style of the second half of the century (see below).

After the death of Willaert in 1562, mourned in poetry and music by several important figures in the cultural world of Venice, the Procuratori conducted a search that included writing letters of inquiry to Venetian ambassadors all over Western Europe, and appointed another composer of the first rank, the Flemish Cipriano de Rore (1515/16-1565), who was without a doubt one of the stars of the mid sixteenth century. The tenure of de Rore at the helm of the chapel was short and unhappy, and when he returned to serve the Farnese family at Parma after the Venetian interlude, de Rore claimed his departure was due to an insufficient salary and the disorder he found in the chapel.¹⁷ However, his salary was a fairly substantial two hundred ducats a year, with the provision of a free

16 Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1558), 1-2: 'Nondimeno l'ottimo Iddio ... ne ha concesso gratia di far nascere a nostri tempi Adriano Vuillaert, veramente uno dei più vari intelletti, che habbia la Musica prattica giamai essercitato: il quale a guisa di nuovo Pithagora esaminando minutamente quello, che in essa puote occorrere, & ritrovandovi infiniti errori, ha cominciato a levargli, & a ridurla verso quell'honore & dignità, che già ella era, & che ragionevolmente doveria essere; & che ha mostrato un'ordine ragionevole di componere con elegante maniera ogni musical cantilena, & nelle sue compositioni egli ne ha dato chiarissimo esempio.'

17 The letter in question, dated 12 July 1564 was written from Venice to the Duke of Parma to discuss de Rore's return. It is transcribed in Alvin Johnson, 'The Liturgical Music of Cipriano de Rore' (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1954), 46-47.

apartment and with other benefits, including the ability to be a pre-eminent composer in a city where several noblemen were passionate patrons of music, and willing to pay handsomely for some new compositions. The disorder in the chapel, which was certainly real and is underscored by documents of the Procuratori tightening discipline among the musicians, might have been also at least partly determined by de Rore's inadequacy as an administrator.

After de Rore, it seems that the Procuratori changed their approach and after several months searching for the right person, they decided to appoint a local, Gioseffo Zarlino, known as an erudite theorist, a competent composer, a man with a broad cultural background, and also a priest of impeccable morals.¹⁸ In addition, Zarlino was a known quantity, a part of the musical life of Venice for several years, and well acquainted with many, if not all of the choir singers at San Marco. In the document that appoints him to the position on 5 July 1565, the Procuratori employ language not seen before, which shows their concern for the administrative side:

Wishing to provide the chapel of San Marco with a *maestro* that must be not only a learned musician who is experienced in musical performance, but also—as someone who must be superior to the other musicians [of the chapel]—prudent and wise in carrying out his duties, having had a wonderful report about the ability and humility of *messer* father Gioseffo Zarlino, and having discussed this with His Serenity [= the Doge] they have appointed him as *maestro* of the said chapel for two years, with an option for three more years ...

Zarlino presided over a period when the Venetian style of sacred composition was truly established, and his subtle influence, especially (as we shall see later) in encouraging instrumental performances in the church, is clearly visible throughout this period. His long tenure was undoubtedly satisfactory and when he died in 1590 the Procuratori decided to give the position once again to a musician well known to them, Baldassare Donato (1529?-1603), a member of the chapel since the 1540s, first as a young singer (a *zago*), then a full-fledged member of the chapel, with some administrative functions. Donato had been closely tied to Willaert and in fact he was at first responsible for transcribing

¹⁸ See Francesco Caffi, *Storia della musica sacra nella già cappella ducale di San Marco in Venezia dal 1318 al 1797*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1854); and Claude V. Palisca, 'Zarlino, Gioseffo', in *Grove Music Online*.

the new compositions of the *maestro* into the musical books of the chapel.¹⁹ Donato was also a composer of some reputation, but definitely not in the same category as Willaert as far as composition, or as Zarlino for theoretical work. He seems to have taken immediate steps to assess the quality of the singers of the chapel. Among these was Donato's eventual successor to the post, Giovanni Croce (c. 1557-1609), whom Donato describes as 'a very capable singer, and at the times his voice is not as delicate as it ought to be, but he makes up for it by his beautiful singing'.²⁰ The choice of another insider to succeed Donato continued the practice established by the appointment of Zarlino in 1565, and it stresses the Procuratori's concern for stability and continuity. Only at Croce's death in 1609 did the Procuratori return to the practice of hiring someone from outside the city, first with the undistinguished Giulio Cesare Martinengo (c. 1568-1613), then much more successfully in 1613 by hiring Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643), one of the towering figures of Western musical history.

The 'Venetian' Style and Performance Practices

One of the most interesting aspects of the history of sixteenth-century Venetian music is the development of a compositional style that is sufficiently distinctive to be easily recognizable, and that is set apart from the so-called Roman style. For its flamboyant grandeur, this musical style has often been compared to the paintings of the Venetian school, and to the architecture of San Marco and of other Venetian landmarks. San Marco was a centre, although not the only one, of this style, which combined several distinctive features, some more unusual than others. We must remember that in the relatively small world of music in Venice, many of the singers and instrumentalists of San Marco were also in demand for performances at various feasts and events throughout the city, particularly at the spectacular festivals organized by the *scuole grandi*, the major devotional confraternities of the city. Composers active at San Marco were also commissioned to write for the *scuole* and for other patrons, and in fact the income from these events could add significantly to the salary paid by

19 The document is in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Reg. 127, fol. 43^r, 5 December 1547.

20 'sufficientissimo cantor, e dove manca la delicatezza della voce supplisse co'l bel cantare'. Transcribed in James H. Moore, *Vespers at St. Mark's* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1981), p. 245. See also the chapter by Paolo Da Col in the present volume.

the Procuratori of San Marco.²¹ There is also evidence that the Procuratori did not mind these activities, as long as these did not interfere with the musicians' primary duty to San Marco, and that they saw all public performances of this kind as a way to project the image of a powerful, magnificent, and pious city. Therefore, when we speak of a Venetian style, we cannot think that this style was limited to San Marco, but that on the contrary it would have been heard at many of the important celebrations around the city, either because of the participation of the Doge and the government in various ceremonies in churches and *scuole*, or because of performances organized by those institutions. In fact, it might be impossible to know whether advances in style were first presented at the *scuole* and then employed at San Marco or vice versa, but we can speculate that in the close-knit environment of Venice, innovations would have spread quickly and that it might be difficult to establish what came first.

The principal features of this style were the extensive use of instruments in church services, whether in conjunction with voices or for ensemble instrumental music; the type of harmonic and melodic writing that, as the century develops, tends to blur the differences between vocal and instrumental styles; the fact that this style was particularly used to set certain specific types of texts, but not usually the Mass Ordinary; the large size of the performing forces employed, a point often noticed by visitors to the city; an increasingly virtuosic writing for the solo parts, creating a stylistic distinction between soloists and choir; and, most noticeably, the subdivision of the performing forces into two or more choirs.

The writing for multiple choirs ('polychoral'), was once thought to have been first employed at San Marco, and some, misreading a passage written by Zarlino, had attributed to Willaert the 'discovery' of this new style, but we have known for decades that this was a practice not uncommon in various parts of Northern Italy in the early sixteenth century, and that Venice's role was more one of development and consolidation of an existing practice.²² It is arguably the publication in 1550 of eight double-choir Psalms by Willaert in the collection *Di Adriano et di Jachet i salmi appertinenti alli Vesperi ... a uno et a duoi chori* published by Antonio Gardano that established polychoral music in the repertory. Zarlino does in fact credit Willaert with being the one who perfected this style and showed the others the most appropriate and effective way to

21 For the history of music at the *scuole grandi*, see Jonathan Glixon, *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260-1807* (New York, 2003). See also his contribution to the present volume.

22 See David Bryant, 'The "cori spezzati" of St. Mark's: Myth and Reality', in *Early Music History* 1 (1981), 165-86 and the author's chapter in this volume.

write for multiple choirs, with the two choirs alternating in the performance of Psalms and overlapping only at important moments in the piece.²³ Many early studies of music in Venice put emphasis on the spatial separation of the choirs in performance, especially within San Marco. Within the past forty years, new research has proved that the reality was much more nuanced. The music of the generation of Willaert, generally written in no more than eight parts, divided into two choirs, was often meant to be performed either by singers standing in the 'singer's pulpit' or *bigonzo*, which can still be seen on the right side of the rood screen of the basilica, or possibly by two groups standing on small galleries on the level of the altar, one on each side of the altar.²⁴ It is likely that the effect of the music resided as much in the contrast of a choir of four soloists versus a larger group (of eight or twelve) than in the actual spatial separation. It is true, though, that as the style evolved and larger performing forces were employed and divided into three or four choirs, we see evidence of performances that occupied a larger physical space at San Marco. The most common arrangement for important feast days at the end of the century was to build a small stage on the floor of the church complete with a portable organ, right in front of the rood screen, and to have three groups of singers and instrumentalists divided between this stage and the two organ galleries high on each side of the altar. This was certainly a more grandiose arrangement than what could be found at most churches and it would not have failed to impress visitors and residents alike.

As we have seen, the new style of polychoral writing was particularly applied to the performance of Psalms. One of the quirky characteristics of music at San Marco is that even though it became one of the centres of sacred music in Europe, it was not particularly known for the production of one of the main genres of sacred music, settings of the Mass Ordinary in polyphony. It is not that masses at San Marco were not performed with polyphony: we know from various documents that they were. It is that the music of other Offices, particularly Vespers, seems to have had a central role at San Marco and at other institutions in Venice, and that it constitutes the bulk of music written by composers working at San Marco.²⁵ The reason is, once again, political and it is tied

23 Zarlino, *Le institutioni harmoniche*, 268.

24 For the use of the small galleries see Laura Moretti, 'Architectural Spaces for Music: Jacopo Sansovino and Adrian Willaert at St. Mark's', in *Early Music History* 23 (2004), 153-84.

25 One good example would be the extant output of Giovanni Gabrieli: we have only five single mass movements to compare with tens of motets from his pen. There is certainly nothing from Venetian composers to compare with the output of Palestrina in the mass genre, for example.

to a reaffirmation of Venetian exceptionalism. The sections of the mass set to music used unchangeable texts, common to all Catholic churches at the time, and used every day, with only some omissions according to the liturgical season. The Office is much more varied and offers opportunity for stressing local saints and devotions. Vespers, for example, use texts, chiefly settings of Psalms, that are appropriate to the liturgical feast of the day and that vary throughout the year. Furthermore, San Marco employed a liturgy that was different from that of Rome, particularly in the choice of Vesper Psalms, and even after the reforms of the Council of Trent that standardized all Catholic liturgy, the Venetian church was allowed to retain its liturgy, due to a loophole in the regulations. Venetians were proud of the antiquity of this liturgy and of its differences from the one used in other churches, and it is obvious that they felt this was another way to reaffirm their equality with Rome, and their independence.

The musical outcome of this political and religious situation is that Venetian composers put considerable effort into music for Vespers, and that some of the texts set, from Psalms and other sources, were heard as reaffirmations of the message of divine protection and favour that Venetians thought applied to their Republic, a sentiment particularly strong after the victory over the Turks at the battle of Lepanto in 1571.

Before the 1560s the difference in style between polyphony in other Italian cities and polyphony at San Marco might not have been extremely noticeable on a daily basis to an outside observer. The visitor would have probably remarked on the double-choir polyphonic settings of the Psalms, but after all this was but a small step from the practice, used elsewhere, of having alternate verses of a Psalm in Gregorian chant and polyphony. Only someone really well acquainted with musical styles might have noticed something different. However, the deviation from standard practices becomes more and more apparent in the second half of the century, and a visitor to San Marco or one of the *scuole* by 1600 would have been impressed by the difference with what he might have encountered elsewhere. This was the result not only of the religious and political factors mentioned, but also of some serendipitous musical developments. In no particular order, these developments had to do with the presence at Marco of several excellent organists who were also accomplished composers; the musical links with some non-Italian centres, particularly with the court of Munich, where many of the instrumentalists and singers of San Marco spent part of their early career; the stylistic influence of instrumental writing; and, the increasingly common taste for virtuoso vocal and instrumental performance, which is part of a general trend in late sixteenth-century Italy.

Already before the death of Willaert in 1562 we see the presence in Venice of a number of excellent organists-composers, such as Girolamo Parabosco (c. 1524-57), Annibale Padovano (1527-75), and Claudio Merulo (1533-1604). This tradition, however, really flourished under Gioseffo Zarlino, whose tremendously influential output in theoretical writings was not matched by a prolific musical production. During the time when Zarlino was the *maestro* (1565-90) the compositional spotlight shifted to the organists of the church, in particular to Andrea Gabrieli (1532/3-1585) and his nephew Giovanni Gabrieli (1554/7-1612). Before taking up posts at San Marco both Andrea and Giovanni spent some years in Munich, working under the great Orlando di Lasso (1532-94), one of the most important (and versatile) composers of the sixteenth century and the head of a large court music establishment. They were not the only ones to spend some formative years in Munich, and in fact a variety of minor musicians (both singers and instrumentalists) active at San Marco shared the same career path.

In addition, the church had a fairly well established tradition of having instrumental performances on solemn feast days, and from 1568 on it acquired an instrumental group with an ongoing commitment to serve such a function. The decree from the Procuratori appointing Hieronimo da Udene (i.e. Girolamo from Udine, better known as Girolamo Dalla Casa, d. 1601) and his brothers to the position, reaffirms that the presence of instrumentalists during these ceremonies was not a novelty:

Having Hieronimo da Udene offered at his own expenses with two of his brothers and other musicians, to perform on wind instruments those concerti with the organs that are customarily done every year for the honour of the church of San Marco whenever the Most Serene Signoria comes to church for the solemn feasts ... the Procuratori have voted that the said mister Hieronimo be charged to do all the concerts at his expenses in the way described above ...²⁶

26 'Essendosi offerto ser hieronimo da udene di fare a tutte sue spese con instrumenti di fiato et con doi soi fratelli et altri musici li concerti nelli organi quali per ordinario si sogliono fare ogni anno per honore della chiesa di S. Marco quando la Serenissima Signoria viene in chiesa al tempo delle feste solenne di Natal et pascqua [sic], sue Signorie Clarissime a bossoli et ballote hanno terminato che detto ser hieronimo habbi il carico di far a tutte sue spese detti concerti nel modo di sopra espresso...'. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Reg. 131, fol. 65^v, 29 January 1567 [*more veneto* 1568].

For this task, Girolamo received a salary roughly equivalent to that of an average full-time singer at San Marco. In effect Girolamo was agreeing to act as a contractor, receiving a fixed sum every year and then negotiating with his musicians separately to provide music for the church. The use of instrumentalists at major feasts grew during from 1568 on, well into the seventeenth century, both in numbers of feasts for which instrumentalists were used and also in the total number of instrumentalists employed for each occasion. It is also clear from the documents that these instrumentalists were not limited to performances of instrumental music, but they also mixed with the voices of the choir. For example, at the appointment of Giovanni Bassano (1560/1-1617) as wind player for the church in 1575, the Procuratori wrote that they wanted to retain him because his playing was ‘an ornament of singing and of the said *concerti*’, and in 1582 another decree authorizes the treasurer of the church to hire additional instrumentalists for ‘the needs of the [singing] chapel and for the instrumental playing’ whenever necessary. It is evident that even though specific instrumental parts were not routinely included in vocal compositions until a little later, the practice of instrumentalists doubling voice parts was firmly established by at least 1575, and that the Procuratori begin to pay particular attention to the recruitment of outstanding instrumentalists. It is worth noting that several Venetian instrumentalists of the period, such as Silvestro Ganassi (1492-mid sixteenth century), Giovanni Bassano, and Girolamo Dalla Casa, are known to us and to their contemporaries as authors of important practical treatises on improvisation and virtuoso performance, and there is little doubt that the level of instrumental performance in the city was very high.²⁷ It is also interesting that treasurer records show that the organists of the church often served as contractors for the additional instrumentalists, a situation that was made possible by the nature of the music world in Venice, where many of the top musicians enjoyed close relationships. At any rate, by the end of the century it was not uncommon to have large performing forces for the major feasts, with a combination of regularly salaried singers and instrumentalists and freelance musicians from the city.

This brings us to the next question: how did the musical establishment of San Marco evolve in terms of size and composition throughout the century? As a way of comparison, the first complete lists of chapel singers are from the late fifteenth century. In 1486 there were eleven adult singers and twelve *zaghi*, a term that encompassed boy singers of varying ages and ability. Because of the incomplete state of the records, we cannot make any attempts to reconstruct

27 See also the contributions by Bonnie J. Blackburn and Jeffrey Kurtzman to the present volume.

the division of the singers among different vocal ranges.²⁸ In 1527, when Willaert arrived in Venice, we can reconstruct the composition of the chapel as including sixteen adult singers, with known ranges for eleven of them, fairly equally divided among sopranos, altos, tenors, and basses. As it was the practice in the period, all parts were sung by men, who specialized in singing in a head voice or 'falsetto' and handled all upper parts, with the help of boy singers as was customary at all churches of the time. In 1533 the choir had at least fifteen adult singers, four sopranos, four altos, three tenors and three basses, with one singer's range undetermined. This means, if we count the participation of boy singers, a balance tilted somewhat towards the high ranges. Incidentally, although we can assume that some singers were of very high quality, there is ample evidence that the Procuratori and the *maestro* were willing to tolerate the continuing presence of a small number of reliable, if unspectacular, singers who occasionally received less than stellar assessment of their abilities.

By 1550 the chapel had twenty-two adult singers, with five sopranos and six altos, plus four tenors and four basses. The two singers of undetermined range were either sopranos or altos, which makes the 1550 choir even more unbalanced towards the high ranges than those of earlier years. The choir at this point included several musicians known to us for their compositions or theoretical writing, and one can speculate that the influence of Willaert as a mentor and teacher of the first class might have been a draw for many of the musicians. The last list of singers during Willaert's tenure, compiled very shortly before his death, divides the singers into a *cappella grande* and a *cappella piccola*, a distinction that seems to assemble the most experienced singers in one group. The two groups were not meant to sing in alternation in the performance of polychoral music, but had different tasks on a daily basis and joined forces for the most important feast days. Eleven adult singers were members of the *cappella grande*, and fourteen, including a couple of young boy singers, were members of the other. In other words, there seems to be a definite growth in the number of singers available to the *maestro* for musical performances. Throughout the rest of the century the size of the choir does not necessarily continue to grow steadily but sees several ups and downs. Some are definitely due to circumstances beyond anyone's control. For example, the plague that hit Venice in 1575, killing almost a third of the population, also caused a reduction in the number of the singers. Although the chapel recovered, by 1590, when Zarlino died, the choir was once again relatively small, with two sopranos, four contraltos, three tenors, and four basses, but by 1601 it stood once again at twenty-two singers.

28 See also Paolo Da Col's chapter in this volume.

The one major difference among the singers in the second half of the sixteenth century is the appearance in the chapel of castrato singers, singers whose high voices had been artificially preserved by castration before puberty. The first soprano castrato appears in the choir in 1567, but by 1601 at least four of the five sopranos of the choir were castrati. This practice was ushered in without much fanfare, and in fact the documents sometimes do not always mention consistently whether a singer is a castrato. We know from the golden age of the castrati, the Baroque, that they were supposed to be more powerful than male non-castrated singers singing the upper parts, and therefore we can speculate that the choir of the late sixteenth century must have had a sound quality quite different from that of the early part of the century.

It is important also to keep in mind that as the century went on, the practice of hiring supplementary singers and instrumentalists for all important feast days became more common. By the last decade of the century it was fairly normal to hire eight to twelve additional instrumentalists and ten to twelve singers for each of the special feasts celebrated in the church. For the celebration around Christmas 1596, for example, the church hired eight additional instrumentalists, plus an additional organist (who would be playing the portable organ placed on the stage in the middle of the church), and seven additional singers (four tenors, one alto, one soprano, and one boy singer). In this case we also know which instruments were played by the additional musicians, and their instrumentation is pretty consistent throughout the period: four trombones, one bassoon, two cornetti, and one violin. It is possible that more instrumentalists were used as another player gets a payment for having played with an unspecified number of companions at some, but not all, of the Christmas services. At any rate, the practice of additional musicians for the most important celebrations is a constant in the later part of the century and it helped augment the performing forces to be able to tackle the instrumental and vocal pieces written for twelve to sixteen voices.

Characteristics of the Venetian Style

The style of polyphonic sacred music in the sixteenth century, as described in standard textbooks, is usually associated with the music of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525/6-1594), who spent virtually his entire career in Rome. For example, Palestrina employs supple vocal lines, whose rhythmic accents are always shifting. If we isolate one line, we often notice that no two consecutive measures of music use exactly the same rhythm, and that after an opening in simple rhythms, there is an increasing complexity in the line, with melismatic

text setting that might go on for a few measures before arriving at a clear point of rest. It is a style also rooted in the precepts of sixteenth-century counterpoint, with a careful control of harmonic motion and substantial equality of voices.

The Venetian style is in contrast to what we might call the 'mainstream' style, and is already visible in the late works of Willaert. It is, however, fully revealed to the world right after the death of Andrea Gabrieli in 1585, when his nephew Giovanni collected some of Andrea's works and adding some of his own published the collection *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio: Gabrieli* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1587), one of the most influential music publications of late sixteenth-century sacred music. Giovanni followed a few years later in 1597 with another collection in which his style shows a new-found maturity. Other pieces of his, that show more pronounced traits of the budding seventeenth-century style, were published posthumously in 1615.²⁹

The hallmark of this style is, first of all, a different way of writing melodic material. Melodic lines use simple and memorable rhythms, often repeated and not nearly as supple as those of Palestrina. In fact, the rhythmic shape and strength of these lines is unmistakable: while the so-called Roman style often tends to obscure or at least shade the strong beats, the Venetian style embraces them. Where Palestrina might write a line that becomes more rhythmically complex as it develops, Giovanni Gabrieli writes short lines whose rhythmic complexity does not increase, and in fact go only for a short while before arriving at points of rest. Let us compare, for example, the soprano line of two motets: Palestrina's *Sicut lilium inter spinas*, a five-voice motet based on a text from the Song of Songs that first appeared in a 1569 publication (see Example 1.1); and Giovanni Gabrieli's *O magnum mysterium*, a two-choir, eight-voice motet that appeared in the 1587 *Concerti* collection (see Example 1.2). The contrast is very clear: Palestrina waits eleven measures of the modern transcription before arriving at a moment of rest, while Gabrieli sets each text segment in five measures. Note also the difference between the melismatic setting of Palestrina and the fairly strict syllabic nature of Gabrieli's setting. The rhythms of Gabrieli are much more 'square', forceful and distinct, departing more rarely (and less significantly) from the main accents of each measure. Gabrieli uses the two-choir texture in a very simple but effective manner, by alternating between the two choirs at first and then bringing in both choirs together for the final repetition of the initial phrase. Clarity, simplicity, and rhythmic drive are stylistic elements that Gabrieli seeks, at the expense of more subtlety.

29 *Symphoniae sacrae... liber secundus* (Venice: Gardano, 1615).

EXAMPLE 1.1 *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Sicut lilium inter spinas (cont.)*

18

nas, in - ter spi - nas, ter spi - nas, in - ter spi - sic - ut li - li - ter spi - nas, sic - ut li - ut li - li - um in - ter spi - nas, sic - ut

EXAMPLE 1.2 *Giovanni Gabrieli, O magnum mysterium, bb. 1-28*

Cantus
Altus
Tenor
Bassus secundus
Octava pars
Quintus
Septima pars
Bassus

O ma - gnum my - ste - ri -
O ma - gnum my - ste - ri -
O ma - gnum my - ste - ri -
O ma - gnum my - ste - ri -

EXAMPLE 1.2 *Giovanni Gabrieli, O magnum mysterium (cont.)*

um,
um,
um,
um,

O ma - gnum my - ste - ri - um,
O ma - gnum my - ste - ri - um,
O ma - gnum my - ste - ri - um,
O ma - gnum my - ste - ri - um,

o ma - - gnum my - ste - ri -
o ma - gnum my - ste - ri - um,
o ma - - gnum my - ste - ri -
o ma - - gnum my - ste - ri -
o ma - gnum my - ste - ri -
o ma - gnum my - ste - ri -
o ma - gnum my - ste - ri -
o ma - gnum my - ste - ri -

EXAMPLE 1.2 *Giovanni Gabrieli, O magnum mysterium (cont.)*

22

C ut a - ni - ma - li - a vi - de - rent Do -

A ut a - ni - ma - li - a vi - de -

T ut a - ni - ma - li - a vi - de -

6 ut a - ni - ma - li - a vi -

8 - cra - men - tum, ut a - ni - ma - li - a vi - de -

5 sa - cra - men - tum, ut a - ni - ma - li - a vi -

7 men - tum, ut a - ni - ma - li -

B cra - men - tum, ut a - ni - ma - li - a vi - de -

26

C - mi - num na - - - tum,

A - rent Do - mi - num na - - - tum,

T - rent Do - mi - num

6 de - rent Do - mi - num na - - - tum,

8 rent Do - mi - num na - - - tum,

5 de - rent Do - mi - num na - - - tum,

7 a vi - de - rent Do - mi - num na - - - tum,

B rent Do - mi - num na - - - tum,

As this style progresses, we notice that some vocal writing becomes more virtuoso and also, in a way, more instrumental, often with an increased separation between the writing for a choir of soloists and for the other choir with a more traditional role. Vocal phrases are either more virtuoso, and therefore more melismatic and slightly longer, or the already short phrases of the earlier pieces become even shorter, so that in later pieces Gabrieli alternates between choirs on a single word, tossing back and forth motives of no more than three or four notes, rather than complete phrases. The style of Gabrieli is also clearly influenced by his background as instrumentalist and as composer of instrumental music. The ensemble instrumental music of Gabrieli is extremely important in the history of the genre and is still a favourite repertory for brass groups everywhere: it is arguably the earliest instrumental music to have found a place in the standard repertory of our time. In these pieces we see some of the same characteristics found in the vocal music style of his compositions: clear, forceful rhythms; short phrases, sometimes alternated with more technically difficult passages; a reliance on polychoral texture for many—though not all—of his pieces, with an alternation of motives tossed between choirs; and important textual passages, especially at the end of a piece, stressed by having all the forces together. It all comes together to create one of the more distinctive musical styles, easily recognizable both in his vocal and in his instrumental music. The use of large performing forces was not unknown elsewhere in the late Renaissance, but it was not normally applied as consistently as we see it in Venetian music of the time. The skilful use of the space within San Marco optimized the effect of the performers in a way that was sure to impress the congregation. Because of the existence of pay records for the additional instrumentalists and singers of San Marco, we can gauge precisely how often larger performing forces were employed at the church. In 1598, for example, there were seventeen feasts, plus two special occasions, at which the presence of additional musicians is recorded. For the most important feasts, such as Christmas or the feast of St. Mark's, these enhanced forces were employed in more than one service, usually Vespers on the eve of the feast, High Mass on the day and Vespers again that evening. This means that in 1598 there were a total of twenty-six opportunities to hear music at San Marco that combined its chapel and its regular instrumentalists with a couple of dozen expert freelance musicians. In other words, by the end of the century this splendid music was a common occurrence at San Marco, and it might be difficult to call these performances exceptional.

As we have seen earlier, music was not the only cultural or artistic activity that was cultivated by the Republic. The goal, of course, was to show all visitors (as well as all Venetians) the piety, splendour, and power of the Republic, to

support that ideology that Anglo-Saxon historians have dubbed 'the myth of Venice'. The Doge and the government carefully and intentionally crafted an image of Venice by a programme of building, especially but not exclusively around St. Mark's square (let us remember that the Rialto Bridge is a sixteenth-century creation, for example); by the enlightened patronage of writers and artists; by a relatively high level of political tolerance which allowed, among other things, the flowering of the printing industry in Venice and made it a cultural centre; by the private and public patronage of the visual and performing arts, creating opportunities for artists and musicians alike. In this, the position of the church of San Marco was central: the church itself is a stunning and unusual building, very much different from most Italian churches, and the fact that it was a central place for ceremonies that combined religious and political aspects seamlessly, made music at San Marco also a central tool to reassert the primacy of Venice in all things.

Music at Parish, Monastic, and Nunnery Churches and at Confraternities*

Jonathan Glixon

A good way to understand the sacred musical world of a city like Renaissance Venice is to imagine it as a vast Minimalist composition, or perhaps a gamelan performance: building on a constant, nearly unchanging pulse are successive layers, ever less frequent but more prominent, with occasional irregularly spaced outbursts. The underlying pulse here is the daily chanting of the Catholic liturgy, marked by the ringing of bells, in the more than 150 churches spread throughout the city and its lagoon. Weekly events, primarily Sunday liturgies in the churches, but also Monday commemorative masses for the confraternities, were more elaborate, and monthly confraternity masses and processions involved even more complex music. Each church and each of the nearly 300 confraternities also observed at least one, and in many cases several once-a-year occasions, some of which could be remarkably splendid in musical terms. Superimposed on this carefully laid-out musical edifice were other, less predictable layers: frequent, musically simple funerals, and much more elaborate, though less frequent, celebrations for the election of a parish priest or abess, for the first mass of a young priest or the entry of a novice into the cloister, or for the commemoration of a major political or ecclesiastical event. This entire picture also has a geographical dimension: while the underlying pulse of liturgical chanting was spread relatively evenly throughout the city, and certain annual religious events were celebrated widely, the sacred musical highlights of any given week, attracting both performers and audience, were likely to be spaced far apart, one day in Castello, and the next in Cannaregio or even on Murano or Torcello. On a few days each year, processions of confraternity members and civic leaders brought music to a wide swath of the city, winding through several *sestieri*, accompanied by singers and instrumentalists performing laude and other sacred music.

* The following abbreviations are used: I-Vasp = Venice, Archivio storico del patriarcato di Venezia; I-Vas = Venice, Archivio di Stato; I-Vmc = Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr.

The Churches and Confraternities of Venice

In ecclesiastical terms, Venice and its lagoon were governed, in the sixteenth century, by two different bishops: from 1453, the Patriarch, with his seat at San Pietro di Castello, led the Diocese of Venice, comprising the city itself, the Lido, and the islands of the southern lagoon; the Bishop of Torcello controlled the northern lagoon, including Murano, Burano, and other islands, with the cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello, and the Bishop's palace, by the sixteenth century, on Murano.¹

During the Renaissance (and until consolidation in the early nineteenth century after the fall of the Republic) the Diocese of Venice was divided into seventy parishes, and that of Torcello into eight. Most of the seventy Venetian parish churches were collegiate; that is, they were led by a chapter consisting of the *piovano*, or parish priest, two to four titled priests (*preti titolati*), and two to four titled deacons and subdeacons. The religious family of each collegiate parish also included several clerics, boys in training for the priesthood, and a large number, often twenty, or as many as forty, of priests known as *giovani* or *alunni*, who had started as clerics and remained affiliated with the church. The members of the chapter, responsible, among other things, for leading, in rotation, the liturgical chanting, were supported by the property income of the parish and fees for weddings, funerals, and the like. With the assistance of a Procurator, usually a lay lawyer, they also managed the *fabbrica*, the physical property of the parish, including their residences and the church itself, with the organ and bells. The other priests, the *alunni*, received small payments for their required service in the choir, and also served as *mansionari*, saying masses endowed by parishioners and others. The *piovano* was elected, usually from among the titled priests, by the property holders of the parish. The chapter selected its own members from the *alunni*, and voted on promotions within its ranks.

Five of the thirteen non-collegiate parishes were affiliated with nunneries, who appointed the priest and supplied funds: at Santa Croce, Santa Giustina, and Santa Lucia the parish and nunnery shared the same church; San Provolo and San Severo had their own churches, owned, respectively by San Zaccaria and San Lorenzo. Two parishes, San Gregorio and San Salvatore, shared churches with the male monastic houses that controlled them. Of the remaining five, one (San Pietro) was also the cathedral, one (San Basso), was under the jurisdiction of the Ducal Basilica of San Marco, and one (San Matteo)

1 The most complete account of the history of the church in Venice can be found in the series *Contributi alla storia della chiesa di Venezia* (Venice, 1987-97).

belonged to a guild. One other feature of Venetian parish structure is worthy of note. Five of the churches, among the oldest in the city, were designated as a *chiesa matrice*, with certain rights and privileges over those assigned to them. Holy water was blessed only in a *chiesa matrice*, at an annual ceremony sponsored in turn by the affiliated churches.

The Diocese of Torcello was much smaller, comprising in the sixteenth century only eight parishes, with the few inhabitants of Torcello in the cure of the Cathedral itself. The collegiate church of Santa Maria e San Donato served as the *chiesa matrice* of Murano, with three other parishes, one of which was collegiate, and two of which were under the control of nunneries. The chaplains of the four confraternities of Burano served in rotation as *piovano* of San Martino. In the early sixteenth century, the inhabitants of the island of Sant'Erasmo gained the privilege of electing their own *piovano* (previously appointed by the chapter of Santa Maria e San Donato). Little is known of the organization of the two parishes of Mazzorbo, except that they were so poor that they could barely support one priest each.

Venice was also home to some forty-two nunneries, twenty-six in the Diocese of Venice and sixteen in that of Torcello, of six different orders.² Some, such as San Zaccaria and San Lorenzo, were ancient and wealthy, populated for the most part, and not always willingly, by daughters of patrician families. Others, particularly the Franciscan ones, were much poorer. While in medieval times, the nuns were often under the direction of male houses of their orders, by the early sixteenth century, in connection with efforts to reform the often inappropriate behavior of the nuns, this role had been taken over by civic authorities, with the cooperation of Patriarch and Bishop. Supervision was exercised initially by the Council of Ten, the powerful state magistracy charged with maintaining the security of Venice, and from 1521 by the *Provveditori sopra Monasteri*. Following the Council of Trent, jurisdictional boundaries were clarified: the ecclesiastical authorities, Patriarch and Bishop, had direct control of the nuns themselves as well as activities inside the walls (in cooperation, that is, with civic authorities), and the government oversaw relationships between nuns and outsiders.³

2 See Jutta Gisela Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic in Late Renaissance Venice* (Chicago-London, 1999), Mary Laven, *Virgins of Venice: Broken Vows and Cloistered Lives in the Renaissance Convent* (London, 2002), and Jonathan Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters? Venetian Nunneries and Their Music* (New York, 2017).

3 On convent reform, see Sperling, *Convents*, especially chs. 2 and 5 and Mario L. Paolo Fassera, *Tentativi di riforma dei monasteri femminili di Venezia prima del Concilio di Trento (sec. XV-XVI)* (Cesena, 2014).

The thirty-six male monastic houses, twenty-six in Venice and ten in the northern lagoon, represented nearly all the orders. Among them were such vast and prominent institutions as the Franciscan houses of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari and San Francesco della Vigna, the Dominicans of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, the Augustinians of Santo Stefano, the Servi of Santa Maria dei Servi, and the Benedictines of San Giorgio Maggiore, many of which maintained permanent musical establishments. The list also includes some tiny institutions, with only a handful of monks or friars, and very limited resources. Unlike the nuns, these institutions retained their close connections to their orders, most often through regional or denominational congregations.

Spread throughout these 130 or so churches were, in the sixteenth century, nearly 400 confraternities, known by Venetians as *scuole*.⁴ Religious organizations of laymen (and occasionally laywomen), these confraternities, some of them quite ancient, served a number of functions. They were centres for devotion, to a particular saint or to the Holy Eucharist. Focused on a particular altar, they served the social and religious needs of their members, providing funerals and administering memorial masses, and providing financial and other assistance as needed. Each of these *scuole* maintained an altar at its host church, and sponsored weekly, monthly, or annual religious observances. A large majority of these, 260, were located at parish churches, with a significant number, seventy-two, at male monasteries, and fewer at nunnery churches (twenty-five) and others (thirty-three).

By the middle of the century, nearly every parish housed a confraternity of the Holy Sacrament, with membership open to all residents of the parish. In addition to maintaining an altar dedicated to the Sacrament, these *scuole* brought the Eucharist to the ill and dying, and helped to maintain the church, often including building and maintaining the organ and sometimes even paying the organist. The largest number of confraternities, more than 140, can be described as devotional, attracting members drawn to a particular saint or altar. Nearly as many, about 120, were associated with trades, providing a religious parallel to the secular guilds, and usually operating as two aspects of the same organization. Groups of immigrants to Venice or foreign residents formed their own nationality-based *scuole*, thirteen in number by the end of the sixteenth century. The remaining forty-five or so confraternities were of several types, including organizations of gondoliers at the various *traghetto* or ferry stops around the city, of the poor, blind, or lame, or of priests.

4 The most complete survey of the *scuole* is Gastone Vio, *Le Scuole Piccole nella Venezia dei Dogi: Note d'archivio per la storia delle confraternite veneziane* (Costabissara, 2004).

While ecclesiastical permission was required to found a religious confraternity and establish a relationship with a church, it was the civic authorities who exercised real control. Overall authority was held by the Council of Ten, but in practice other magistracies, primarily the *Provveditori di comun* (an ancient organ of the government with wide-ranging commercial and social responsibilities), carried out direct supervision, except for those established directly by the guilds, whose activities were within the authority of the *Giustizia vecchia*.

In a different class altogether were the *scuole grandi*, the great confraternities with origins in the thirteenth-century flagellant movement.⁵ With members of the citizen class in positions of authority, these confraternities not only accumulated vast wealth, but they took on specific civic roles both as representations of the myth of Venice, and as major distributors of charity, in the form of alms, dowries, and housing. Alone among the Venetian confraternities, they continually maintained salaried musical establishments. While each of these *scuole grandi* (four of them medieval, one more, San Rocco, added in the 1480s, and the last, San Teodoro, in 1552), maintained a relationship with a neighbouring parish or monastic church, some of them also had their own churches, and all built splendid halls for their gatherings. Because of their prominence and wealth (and therefore the potential for disrupting social order), the Council of Ten maintained close control over these institutions until the early seventeenth century, when day-to-day administration devolved to the *Inquisitori sopra le Scuole Grandi*.

The Chanted Daily Liturgy

Constant, throughout the year, was the chanting, in nearly every church in Venice, of the daily offices and mass. The procedures in monastic and nunnery churches were so standardized and long-standing that documentation rarely survives, but it can be assumed that practices in sixteenth-century Venice were pretty much the same as elsewhere, and as outlined in some rare documentation of later centuries.⁶ Chanting and liturgy were under the direction of the cantor or cantrix (the latter usually referred to as *cantora* in Venice), assisted by a succentor or second cantor, who had primary responsibility also for the choir on his (or her) side of the church. Solo sections of chants were usually assigned

5 On the histories of the *scuole grandi* (and their music), see Jonathan Glixon, *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260-1807* (New York, 2003), 3-42.

6 The practices at Venetian nunneries are treated at length in Jonathan Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters? Venetian Nunneries and Their Music* (New York, 2017).

to the *ebdomadario* (or *ebdomadaria*), a post that, as its name indicated, rotated among the able singers weekly. Responsibility for chanting of particular texts, such as matins verses, might also rotate among choir members. In general, all monks, friars, and nuns were obligated to attend choir, although in practice some were excused, either because they had other obligations, or were infirm. In smaller houses, this might well lower the number available below the minimum needed to sustain the practice, as is documented at times in later years. Learning the liturgy and how to chant, part of the training of a novice, was carried out, depending on the size of the institution, either by the master (or mistress) of the novices or by a specially designated singing teacher.

Chanting in parish churches was, naturally, arranged somewhat differently, and varied from church to church. In those churches that shared space with a monastery or nunnery, it was the monastic choirs who fulfilled the duty of chanting the offices, leaving the vicar the responsibility only of saying a daily mass. Similarly, in those churches with only a single priest, the liturgy was limited. In the collegiate churches, however, the situation was more similar to that in monastic churches, with most of the offices being chanted on a regular basis, the responsibilities for direction distributed among the titled priests. The practice at Santa Fosca, as outlined in its *Consuetudini* of 1521, is typical.⁷ The *piovano* sang the high mass at the major feasts (Christmas, Epiphany, feasts of the Virgin Mary, Ash Wednesday, Easter, Pentecost, All Saints, and Corpus Christi) and performed a few other ceremonies, and was also responsible for teaching the clerics. The titled priests led the rest of the services in rotation, as *ebdomadari*, leading 'all the offices, both daytime and night-time' beginning each week at Saturday Vespers. The titled deacon sang the Gospel at every mass and the subdeacon the Epistle. All the other priests and clerics were obligated to serve daily in the choir. Various members of the chapter had other duties on some particular occasions, as will be mentioned below.

Unfortunately, very few liturgical books from Venetian churches have been identified or studied, so that precise details of liturgy are not well understood. Certainly, by the sixteenth century, all Venetian churches (with the exception of San Marco, considered elsewhere in this volume) conformed to the Roman missal and breviary, at least for the daily liturgy, although there is some evidence (see below) that particular practices survived for at least some occasions in some nunneries. Sixteenth-century parish church inventories list a wide variety of liturgical books, but it is not possible to determine how many were

7 The version employed here was copied into the parish's catastico: I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Marcuola, Parrocchia di Santa Fosca, b. 196.

in actual use.⁸ Common to all were breviaries and missals, as well as psalters, epistolaries and evangelistaries, as well as legendaries for the lessons of matins. Chant books included, of course, sets of graduals (usually two, one for Sundays and one for feasts) and antiphoners, but also, in many churches, collections of kyries.

Masses and daily offices were marked by the ringing of bells, providing a constant reminder to the citizens of the liturgy carried out all around them. The practice in monastic churches seems to have been to ring the bells before every office, calling the monks and nuns from wherever they were in the cloister to the choir. At nunneries, this was usually the job, under the direction of a *sagrestana*, of a hired servant, and at monastic churches, of the sacristan. In parish churches, the bells were apparently rung somewhat less frequently. At Santa Fosca in 1521, the sacristan was obligated to ring 'Ave Maria at noon and again in the evening, the first mass, high mass, Vespers, and Matins, and a continuous tolling (*campanò*) as needed'.⁹

All but the largest churches in the city and lagoon were equipped with three bells, the small, medium, and large (*piccola*, *mezzana*, and *grande*), usually placed in a free-standing *campanile*. While these were originally purchased as sets, the bronze bells often broke, and were replaced as needed, usually at considerable cost. They were supplied by several local foundries, located in the centre of the city between San Marco and the Rialto, primarily on the street known as the Calle dei Fabbri (street of the smiths).¹⁰

Weekly Observances: Organs and Professional Singers

Each of the *scuole grandi*, as set out in its *mariegola*, or bylaws, designated one day a week for the remembrance of the dead: 'Every Monday throughout the year should be said and sung a mass for the souls of all our brothers who have

8 Many of these inventories have been gathered together in I-Vasp, Curia Patriarcale, Sezione Antica, Inventari delle Chiese; others remain with the archives of the individual parishes, the majority of which are now housed at I-Vasp.

9 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Marcuola, Parrocchia di Santa Fosca, b. 196.

10 Until recently, the bells of Venice have been little studied. The first scholarly treatment can be found in chapter 7 of Victoria Avery, *Vulcan's Forge in Venus' City: The Story of Bronze in Venice, 1350-1650* (London, 2011). My forthcoming studies of music at nunneries (Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven*), monasteries, and parish churches will all include extended discussions of bells.

passed or will pass from this life'.¹¹ This day of remembrance occurred on Monday at all of the *scuole* except for San Rocco, which selected Wednesday. Similar observances were held at some parish churches. The 1521 *Consuetudine* of Santa Sofia, referred to above, added to the obligations of the titled priests that they should 'Every Monday sing a mass of the dead, if it is not a duplex or semiduplex feast'.¹²

While these weekly memorial masses enhanced the musical landscape of Venice only a small amount, Sunday (and in some cases also Saturday) celebrations had a much greater impact. Although in many of the smaller and poorer churches nothing much changed musically on Sunday, in many others mass and Vespers were enhanced by the addition of the organ. Sixteenth-century documentation of this practice in parish churches is absent, but is clear in the seventeenth century, as at San Geremia, where a man was paid to pump the organ bellows 'all Sundays and feasts during the year'.¹³ At the wealthy nunnery of Santa Maria delle Vergini, a new agreement with the organist in 1543 defined his duties, listing a series of annual occasions, and also 'all the Sundays of the year'.¹⁴ The duties of the organist at the great Dominican house of Santi Giovanni e Paolo were even more extensive. In an agreement with a newly hired organist in 1620, the listed obligations include a long list of feasts and these weekly services: 'Every Saturday of the year at mass and Compline, except the four Saturdays of Advent and the nine Saturdays before Easter. Every Sunday of the year at mass, Vespers, and Compline, except, however, the four Sundays of Advent and the nine Sundays before Easter'.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the documents give no indication of the organ's actual role on any of these occasions. Alternatim performance of psalms, hymns, and parts of the mass is likely, but the organist might well also have accompanied the chant or played *intonazioni* or other solo works.

Organs are documented in Venetian churches from the fourteenth century, and by the sixteenth were present in nearly every one.¹⁶ Francesco Sansovino, in his *Venetia città nobilissima* of 1581, counts 114 organs in the city itself,

11 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità 233bis, chapter XI. The ceremonies and rituals of the *scuole grandi* are discussed in detail in Glixon, *Honoring God*, 43-76.

12 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Marcuola, Parrocchia di Santa Fosca, b. 196.

13 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Geremia, b. 103, Fabbrica. Registri di cassa 2, 1650-57.

14 I-Vas, Santa Maria delle Vergini, b. 4 (ex b. 45), f.nn.

15 I-Vas, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, b. XII, n. Liber Consiliarum 1591-1617, fols. 60^v-61.

16 The most recent study of Venetian organs is Massimo Bisson, *Meravigliose macchine di giubilo: L'architettura e l'arte degli organi a Venezia nel rinascimento* (Venice-Verona, 2012). Bisson includes an excellent bibliography of the extensive literature on Venetian organs and organ builders.

not including Murano, Burano, or the other islands.¹⁷ Venetian organs of this period, usually placed on a side wall near the main altar, were single-manual instruments, either without pedals or with a limited pedalboard. The extant contracts for the sixteenth-century Venetian organs indicate a *ripieno* of five to seven ranks,¹⁸ flutes, and sometimes a *piffaro*, or reed stop. Unusually, the instrument built for the nunnery of San Daniele in 1579 by Massiminian, an organ builder from the Friuli active in Venice from the 1550s, also included a cornetto stop and several special effects: bird chirps (*ozelletti*), a drum (*tamburlo*), and a tremolo.¹⁹ These instruments were quite expensive, usually between 150 and 200 ducats, not including the traditional carved and gilded case, a significant expense, especially for a small church. In a number of parishes, the local Scuola del Santissimo Sacramento helped raise funds for the construction, and sometimes managed it.

It is not always clear who played these organs. While the tax declarations of the parish churches nearly all indicate that the *piovano* was responsible for the salary of an organist, the documentation is scanty.²⁰ Especially difficult is identifying specific people: for example, only for twelve of the seventy parish churches is even a single organist named during the period 1580 to 1630.²¹ In some cases, this service might have been provided by one of the priests or clerics (this certainly happened in later centuries). A similar situation likely obtained at some monasteries, although most monastic and parish churches, and all nunnery churches, employed professional organists, paying them salaries that varied, in the sixteenth century, from as little as two ducats to as much as thirty, with the variation corresponding primarily to the extent of their duties. Little is known about most of those organists whose names are pro-

17 Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare descritta in XIII. libri* (Venice, 1581).

18 The *ripieno* is the group of flue pipes, at the fundamental pitch and a series of overtones, usually played together, that formed the basis of Italian organs of this period.

19 I-Vas, San Daniele, b. 12, fols. 4-5. The organs of Venetian nunneries are treated at length in Glixon, *Worldly Theaters*.

20 On the tax declarations as a source for music in parish churches, see Elena Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco: Organizzazione e prassi della musica nelle chiese di Venezia nel Rinascimento* (Florence, 1998).

21 On organists at Venetian churches during this period, see Jonathan Glixon, 'Students, Rivals and Contemporaries: Organists in Venetian Churches at the Time of Giovanni Gabrieli', in *Alla Schola del Signor Giovanni Gabrieli – Giovanni Gabrieli Between Past and Future: Contexts, Models, and Italian Disciples – Proceedings of the International Study Sessions for the Quadricentennial of Giovanni Gabrieli (1554/56-1612)*, ed. David Bryant and Luigi Collarile (Turnhout, 2016), 151-64.

vided in the documents, but several of the San Marco organists also show up, sometimes before they take up their posts at the basilica, or even during their service, using these lesser jobs to supplement their salaries. Examples include Antonio Romanini in the 1580s at the parish church of San Nicolò dei Mendicoli and at Santa Maria dei Carmini; Zuan Battista Riccio also at San Nicolò in 1595; and Francesco Sponga at San Benedetto in 1597.

While the confraternities in general did not sponsor any elaborate weekly musical events, at least one exception occurred just at the end of our period. The new 1604 bylaws of the Scuola della Beata Vergine Assunta in San Geremia included the following provision:

That perpetually, every Sunday of the year should be sung a musical Compline, with the litanies and prayers of the Most Blessed Virgin Mother of God; and to sing these Complines, besides the priests of the church, which the magnificent Prior and Governors will judge good enough to sing, the said prior and governors should elect singers as seems appropriate to them...²²

Five of the largest monastic houses seem to have gone beyond any of this, although the documentation is not entirely clear: the Franciscans of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, the Dominicans of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, the Augustinian hermits of Santo Stefano, and the friars of Santa Maria dei Carmini and Santa Maria dei Servi, all maintained, in the sixteenth century, a small but stable *cappella* of professional singers under the direction of a *maestro*. While records of the employment of *maestro* and singers for Santi Giovanni e Paolo and Santo Stefano are extant for this period (the former hiring primarily friars and the latter also singers from San Marco), all that we know of the *cappelle* of the Carmini and the Frari are the names of some of the *maestri*, and we know nothing at all about the Servi.²³ For none of them do we have lists of their duties. A later testimony, however, may give us some indication, although even this is ambiguous. In Vincenzo Maria Coronelli's late seventeenth-century guide to the city, which reproduces in many respects material he had assem-

22 I-Vas, Provveditori di comun, reg. N, fols. 377^v-378^v.

23 On Santi Giovanni e Paolo, see Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Petrucchi's Venetian Editor: Petrus Castellanus and his Musical Garden', in *Musica Disciplina* 49 (1995), 15-45. On the Frari, see Jonathan Glixon, 'Reconstructing the Musical Establishment of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice', in *Barocco Padano e musici francescani: L'apporto dei maestri conventuali (Atti del XVI Convegno internazionale sul barocco padano (secoli XVII-XVIII))*, Padova, 1-3 luglio 2013, ed. Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan, Barocco Padano 8 (Padova, 2014), 79-98.

bled several decades earlier, he describes the musical practices of the city. He indicates that the *cappella* of San Marco performed mass and Vespers in music every Sunday and major feast, and goes on to say that 'They sing the mass and Vespers in music by the monks at the Frari, the Carmini, and the Servi'.²⁴ It is clear that they sang on the major feasts, but the wording does not precisely refer to Sundays. On the other hand, it hardly seems that it would have been worthwhile to salary a *maestro* and singers for only the major feasts.

There is evidence from the second half of the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth that at least some nuns also sang polyphony. In 1468, when Emperor Frederick III (1415-93) traveled to Venice, he visited the famous Benedictine nunnery of San Zaccaria, one of the oldest, wealthiest, and most prestigious in the city, most of whose residents were daughters of the most powerful families in the Republic. After the Emperor spoke with some of the nuns at the grate of the parlor, the nuns were told 'that they should sing something for his Holy Majesty, and then, on their knees, all the nuns sang some Psalms and laude, and the manner and style of such venerable ladies so pleased him, that he determined to return Saturday to hear the Mass of our Lady at San Zaccaria'.²⁵ The emperor did, in fact, return, and 'the mass was sung for him in polyphony by our Lady nuns', following which he entered the monastery for more conversation and a meal, and during the meal, 'these nuns sang laude, psalms, and many devout things'.²⁶

This visit was not, in fact, an isolated incident. Marin Sanudo, in his detailed description of the government and wonders of the city, written around 1500, listed this practice high on the list of notable things shown to foreign dignitaries. Visiting princes were greeted in the *bucintoro*, the great ceremonial boat of the Doge, taken to an audience with the Doge, and then shown the Palace, the Basilica of San Marco with its jewelled relics, the famous markets, the Arsenal, and 'the singing of nuns, either at Le Vergini or at San Zaccaria'.²⁷ An annotated and translated version of the rule of St. Benedict, likely prepared for San Mauro di Burano, allowed for some limited use of polyphony (which, however, was not permitted to monks of the same order): 'Because the monks have other entertainment in place of polyphony, we permit that the nuns may for their

24 Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, *Guida de' forestieri sacro-profana per osservare il più ragguardevole nella città di Venezia* (Venice, 1700), 104.

25 Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr, Cod. Gradenigo 47: *Visita di Federico III Imperatore alla Chiesa e Chiostro di S. Zaccaria Profeta in Venezia A.D. MCCCCLXVIII*, 3-7.

26 Ibid.

27 Marin Sanudo, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae ovvero la città di Venetia* (1493-1530), ed. Angela Caracciolo Aricò (Milan, 1980), 62.

devotion sing in polyphony, not the canonical hours, but only some laude and devotional things, and not to please men [people], but only to praise God'.²⁸

With very few exceptions, however, this marked not the beginning of the story of public musical performances by Venetian nuns, but the end. Several factors, both social and political, led to this change. The end result was that the nunneries of Venice became sites of frequent public performances of music by professional male musicians, hired by the nuns for important celebrations, as discussed below, but the nuns themselves were silent, as far as the public was concerned, with the exception of those few that sang chant in their church as well as in the choir. In some convents, the nuns might have performed polyphony for themselves, with the doors of the church shut, but even in this regard, the Venetian authorities tried to impose strict guidelines (although not always successfully). In 1575 the Patriarch issued a ruling that was reaffirmed in different forms several times afterwards:

You may not [sing], and must not learn to sing, polyphony, nor to play any sort of instrument, nor [may you] sing such songs in your churches or monasteries. Where it is the custom to sing plainchant, your nuns may be taught by nun teachers of your monasteries, and not by others, and where it is the custom to speak the psalms, we wish that this custom be entirely observed.²⁹

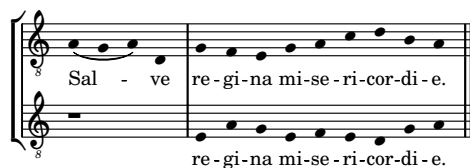
A few written examples of polyphony do survive in sources connected with Venetian nunneries, but it is difficult to know where they fit into the larger picture. The sixteenth-century repertory consists of items in the Processional printed for San Lorenzo in 1542.³⁰ Three polyphonic Marian antiphons appear amidst the more typical monophonic chants: a two-voice *Salve regina*, a three-voice *Gaude virgo*, and a four-voice *Regina caeli*. None of them come close to the sort of sophisticated polyphony performed during that period at San Marco under the direction of Adrian Willaert. Rather, they are all quite primitive, although in different ways, and might be only samples of the sorts of polyphony that the nuns could improvise. The *Salve regina*, written in standard chant notation, is similar to some kinds of medieval organum, in primarily note-against-note discant style, with a preponderance of thirds and sixths

28 *Regula del sanctissimo Benedetto patre nostra tradutta in quelle parte che convengono a noi Monache* (Venice, 1547), fols. 21^v-22 (copy in I-Vmc, Op. Cic. 34.5).

29 I-Vasp, Curia Patriarcale, Sezione Antica, Visite Pastoralì, reg. 2, 1560-89, fols. 47^v-48^v.

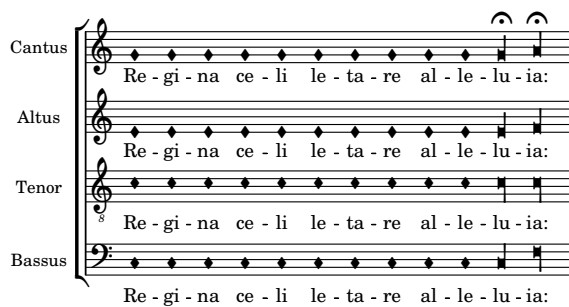
30 *Liber processionum secundum consuetudinem monialium sancti Laurentij de Venetiis* (Venice, 1542).

between the two voices (see Example 2.1). The *Regina caeli* is in a simple falso-bordone style. Each phrase consists of a recitation on a single chord, with a simple cadence on a second chord at the end (see Example 2.2). The most interesting of the three is the *Gaude virgo*, which most closely resembles fauxbourdon in style (see Example 2.3). The melody, in the upper voice, is followed at a fourth, or sometimes a third, below in the middle voice, with some modifications, while the bottom voice provides a counterpoint. The notation employed would be understood easily by any thirteenth-century musician.³¹



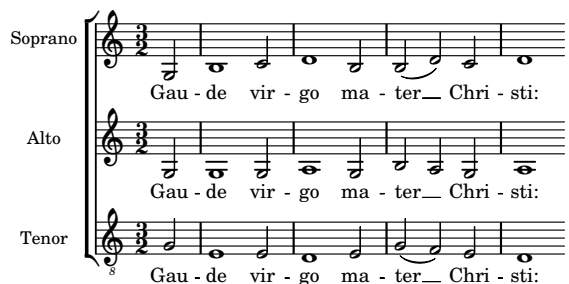
EXAMPLE 2.1

Excerpt from Salve regina,
Liber processionum
secundum consuetudinem
monialium sancti Laurentij
de Venetiis (*Venice, 1542*),
fols. 64^v-65



EXAMPLE 2.2

Excerpt from Regina celi,
Liber processionum
secundum consuetudinem
monialium sancti Laurentij
de Venetiis (*Venice, 1542*),
fols. 63^v-64



EXAMPLE 2.3

Excerpt from Gaude virgo,
Liber processionum
secundum consuetudinem
monialium sancti Laurentij
de Venetiis (*Venice, 1542*),
fols. 62^v-63

Monthly Celebrations at the *Scuole*

From their beginnings in the thirteenth century, each *scuola grande* reserved the first Sunday of the month for an elaborate mass attended by the entire membership, celebrated either in its church or jointly with its host church.

31 For more on nuns' singing in Venice, see Glixon, *Worldly Theaters*.

Preceding (and sometimes following) the mass was a procession from the *scuola* to the church where the mass was said. Beginning in the fifteenth century, the *scuole* began to designate a small group of its members as singers (*cantadori*), with duties that included funerals, processions, feast days, and the monthly mass. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, all the *scuole grandi* relegated this ensemble of members, now referred to as the *cantadori vecchi* or *cantadori di morti*, to sing only at funerals, and hired professional singers for the other duties, calling the new ensemble of five or six men *cantadori nuovi* or *cantadori solenni*. Some of these singers were among the best in the city, occupying posts in the ducal *cappella* or in the *cappella* of one of the major monastic houses. The obligations of these singers on the first Sunday focused on the mass itself, although they did also participate in the procession. Precisely what they sang is not clear. At the Scuola Grande di San Marco in 1544, for example, the newly elected singers were required 'to sing ... the high mass'.³² This might indicate, especially since this was a quintet of singers from the *cappella ducale*, that they would sing a polyphonic mass ordinary. On other hand, at the same *scuola* in 1550, the arrangement with a new ensemble makes no mention of singing at mass, but rather required them to 'sing the requiem for the dead over the tombs of the *scuola*'.³³

At times, this monthly celebration was enhanced by the addition of instruments. At the Scuola Grande di San Marco in 1515, the *guardian grande* (the elected leader of the confraternity) hired an ensemble of four 'trombetti e piffari' (one of whom also served in the Doge's *piffaro* ensemble), who were to play at the processions between *scuola* and church, and 'also at all of the mass'.³⁴ A similar ensemble is documented at the Scuola Grande di San Rocco in 1521. All of the *scuole grandi* also employed an ensemble of strings, at first lute, harp, and viol, but from the 1530s they replaced this with a violin band. Although their chief responsibility was to play in processions, they performed at least sometimes on the first Sunday.

A few of the *scuole piccole*, particularly those of the Holy Sacrament, also adopted the practice of a monthly ordained day (*di ordenado*), as in a provision in the 1513 bylaws of the Scuola del Santissimo Sacramento at Sant'Angelo:

The said Chapter [of Sant'Angelo] promises that each ordained day of the said *scuola*, which will be the third Sunday of each month, that all the titled priests of the said church will celebrate a sung mass at the altar of

32 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Marco 19, fol. 125^v.

33 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Marco 20, fol. 105.

34 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Marco 17, fol. 60.

the chapel of the said confraternity with its apparatus, incense, and playing of the organ... And after the mass is sung to make a procession together with the brothers of the said *scuola* around the said church, and then go to the tombs of the said brothers, and there celebrate a sung requiem mass for the souls of the brothers and sisters of the said *scuola* buried in those tombs.³⁵

Annual Events

The ecclesiastical calendar, of course, provides many once-a-year opportunities for enhanced music. Some of these were observed universally, in all Venetian churches, and others by a number of churches and confraternities around the city. Several days on the church calendar were linked with important civic commemorations, with musical participation by the *scuole grandi*. Many dates, however, were observed by only a single church or confraternity, which could become, for that one day, the musical focus of the entire city.

Lent and Holy Week

The most notable musical events of Lent were a series of Sunday night processions by the *scuole grandi* to the Cathedral of San Pietro di Castello, on the far eastern tip of the city.³⁶ Each *scuola* apparently took a different route, visiting churches with which it had some sort of association. A 1570 manual for the officer in charge of these processions at San Giovanni Evangelista lists fourteen churches, primarily in the *sestiere* of Castello but concluding with the Basilica of San Marco, where the procession would halt either on the way to the cathedral or during its return.³⁷ At each of these locations, the *cantadori nuovi* sang a lauda. On the fourth Sunday, additional ceremonies were added. If any nuns in the convents on the *scuola's* itinerary had died during the previous year, the *cantadori vecchi* were to 'perform the ceremonies at the tombs as they do at funerals of our brothers'. The most extended of these processions was on the eve of Good Friday, when all of the *scuole* made their way to San Marco to view the miraculous relic of the Blood of Christ, draping all their processional apparatus in black.

35 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di Santo Stefano, Parrocchia di Sant'Angelo, Amministrazione, b. 6, fasc. 2.

36 See Glixon, *Honoring God*, 58-62.

37 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista 16.

It is likely that many churches performed special ceremonies during Lent, but music is documented only at Santo Stefano, which performed a Saturday Compline service during this period. The friars enhanced these services by hiring one or two sopranos as adjuncts to their *cappella*, and an ensemble of unidentified instruments.³⁸

Every church, of course, observed the principle religious ceremonies of Palm Sunday and Holy Week, including the recitation of several passions, and the re-enactment of the washing of the feet at the Mandatum ceremony on Holy Thursday. Singing the passions was apparently a special skill, so that even some institutions with established chapels, such as Santi Giovanni e Paolo, hired outsiders, although the *Consuetudine* of the parish church of Santa Fosca lists this as the responsibility of the titled priests.³⁹ The ceremony at the church of San Rocco, which belonged to the eponymous *scuola*, is described in the 1521 ceremonial of that confraternity: 'On the said Palm Sunday a beautiful passion is sung in our church. Two platforms are built, one on each side of the main chapel, above the steps, that is, covered with black cloth. On one are four singers, and on the other a priest, who sings [*biscanta*] the words [of the Evangelist]'.⁴⁰

A processional published for the nuns of San Lorenzo in 1542 preserves a rare example of a non-standard liturgical item. The Holy Thursday *mandatum* service, performed by the nuns within the cloister, includes not only an unusual assortment of antiphons and a peculiar format for a hymn (with a refrain added to the usual strophic performance), but also an apparently unique form of the gospel reading itself, converted here into a miniature liturgical drama, chanted by the abbess (singing the words of Jesus) and the prioress (singing the words of Peter), who kneel, facing each other.⁴¹

Feast Days

In addition to the patronal feast, to be discussed below, every church and many confraternities celebrated a number of saint's days and other occasions with something other than simple chant. In most cases, this was nothing more than a *missa cantata*, that is with deacon, subdeacon, celebrant, a full monastic or priestly choir, and organ. Smaller and poorer churches might do this only a few times a year, but most had a fairly extensive list, documented occasionally by

38 I-Vas, Santo Stefano, b. 4, Proposizioni del convento 2, fol. 17ff.

39 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Marcuola, Parrocchia di Santa Fosca, b. 196.

40 Venice, Archivio della Scuola Grande Arciconfraternita di San Rocco, *Libro de ordeni*.

41 *Liber processionum s. consuetudinem monialium sancti Laurentij de Venetiis* (Venice, 1542), fols. 12-20. See Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven*, 182-85.

individual payments, but more often by a list of the duties of the organist. The nuns of San Matteo di Mazzorbo, who could afford to pay their organist only with bundles of firewood, required fourteen services a year in 1569, while the wealthier Santa Maria delle Vergini listed about forty in its 1543 agreement with a new organist, and the great Dominican church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo obligated its organist to serve, besides Sundays, on nearly 150 other days during the year.⁴² On the major feast days, the *feste di precesso*, as mentioned above, the *cappelle* of the major monastic institutions added polyphonic singing at both mass and Vespers. Most monastic churches, both male and female, hired a few singers and an organist on one or two additional days, either the feast connected with an important relic housed there, or on the name day of the saint of their order. This sort of display was not always looked upon kindly, especially by those in charge of the nuns, who tried to suppress anything that might seem frivolous or excessive. In 1596, the Patriarch ordered that 'in the nuns' churches, the midnight mass celebrated on Christmas Eve should be a low mass celebrated by the Confessor or Chaplain, with the doors locked, and without the presence of men, except for the choirboy ... and this should be done without singers or other ceremony'.⁴³

There were a few occasions each year in which the music at an individual church was enhanced by the visit of the Doge and his retinue: at San Nicolò del Lido on the feast of the Ascension (for the annual marriage to the sea), at San Zaccaria on Easter Monday (in thanks to the nuns for their donation centuries earlier of land where the Piazza San Marco was established), and at San Giorgio Maggiore on the feast of St. Stephen (to adore a relic of that saint). On these days, while the host institution performed the liturgical functions, the music was provided by the singers and players of the *cappella ducale*.

The calendars of the *scuole grandi* also included a number of annual occasions celebrated with special ceremonies, most notably processions. All of them visited tombs of their brothers on the Day of the Dead, with lengthy processions throughout the city and memorial services sung at each location. Most notable of all were the processions individual *scuole* performed to honour relics in their possession or commemorate events in their histories. Of these, the best known are undoubtedly those of the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista in honour of miracles performed by its famous relic of the Holy Cross, immortalized in a series of late fifteenth-century paintings by Carpaccio,

42 I-Vas, San Matteo di Mazzorbo, b. 3, fasc. 165, n. 41; I-Vas, Santa Maria delle Vergini, b. 4 (ex 45); I-Vas, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, b. XII, n.1, Liber Consiliarum 1591-1617, fols. 60-61.

43 I-Vasp, Curia Patriarcale, Sezione antica, Fascicoli riguardanti monasteri femminili, 1: carte varie, 1596.

Gentile Bellini and others now in the Accademia Gallery.⁴⁴ On three days of the year, the feast of the Holy Cross itself (3 May) and of San Lio (19 April) and San Lorenzo (10 August), churches where miracles occurred, the entire membership of the *scuola*, carrying the relic and other floats and apparatus, walked through the city. Integral to these processions were two musical ensembles, a group of four or five singers, who sang laude, and one of three to five stringed instruments, who played music as yet unidentified (the accounts seem to indicate that the two ensembles did not perform together; at any rate, during the actual processions they were separated by several dozen brothers of the *scuola*).⁴⁵

The most important of all processions in Venice were, of course, those ordained by the Signoria. While ostensibly religious in nature, many, in fact, celebrated great political events of the Republic: San Marco (25 April, for the city's patron saint), Corpus Christi (the only one of these with no specific political connection), San Isidoro (16 April, commemorating the 1354 defeat of the Marin Falier conspiracy), Santi Vito e Modesto (15 June, commemorating the 1310 defeat of the Baiamonte Tiepolo conspiracy), Santa Marina (17 July for the 1509 retaking of the city of Padua), the Redentore (third Sunday of July; lifting of the plague of 1574), and Santa Giustina (7 October, for the 1571 victory over the Turks at Lepanto). Of course, the major participants in these processions, which began at the Piazza San Marco and visited the designated church, were the Doge and his retinue, including his trumpeters and wind band, as well as the senators and other members of the government. Members of the clergy participated, especially the nine congregations into which the city's priests were organized (see above), and, as representatives of the non-patrician population of the city, the *scuole grandi*. The confraternities carried in their processions a series of elaborate floats (particularly on Corpus Christi), hundreds of candles, torches, relics, and other apparatus, and were accompanied by their lauda singers and instrumentalists.⁴⁶

44 The best known of these eight large canvases, hung together in their own room in the museum are Gentile Bellini's *Procession of the True Cross in Piazza San Marco* (a detail of which can be seen in the chapter by Bonnie J. Blackburn in the present volume), and Vittore Carpaccio's *Miracle of the Relic of the True Cross* (with its famous image of the wooden Rialto Bridge). For more on these paintings see Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven, 1988).

45 For more on these processions, see Glixon, *Honoring God*, 63-65.

46 See Glixon, *Honoring God*, 50-55.

The Patronal Feast

The most important event on any church's liturgical calendar was its patronal feast day. While theologically not as solemn as, say, Easter, this was a day in which the devotions of the community were focused on this one church (or on just a few, in a larger town, such as Venice, with more than one church with the same patron). This day became, therefore, one of both obligation—to provide a suitably dignified and splendid environment for the devout—and opportunity—to show what the institution was capable of, to enhance, or at least maintain its honour and its place in the community. Not infrequently, the patronal feast day could be an occasion for competition: a confraternity or nunnery might demonstrate that it could put on a 'better show' than its rivals, and the *guardian grande* or abbess could display generosity and taste by out-doing his or her predecessors (or, conversely, demonstrate piety and asceticism by reducing the splendour, refusing to follow in their footsteps).

At parish churches, the annual feast was often the direct responsibility of the *piovano*, who included the expense in his tax declaration. Detailed lists were not provided, but the indicated amount, lumping together expenses for 'singers, instrumentalists, and decorations for the church' (in the 1564 declaration of San Fantin), varied considerably, from as little as six ducats at San Fantin to twenty-four at San Bartolomeo, and even sixty-four at San Gregorio.⁴⁷

We know little about the celebrations at male monastic houses, although the indications are that some of them, at least occasionally, involved elaborate music. At Santo Stefano in the 1580s and 1590s, the chapter voted regularly to approve an expenditure for instrumentalists to supplement the cappella.⁴⁸ Marin Sanudo records in a 1532 entry in his diary a splendid celebration by the Regular Canons of San Salvatore on their feast day:

this morning, by the congregation of San Salvador was performed a solemn procession: all the priests of the congregation, with relics in their hands, and two adorned boys carrying torches in front of each priest, with playing and singing went around the Piazza San Marco, where they said a mass ... and in the church of San Salvador was said a solemn mass with singing and playing.⁴⁹

47 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Moisè, Parrocchia di San Fantin, Varia 2; Parrocchia del Santissimo Salvatore, Parrocchia di San Bartolomeo, b. 5; I-Vas, San Gregorio, b.14, fasc. XII.

48 I-Vas, Santo Stefano, b. 4, Proposizioni del Convento, n. 2 1578-1615.

49 Marin Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto (MCCCCXCVI-MDXXXIII) dall'autografo Marciano ital. cl. VII codd. CDXIX-CDLXXVII*, ed. Rinaldo Fulin et al. (Venice, 1879-1903), vol. 56, col. 680.

Undoubtedly, the nunneries all observed their patronal feast days from the time of their founding, but the manner of these celebrations before the sixteenth century is not documented.⁵⁰ The first fairly clear indication of vocal music beyond chant appears in the 1520s: a 1521 payment by Santa Maria delle Vergini for 'cantadori,' the term consistently used during the period for singers of polyphony, and explicitly at San Zaccaria in 1525, where the expenses for the feast of the eponymous saint include 'four singers of polyphony [canto figurato]' and 'three sopranos and the boy who sang from the organ loft'.⁵¹ The patriarch made several attempts to limit excessive expenditures and display, but this does not seem to have been particularly successful. The best records for these years are from the Vergini, which, it must be noted, may have been exempt from the decrees of the Patriarch, as it was under the *jus patronatus* of the Doge. The accounts for the feast of the Nativity in 1530 make the scope of events clear: ten ducats to 'singers and players' in addition to payment to thirty-two priests, that is separate payments to those men who sang chant and those who performed polyphony.⁵² In addition the organist had played on the vigil and the feast, accompanied by a boy who sang from the organ loft. When recording the expenses for the *fešta* in 1535, the scribe listed first singers and organist, with the expenditure (about nine ducats in all), and then an entry for 'players of trombe and *piffari*,' but left the amount blank.⁵³

Two instances of the feast of the Nativity at the Vergini in the 1550s show the expansion that had occurred at this prestigious nunnery, to a level that later would become standard for that institution. In 1550, the nuns, for a choir of men and boys, instrumentalists, and organ, spent over 42 ducats (out of a total cost for the event, including clergy, candles, and decorations, of about 82 ducats), a significant expenditure for one day's music. While the expenditures for 1553 were considerably less, the unique document that records them provides greater detail than any other for the century, and also links the nunnery to the attempt by the musicians of the ducal chapel to form a union.⁵⁴ What has survived is not the usual accounting by the nunnery, but rather the bill from the musicians, indicating who had actually been paid, likely, given the names included, those representing the musicians' company of San Marco. The paper

50 For a detailed treatment of the patronal feast at Venetian nunneries, see Glixon, *Worldly Theaters*.

51 I-Vas, Santa Maria delle Vergini, b. 63; I-Vas, Dimesse di Murano, b.16: account book for San Zaccaria; transcribed in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 336.

52 I-Vas, Santa Maria delle Vergini, b. 61.

53 I-Vas, Santa Maria delle Vergini, b. 63.

54 See Jonathan Glixon, 'A Musicians' Union in Sixteenth-Century Venice', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983), 392-421.

is labelled on the reverse 'Account of the Reverend Vergini,' and includes expenditures for an investiture service on the feast of St. Augustine as well as for the patronal feast, adding up to more than D.25, for nine singers, instrumentalists, and an organist, most of them from the cappella of San Marco.

Such extravagance must have become all too common, as the Patriarch attempted again in 1558 to limit music and decorations, saying that both must 'be contained within the due limits of modesty and reverence to the eternal God and his saints'.⁵⁵ Despite this decree (not surprisingly) it is clear that expenditures for the annual feast were thought of as standard by the mid-sixteenth century, as made evident by another type of documentation, tax declarations. As part of their report for the church property tax of the early 1560s, nunneries could list fixed expenses, which could be marked against the income to reduce their payments. Not all nunneries itemized these expenses, but several included festal expenses, sometimes explicitly for singers and players. Those mentioning music specifically (although most likely all employed it) are San Giovanni Evangelista di Torcello, San Lorenzo, Santa Maria della Celestia, Santa Maria delle Vergini, Santa Maria degli Angeli di Murano, Santa Marta, San Zaccaria, and Santi Cosma e Damiano.⁵⁶

The agreements the *scuole piccole* negotiated with their host churches also provide some of the earliest clear evidence that music (beyond the use of *piffari*, which were used in previous centuries to announce the feast) played a role in their religious ceremonies. In 1507, for example, the officers of the Scuola del Venerabile Sacramento in San Geremia made an agreement with the parish priest that obligated the chapter of the church to provide 'procession, Vespers, songs, and organ', for the *scuola's* festa (on the feast of Saint Joseph).⁵⁷ Though polyphony is not specified in this case, a similar agreement between the Scuola di Sant'Orsola and the Dominican friars of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in 1501 indicates that the monastery was required to provide 'singers and discanters' (*cantadori e biscantadori*).⁵⁸

Frequently, however, the music provided by the host church was not sufficient for the *scuole*, and they augmented it through their own expenditures. In at least one case, considerable controversy resulted: the Scuola dei Mercanti

55 Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr, Cod. Cicogna 2570, pp. 168-69.

56 I-Vas, Dieci savi sopra le decime, Decima del Clero, b. 32 for San Giovanni Evangelista and Santa. Marta, b. 33 for San Lorenzo, all 1564, and Santi Cosma e Damiano, b. 8bis, n. 1368, Conditione di Decima, 1566. On the value of these tax reports for musicologists, see Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, esp. 59-69 with transcriptions of the relevant documents from the Soprintendenti alla decime del clero on pp. 189-226.

57 I-Vas, Provveditori di comun, reg. N, fol. 2-2^v.

58 I-Vas, Scuole piccole e suffraggi, 599.

wanted to provide its own singers, but the convent of the Frari insisted that it had exclusive rights to provide singers in its church. The friars insisted that the *scuola* would have to pay the convent for such services if they wanted to enhance their festa. In 1543, this dispute apparently grew so heated that the Friars actually removed the *scuola's* altarpiece from the altar, and transferred it to the sacristy.⁵⁹ The practice of the *scuole piccole* hiring their own musicians during this period actually appears quite rarely in their archives. As so often happens, the surviving documents frequently reflect a practice only through its curtailment or outright ban. Numerous examples, often in the *mariegole* (bylaws) of confraternities newly created in the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries, or in revisions of older rules, document severe limitations on expenditures for music at the annual festa. Typical of the regulations is that from the 1514 *mariegola* of the Scuola del Beata Vergine in San Basilio: '... [the officers] may not spend more than six lire of the funds of the *scuola* to celebrate our feast of the Visitation of the Madonna in July for singers, instrumentalists, decorations, or other expenses...'.⁶⁰ Any additional expenditures were to be made from the personal funds of the individual officers. How often the officers decided to pay for an elaborate celebration out of their own pockets is, unfortunately, impossible to document, but six or eight lire for music and decorations was a rather paltry sum.

Vincenzo Quartari, the guardian of the Scuola dei Mercanti, vehemently embraced the idea of cost-cutting in the motion he proposed to his council in 1552:

A damaging and reprehensible corruption has been introduced into our *scuola* regarding the expenses made to celebrate and solemnize our feast on the day of the Nativity of Our Lady, which, if a remedy is not quickly provided, will get worse from year to year, such that, over time, one will easily find that the guardians, without fear of God, but rather filled with [desire for] worldly pomp, will think it legitimate to spend 100 ducats, something that will damage our *scuola* and our poor brothers.⁶¹

59 I-Vas, SP 420/1, Notatorio 1532-57, fol. 29. For more on this case, see Jonathan Glixon, 'Frati and Fratelli: The Frari and Music for the Scuole', in *The Church of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice: Devotional Space, Images of Piety, Proceedings of the International Conference, Venice, Italy, 9-11 May 2013*, ed. Carlo Corsato and Deborah Howard (Padua, 2015), 117-25.

60 I-Vas, Provveditori di comun, reg. AA, fol. 76. Quaranta lists more than twenty of this type; see Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 107-110.

61 I-Vas, Scuole piccole e suffraggi 420/1, fol. 67.

He proposed, and the chapter approved, a limitation on all festa expenses to twenty-five ducats. If a guardian exceeded this figure, the entire amount would be billed to him personally. It is clear that at the *scuole piccole*, as at the *scuole grandi*, some elected officers attempted to use their one-year term as an occasion for increasing personal honour, even at the risk of damaging the confraternity.

If all the *scuole* had succeeded in transferring the expenditures to the individual officers, we would probably have remained ignorant about the details of music for patronal feasts at these institutions, as private accounts documenting such activities would have been unlikely to survive (to date, none have turned up). Fortunately, some confraternities continued to fund music, at least in part, with their own money, and the extant account books and other documents paint a rich and detailed picture of varied musical celebrations, often employing the best singers and players of the city. While these well-documented examples are rare for the sixteenth century, that is due in part to the poor survival rate of the archives for this period.

The archive of the Scuola del Venerabile Sacramento in the church of San Giuliano contains an account book whose first entries date from 1502.⁶² In that year the *scuola* was granted a new indulgence for its annual festival on Corpus Christi, and for the first year's celebrations the officers turned to the most prestigious musicians available. They hired singers from the *cappella ducale*, along with some others, for a little more than one ducat, and a group of wind players at about the same cost. The 1508 celebration was particularly lavish, with the *scuola* paying three ducats to the *cappella* of Santo Stefano for two Vespers (that is, one on the vigil and one on the day) and a high mass with its procession. Normally, there were payments to only one group of instrumentalists, presumably wind players, but in 1515 a second, smaller payment was made to 'those who played in the back with harp, lute, and *violeta*'.⁶³ Probably, the usual wind players led the procession, and the string ensemble, identical in makeup to the standard ensemble of the time at the *scuole grandi*, walked near the end.

As mentioned above, the Scuola di Sant'Orsola and the friars of Santi Giovanni e Paolo reached an agreement in 1501 according to which the friars were responsible for providing singers for the festa. In 1509 the two parties reaffirmed the agreement, but with the specification that on the day of the feast

62 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Marco, Parrocchia di San Giuliano, Scuola del Santissimo Sacramento, Libro di Cassa 1502-1688.

63 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Marco, Parrocchia di San Giuliano, Scuola del Santissimo Sacramento, Libro di Cassa 1502-1688, fol. 34.

the *scuola* would pay the organist and the friars should take care of the rest of the music.⁶⁴ By 1516, at the latest, however, the *scuola* began spending its own money to hire outside singers as well as an organist. In that year—the starting date for the earliest surviving account book of the *scuola*—there were several notable expenditures for the two Vespers and mass, including one ducat to the organist pre Ettor, who was accompanied by a boy who sang, and nearly two ducats to fra Vizenzo (a singer of Santi Giovanni e Paolo) and some other singers who sang polyphony ('chantto figurao').⁶⁵ Though the agreement between *scuola* and convent, still in effect, called for the convent to arrange for the singers, the *scuola* had taken over that task, but for some reason still used singers from the convent. Evidently, the *scuola* did not own an organ, as pre Ettor supplied his own.

In 1557, the council of the Scuola della Santissima Trinità at the church of the Trinità did what so many other *scuole* had done: it limited expenditures for music and decorations for its feast, setting the total outlay of the *scuola*'s funds at eight ducats per year.⁶⁶ Fortunately for posterity, the surviving account book of the *scuola*, beginning in 1577,⁶⁷ treats the festal expenditures in an unusual way. Apparently, the officers hired and paid whatever musicians they preferred, charging only the legislated eight ducats to the *scuola*; the entries in the account book list all of the musicians in most years, but do not indicate (except rarely) how much they were actually paid, recording only the standard eight ducats that were the responsibility of the *scuola*. The remainder came from the pockets of the *gastaldo* (as the chief elected officer of a *scuola* piccola was called) and other officers. The two instances in which the actual total is recorded indicate that this figure could be quite substantial: in 1585 the total expenditure was more than twenty-four ducats and in 1590 more than fifteen. In 1599 the *gastaldo* recorded in the official account book the regular eight ducats, but inserted the annotation that his personal account book listed payments of many more ducats 'which are my responsibility'.⁶⁸ In the eight years in the sixteenth century for which the account book provides names, the Scuola della Trinità hired some of the most renowned musicians in Venice, such as Baldassare Donato, Giovanni Croce, and Giovanni Gabrieli. Included are organists, *maestri dei concerti*, and *maestri di capella* from San Marco, as

64 I-Vas, Scuole piccole e suffraggi 599.

65 I-Vas, Scuole piccole e suffraggi 602/4, fol. 10.

66 I-Vas, Scuole piccole e suffraggi 706/1, fol. 154^v.

67 I-Vas, Scuole piccole e suffraggi 711, Cassa 1577-1713, ff.nn.

68 I-Vas, Scuole piccole e suffraggi 711, Cassa 1577-1713, ff.nn.

well as some well-known free-lancers: the same men sought out by the *scuole grandi* for their feste.

Most elaborate of all annual sacred musical events in Venice were those of the *scuole grandi*.⁶⁹ The celebrations included several elements, which took place either in the *scuola*'s hall or in the associated church (or both): a Vespers on the vigil of the feast,⁷⁰ mass and Vespers on the day itself, and often a procession in the vicinity of the *scuola*.⁷¹ The *scuola* elaborately decorated both hall and church: they displayed relics and their most elaborate liturgical apparatus, installed luxurious cloth hangings, exhibited paintings and silver objects normally kept out of public view, and completed the visual picture with flowers and greenery. All the priests associated with the *scuola* participated in the sung Vespers and solemn high mass, and, of most concern here, the *scuole* and their officers usually added significantly to the regular complement of salaried musicians.

All of this, of course, cost a great deal of money, especially as each new guardian (along with his officers) wanted to be sure not only to look good in comparison to the other *scuole*, but also, and perhaps equally importantly, in comparison to his predecessors in the same position. This striving for personal honour and glory, beyond that which would come to the *scuola* itself, led to cycles of rapidly increasing expenditures, and disputes between the guardians and membership over the source of the funds. Allocations by the *scuole* were often not sufficient for the desires of the guardians, who only sometimes successfully persuaded the chapter to authorize greater expenditures from the often scanty coffers of the *scuola*. Other times, the *scuola* made the decision to place all or most of the financial burden on the shoulders (or, rather, pockets) of the individual guardian, sometimes with the assistance of the other officers. The great burden that might then be faced by a potential *guardian grande*, however, sometimes led to hesitancy to accept the office, so that other solutions had to be found. One of the results of placing all or most of that burden on individual officers is that for most of the *scuole* few records survive with details of the musical participation at these occasions. What is extant, however, is sufficient to demonstrate that these were at times truly extraordinary events that must have, in many ways, been among the most anticipated annual events in the city.

69 For more on this, see Glixon, *Honoring God*, 149-61.

70 As allowed by church practice, such vigils were often celebrated even when not in the official church calendar.

71 For an image of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco's hall, see <<http://www.scuolagrandesanrocco.org/home/>>.

The earliest documentation for added expenditures for the annual festa comes from the Scuola Grande di San Marco, which in the early sixteenth century was probably the most prestigious and well-off of the *scuole*. As the guardian explained in 1517 (on the day before the festa): 'always at the times of our festa of misser Saint Mark, our *scuola* has disputes with the singers who are hired for that festa, and every time it is necessary to draw up new agreements'.⁷² To alleviate the difficulties, the guardian came to an agreement with Pietro de Fossis, *maestro di cappella* at the ducal basilica, along with eleven of his singers. They would 'every year at the vigil of Saint Mark come to our *scuola* and in our hall sing Vespers with the usual solemnity, and then the day of the festa in the morning come to sing the mass and then after dinner the Vespers'.⁷³ Presumably, the morning mass would be early enough so that they could return to the basilica for their official duties there, and then to return to the *scuola* for Vespers after the completion of the mass and the procession in the Piazza. Just two years later, expenditures for the festa became too much for the *scuola* to handle out of its own accounts, so the guardian proposed, on the day of the feast itself, that from then on, 'to save the money of the *scuola*,' it should be done at the expense of the officers, with the guardian himself being responsible for twice what each of the others would owe.⁷⁴ No documents extant attest to the duration of this agreement; a note entered into the *scuola*'s register in 1530 lists expenditures for the festa, but makes no reference to whether or not the officers contributed additional funds. On that occasion, the *scuola* paid pre Antonio about five ducats as 'leader of the singers for two Vespers and mass of the dead,' about three-and-a-half ducats to instrumentalists, and another ducat for an organist, for a total expenditure for music of about ten ducats.⁷⁵

The celebration at the Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Misericordia for the feast of the Conception just a few years later, in 1535, was a bit more elaborate.⁷⁶ Adrian Willaert, *maestro di cappella* at the ducal basilica, in the only such documented occasion, directed the singers, for a fee of just over fifteen ducats. The instrumental company 'of San Beneto' and Zuan 'maestro del corneto,' also played, for a combined fee of a little more than six ducats, and almost three ducats went for the organist and bellows pumper. The amount for music came to about twenty-four ducats, out of a total of just over seventy.

72 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Marco 17, fol. 74.

73 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Marco 17, fol. 74.

74 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Marco 17, fol. 100.

75 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Marco 18, fol. 57.

76 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Misericordia 303, fol. 208L.

From the 1580s until the middle of the following century, the paths of the *scuole grandi* apparently diverged considerably. Nothing is known about activities at the Misericordia, San Marco, or San Teodoro (presumably, the guardians made all the arrangements, leaving behind no documentary trail in the archives of their *scuole*), but the Carità and San Giovanni Evangelista struggled with finding solutions for the problem of paying for an acceptable festa in times of financial hardship, while the celebrations of the well-off San Rocco became ever more elaborate and expensive.

The usual system for celebrating the annual festa at San Giovanni Evangelista, according to the *guardian da mattin*'s ceremonial of 1570, was for much of the expense to be paid from the accounts of the *scuola*—the *guardian da mattin* was, therefore, advised 'not to make a grand celebration'.⁷⁷ The amount the *scuola* made available for the festa in that period was fifty ducats. A 1573 document noting a reduction in the statutory allotment to thirty-six ducats also reveals that two of the officials traditionally covered some of the expenses for the festa: they decorated the hall and the altar, and built the platform for the musicians.⁷⁸ When the *scuola* underwent major budget cuts in 1594, the chapter reaffirmed the thirty-six ducat limit, with the specification that no more than twenty-five ducats of that could be spent for singers and instrumentalists. In addition, the regulation forbade the officers from augmenting that amount out of their own pockets, since this only encouraged 'the excess of greedy demands by the musicians, and the bothersome urgings to hire more than one company [of musicians] and many organs'.⁷⁹

The situation at the Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità was similar in many ways to that at San Giovanni Evangelista. In 1600, the chapter confirmed a statutory limit of twenty-five ducats for music at their festa, noting that some of the past guardians, 'in order to please the singers and instrumentalists, had hired two, three, or four companies, with great expense to the *scuola*,' which could not afford such extravagance.⁸⁰ With the *scuola*'s contribution limited, guardians who wanted to celebrate the festa with greater solemnity began to spend 'great sums of money out of their own pockets'. While this practice certainly created a fine impression, it set a dangerous precedent: 'on many occasions, various men who would be most suitable to govern our *scuola*

77 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista 16, section *Feste*. The *guardian da mattin* was the officer in charge of processions; his title derived from the fact that most processions were held in the morning.

78 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista 16, fols. 273-74^v.

79 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista 144, fols. 155-155^v.

80 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità 259, fols. 212^v-213.

abandon the opportunity to be elected in order to avoid the inconvenience of the expense'. Moreover, when the guardians spent all the *scuola's* allocation on music and decorations, they apparently neglected to hire enough priests to make the mass and Vespers sufficiently solemn, 'which resulted in much murmuring by all the nobility and citizens who come on that day'.⁸¹ In order to relieve the pressure on guardians to spend their own money, therefore, the *scuola's* expenditures were raised to sixty ducats, an amount cut back drastically in the early seventeenth century when the financial situation worsened even more.

San Rocco suffered through none of the tight budgets that caused such problems at other *scuole*,⁸² and the annual celebrations for the feast of Saint Roche were therefore celebrated with a considerably greater degree of splendour. The documents, unfortunately, do not make clear the procedure for dividing the expenses between the accounts of the *scuola* and those of the *guardian grande* himself. No reference is made to this issue in the registers of council meetings and standard account books for the period are not extant. However, uniquely among the *scuole grandi*, there survives an almost complete series of files of original bills and receipts for all the financial activities undertaken by the *guardian grande*, beginning in the 1590s.⁸³ This remarkable set of documents depicts a series of extraordinarily extravagant celebrations, costing hundreds of ducats for music alone for only two days of activities each year through the 1630s, when expenditures were severely reduced and the documentation becomes much less explicit. The English traveller Thomas Coryat described the festival he attended in 1608:

This feast consisted principally of Musicke, which was both vocall and instrumentall, so good, so delectable, so rare, so admirable, so super excellent, that it did even ravish and stupifie all those strangers that never heard the like. But how others were affected with it I know not; for mine

81 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità 260, fols. 59-59^v.

82 As St. Roche was the patron saint of plague sufferers, the Scuola di San Rocco attracted concerned citizens, and quickly became the most prestigious and wealthiest of all Venetian confraternities.

83 The listing for 1595 is in I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Rocco, 11a consegna 418, that for 1598 in I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Rocco, 11a consegna 703, and those from 1598 onwards in the chronological series of *cauzioni* beginning in I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Rocco, 11a consegna 155. Within these *buste* the loose sheets are arranged approximately chronologically.

owne part I can say this, that I was for the time even rapt up with Saint Paul into the third heaven'.⁸⁴

The two sixteenth-century lists, of 1595 and 1598, show similar personnel, both times under the direction of Giovanni Croce: in addition to the salaried singers of the *scuola*, there were two companies of singers, presumably at least in part from the *cappella ducale*, two companies of instrumentalists, those of the Bassani and the Favretti with two added violins and two added *violoni*, and four organists, including Giovanni Gabrieli. While different musicians performed from year to year during this period, the components remained nearly constant. The total cost of all of this, for the two days of music, was between 140 and 350 ducats almost every year between 1595 and 1634 (note that the *scuola* spent less than 150 ducats throughout the remainder of the year, for singers, instrumentalists, and organist). For at least thirty years, then, the celebrations on 15 and 16 August must have been among the most notable events on the Venetian musical calendar, with nearly all the city's best known musicians (numbering close to one hundred), as well as notable foreigners, coming together at the Scuola Grande di San Rocco.

Events outside the Calendar

Superimposed on the very full annual calendar of religious musical events were a number of special events or irregular occurrences, ranging from simple funerals to spectacular official celebrations.

Confraternity Funerals

It was Venetian tradition that funerals be as simple as possible, to avoid the kinds of competition that might upset the social order; therefore, they were celebrated without elaborate music, and with the deceased usually dressed in monastic garb. One way around this was to belong to a confraternity, in particular one of the *scuole grandi*, which provided funerals for their members.⁸⁵ The regular members were required to provide for partial funding for such ceremonies in their wills, but the *scuole* themselves provided funerals for the poor members free of charge, *amore dei*. The brothers (as described in San Giovanni's

84 Thomas Coryat, *Coryat's Crudities* (London, 1611; facs. reprint: London, 1978), modern edition (Glasgow, 1905), vol. 1, 390.

85 See Glixon, *Honoring God*, 72-76.

1570 manual for the *guardian da mattin*⁸⁶) went to the home of the deceased to collect the body, which had already been prepared by members of the *scuola*. In the home, with the officer in charge standing and all the others kneeling, the *cantadori vecchi* said (or sang) three times 'Jesus Christ have mercy', to which the assembled brothers responded with the same words.⁸⁷ The brothers then carried the body to its place of burial. San Giovanni Evangelista's ceremonial makes no reference to the music sung during the procession, though the *cantadori vecchi* were listed as participants. The bylaws of the Carità, otherwise quite lacking in detail in such matters, provide an Italian prayer to the Virgin to be sung by the brothers: 'Our Lady Holy Mary, receive this sinner, and pray to Jesus Christ that he should be pardoned'.⁸⁸ At the place of burial, the brothers repeated the ceremony that had been conducted at the house of the deceased, and the *cantadori vecchi* sang 'their song'.⁸⁹ This was probably either some portion of the Office for the Dead or an appropriate lauda. The officer then spoke the following words: 'Dear brothers, we turn to Our Lord God to draw to himself the soul of this, our brother, and I remind you that we are [each] obligated to say fifty Our Fathers and fifty Hail Marys, and we [the *scuola*] will have said the fifty masses, so that the eternal God should bring his soul to eternal life'.⁹⁰ The brothers responded 'Amen,' and the ceremony was concluded.

Funerals performed as charity were attended only by those poor brothers obligated to be there, but those of richer members, including patricians who joined as affiliated members, attracted far more, in large part because the deceased's will usually provided a monetary gift to all brothers who joined the procession. In the 1570 San Giovanni Evangelista register, attendance at funerals of poor brothers was thirty to fifty, but when alms were provided the numbers were in the hundreds. The number of funerals a *scuola* performed could, of course, be very large, especially in plague years. Even in normal times, though, the demand could be great; during one week in 1516, for instance, the Scuola Grande di San Marco performed six funerals, two of them paid, the other four *amore dei*.⁹¹ Altogether there were, for example, forty funerals at San

86 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista 16, section 'Funerali'.

87 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista 16. The *mariegola* of San Marco (I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Marco 216) indicates the singing of nearly identical words ('Jesus misericordia').

88 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità 233bis, chapter 18: 'Madona Senta Maria, receve sto peccatore, fa vui prego a Ieso Christo ke la debia perdonare'.

89 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista 16.

90 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista 16.

91 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Marco 12, insert between fols. 101^v and 102.

Marco in 1497, eighty-nine in 1527, thirty-six in 1531, and sixty-eight in 1560.⁹² The extant *guardian da mattin's* register of the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista, which provides the most complete documentation available, records eighty-four funerals in 1570, fifty-three of them *amore dei* and thirty-one *con spese*.⁹³ The chances are then, with six *scuole grandi* and a number of other *scuole* that performed funerals, there would have been at least one confraternity procession every day in some parish of Venice. Brothers of the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista who died during 1570 had resided in all parts of the city, though the greatest number were from the three *sestieri* on the same side of the Grand Canal as the *scuola*. Fifty-four of the burials took place in the *scuola's* own cemetery, but the remaining thirty-five were scattered among twenty-three other churches. In many cases, the place of death and the place of burial were quite distant, providing for an extended funeral procession.

Nunnery Life-cycle Events

Milestones in the life of cloistered nuns were marked with distinctive ceremonies, which in Venice, as elsewhere, could provide occasions for elaborate music, some traces of which remain in the extant records of sixteenth-century nunneries.⁹⁴ The first of these events was the *vestizione*, putting on the habit as the young girl enters the convent as a novice. Two such occasions are documented at Santa Giustina, where one ducat was paid to singers for the *vestizione* of two girls in 1559, and one and half at a similar occasion in 1568.⁹⁵ After a year or so of novitiate, the young nuns took their vows, often (in the sixteenth century) in groups on a major feast day. At Santa Giustina, the practice seems to have been to do this on the patronal feast of the convent. In 1560, eight novices took their vows together, with singers and instrumentalists both for the vigil and feast being hired for fourteen ducats. The convent, however, did not need to bear the entire burden, since 'the fathers and mothers of the girls gave eleven ducats towards the cost of the singers and players'. Similarly, when eight more girls professed their vows in 1571, the entire six and half ducats for 'singers in two choirs for the morning [presumably for the mass] and afternoon for Vespers ... and the organist who plays at San Marco,' was covered entirely by the parents (this was, however, only a small portion of the total costs of the day, for which, including banquets and other unnamed items, the families paid to

92 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Marco 229.

93 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista 16.

94 This is discussed in detail in Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven*.

95 I-Vas, San Matteo di Murano, b. 24, Registro cassa Santa Giustina, 1556-1573, ff.nn.

the convent 363 ducats).⁹⁶ This was, apparently, the normal practice, as it was done similarly at the nunnery of Sant'Antonio Abate of Torcello in 1561: 'the profession of ten nuns was done ... and at that profession were singers, that is the company of the Favretti together with the players, where a beautiful celebration was made ... and the expense was done entirely from the purses of the said nuns'.⁹⁷

At some later point in their lives, the nuns might participate in one more ceremony, the consecration, or *sagra*, which on at least two occasions in sixteenth-century Venice was performed together with the installation of a new abbess, accompanied with the best music possible. At Sant'Antonio Abate di Torcello, in 1555 and 1568, the nuns hired singers from San Marco, the latter time in two choirs, with the addition of instrumentalists. At the same nunnery in 1578, the singers were from Santo Stefano, with two groups of instrumentalists, those of San Marco and the Favretti.⁹⁸ The most elaborate such events were the installations of a new abbess at Santa Maria delle Vergini, attended by the Doge and the entire cappella of San Marco, for an elaborate ceremony that included a symbolic wedding between the Doge, who had authority over this particular nunnery, and the abbess, accompanied by a specially composed motet in honour of the couple.⁹⁹

While funerals of nuns were usually quite simple affairs, those of the abbess could be more elaborate, and there are a number of occasions (including Santo Spirito in 1552, Santa Giustina in 1573, and San Matteo di Murano in 1584) when the nuns hired singers to honour their deceased leader.¹⁰⁰

Special Occasions

Although such events as funerals and nuns' professions were not regular or precisely predictable, they were, in a sense inevitable. Many other sorts of occasions, however, might pop up completely unpredictably to enliven the Venetian sacred musical world. Unfortunately, since these would be outside the normal procedures of parish or monastic churches, they are not well documented, and all we can get from contemporary accounts, in particular the

96 I-Vas, San Matteo di Murano, b. 24, Registro cassa Santa Giustina, 1556-1573, ff.nn.

97 I-Vas, Sant' Antonio Abate di Torcello, b. 1, fasc. 2, Registro Capitoli 1556-1647.

98 I-Vas, Sant' Antonio Abate di Torcello, b. 1, fasc. 2, Registro Capitoli 1556-1647.

99 This ceremony is discussed in some detail in Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven*.

100 I-Vas, Spirito Santo, b. 2, Registro dei Capitoli, ff.nn.; I-Vas, San Matteo di Murano, b. 24, Registro cassa Santa Giustina, 1556-73, ff.nn.; I-Vas, San Matteo di Murano, b. 28, Quaderno scosso e speso 1572-1618.

Diarii of Marin Sanudo, or scattered documents, is a taste of what must really have happened.

The visit to Venice by a foreign notable was often marked by a musically elaborate church ceremony, often, of course, at San Marco, but sometimes in another church. When the Duke of Milan came to Venice in 1530, a mass in his honour was performed at San Salvador: 'and a solemn mass was sung by all the virtuosi of the land ... with trumpets and pifari'.¹⁰¹ Somewhat lower key was the 1529 welcome for the head of the Franciscan order, for whom 'the organs and bells sounded as a sign of joy' at the Frari.¹⁰²

Santo Stefano was the setting in 1533 for an elaborate celebration by the Compagnia dei Cortesi, one of the *compagnie delle calze*, organizations of young noblemen: 'they made their entrance into the church, arriving with *trombe squarzade* and other instruments playing in the church ... When they arrived at their destination within the church, the mass was begun ... sung with instrumental music, singing, excellent music, and the organ, made by Il Todesco, with many registers...'¹⁰³ A military victory was, of course, also an occasion for celebration. When news of the defeat of the French forces at the Battle of Pavia in February 1526 reached Venice, 'all five ambassadors, with great jubilation and joy went together, along with their retinues and some of those who escaped from Milan, to the [Franciscan nunnery of] Madona di Miracoli to have sung a most solemn Te Deum with singing and instruments, and a solemn Vespers'.¹⁰⁴

...

Venetians and visitors to the Serenissima in the sixteenth century would certainly have been conscious of the ubiquitous presence of sacred music throughout the city. They would have been reminded every day by the ringing of church bells of the chanting of the liturgy, which they would have heard passing by the doors of any of the city's 130 churches. On Sundays and feast days, the sounds of organs and choirs were widespread, and the arrival of crowds at a nearby church would have signalled a more elaborate ceremony,

101 Marin Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, vol. 54, col. 54-55.

102 Marin Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, vol. 52, col. 368.

103 Marin Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, vol. 58, col. 182-83. On *trombe squarzade* see Jeffrey Kurtzman and Linda Maria Koldau, 'Trombe, Trombe d'Argento, Trombe Squarciate, Tromboni, and Pifferi in Venetian Processions and Ceremonies of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 8 (2002): see <<http://sscm-jscm.org/jscm/v8/noi/kurtzman.html>>.

104 Marin Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, vol. 37, col. 650.

whose music attracted both the devout and those who simply liked the music. Funeral processions were all too frequent, and several times each year processions of one or more confraternities would have passed nearby, accompanied by singing and playing. In early modern Venice, sacred music formed a constant background to everyday life, and at regular intervals, from one end of the city to another, it came to the forefront.

Parish and Monastic Churches: Civic Custom and the Quotidian in the System of Institutional Patronage*

Elena Quaranta

Symbol of the greatness and ecclesiastical autonomy of the Republic, the ducal basilica of San Marco naturally occupied a pre-eminent position among patrons of sacred polyphony in Venice. Yet the many ‘minor’ institutions, decidedly more limited in economic capacity, were together responsible for maintaining a ‘market’ of quite exceptional proportions, which provided musicians with a continuous supply of engagements and kindled demand for specific musical products. The scale of the phenomenon has emerged only in recent decades. An initial idea is provided by the sheer number of churches: as from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Venice was divided into seventy parishes,¹ while the number of monasteries increased from 49 in the mid-fifteenth century (30 male communities and 19 nunneries)² to the 64 institutions (31 male and 33 female) listed by the patriarch Francesco Vendramin in his *Relatio ad limina* of 1616.³ A further 25 monastic communities (largely nunneries) were situated on the various islands located north of the city, in particular Murano, Burano, Mazzorbo, and Torcello (all in the diocese of Torcello); these were largely populated by Venetian patricians and thus represented a natural extension of the local ‘system’. There were also numerous abbey churches, hospice churches (*ospedali*), oratorios, priories etc.⁴

Besides the churches, the many confraternities or *scuole* were potentially active as patrons of church polyphony. Not only were there the *scuole grandi* (or ‘great confraternities’, six in number after the ‘promotion’ of the Scuola Grande di San Teodoro in 1552), with their frequent contributions to public

* The following abbreviations are used in this chapter: I-Vas = Venice, Archivio di Stato; I-Vmc = Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr.

1 Elena Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco. Organizzazione e prassi della musica nelle chiese di Venezia nel Rinascimento* (Florence, 1998), 1 (with bibliography in note 1).

2 Vittorio Piva, *Il patriarcato di Venezia e le sue origini* (Venice, 1960), vol. 2, 187.

3 See Giorgio Spinelli, *I religiosi e le religiose*, in *La Chiesa di Venezia nel Seicento*, ed. Bruno Bertoli (Venice, 1992), 173–209, at 188, 206 (note 59), and 207 (note 61).

4 Listed in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 10.

display in the context of state ceremonial (itself intimately connected with the idea of the self-glorification of the Serenissima) and regular devotional activities (held, above all, in their own sumptuously decorated halls). There were also the so-called *scuole piccole* (denomination here used to refer to a range of institutions including devotional confraternities, national confraternities, guilds, *sovvegni* or mutual aid associations, and other analogous bodies) which, with few exceptions indeed, conducted their devotional activities in the various parish or monastic churches, with which they stipulated specific agreements. In general, each *scuola* was responsible for endowing and maintaining a side-chapel and/or altar in the host church. The exact number of *scuole* is difficult to ascertain. In the first half of the fifteenth century, there were some 200 confraternities.⁵ On 16 June 1501, Marin Sanudo notes in his diaries that 210 *scuole piccole* were present at the funeral of cardinal Zen.⁶ In 1700, the fourth edition of Vincenzo Maria Coronelli's *Guida de' forestieri* speaks of '300 confraternities or *scuole*'.⁷ Over 900 confraternities have been identified as active at various stages between the thirteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁸

Churches and *scuole* customarily celebrated their major feast-days with what ostentation was permitted by corporate finances and/or personal contributions by parish priests or confraternity officials. Typically, these occasions were characterized by the presence of extra celebrants (with festive vestments), the display of relics and sacred objects, a greater quantity and quality of candles, the use of hangings and other adornments, canopies, floats, banners, sacred images—and the engagement of singers and instrumentalists for first Vespers, mass and, sometimes, the procession and second Vespers. Responsibility for expenditure, when shared, was regulated by written agreement or in accordance with longstanding custom. Significant—and cost sensitive!—in musical terms were the number, quality and variety of the singers and instrumentalists, and the quantity and types of music performed. The presence of musicians can be regularly documented in the context of the following types of feast, all recurrent in the annual liturgical cycle:⁹

5 Jacopo d'Albizzotto Guidi, *El sommo della condizione di Vinegia*, ed. Marta Ceci (Rome, 1995), 49.

6 Marin Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto (MCCCCXCVI-MDXXXIII) dall'autografo Marciano ital. cl. VII codd. CDXIX-CDLXXVII*, ed. Rinaldo Fulin et al. (Venice, 1880), vol. 4, col. 63.

7 Vincenzo M. Coronelli, *Guida de' forestieri sacro-profana per osservare il più ragguardevole nella città di Venezia* (Venice, 1700), 3.

8 Gastone Vio, *Le Scuole Piccole nella Venezia dei Dogi: note d'archivio per la storia delle confraternite veneziane* (Costabissara, 2004).

9 See also the chapter by Jonathan Glixon in this volume.

- feasts honouring the patron saint of a church or *scuola* (normally, for a *scuola*, celebrated at the institution's altar);
- feasts honouring the founder, patron or other prominent saints of a monastic order;
- in some churches, the feast of the dedication;
- in the richest churches, the greatest feasts of the universal liturgical calendar (Christmas, Easter, and major Marian celebrations); musical activity also increases, sometimes significantly, during Advent and Lent (in particular, for the Passions, Lamentations, and Good Friday procession).

These occasions combine with 'private' events of a one-off nature (baptisms, weddings, funerals, anniversaries, name-days etc., the first masses of newly-ordained priests, the first Gospel of a deacon, the clothing and profession ceremonies of nuns) and the routine performances of the *cappelle* variously employed by the ducal basilica, the *scuole grandi* and the principal parish and monastic churches to define the daily request for music in the Venetian ecclesiastical institutions.

Documenting the Uses of Music: Sources and Method

Investigating musical practice in the parish and monastic churches requires an all-inclusive approach which cannot but take account of the sometimes considerable variations between different institutions or categories of institution and long- or short-term oscillations in the availability of financial resources. Yet the institutional panorama as a whole, as seen through comparative analysis of a range of archival documents (account books and other administrative papers, fiscal records, statutory documents and deliberations, written agreements between institutions, memorials etc.), is permeated by an undeniable sense of 'system' and continuity. Continuity permeates the interlocking realities of liturgical and ceremonial necessity, social custom, and—for patrons and musicians—the economics of musical production. The repetition, day after day and year after year, of similar musical necessities guarantees the long-term stability of a way of life that ensures regular earnings for musicians and favours the production of appropriate musical repertoires.

For the sixteenth century, a basic source of information on 'normal' musical expenditure in a wide cross-section of Venetian churches is provided by the series of tax returns compiled in 1534-37 and again in 1564 by ecclesiastical

institutions and the holders of ecclesiastical benefices.¹⁰ Government dispositions required these compilations to cover a period of three years, a time-span which enabled tax collectors to make allowances for variations in income (caused, for example, in the agricultural sector by climactic irregularity): the average, theoretically representative of the 'normal' income of each institution or individual cleric, could be used as the basis for subsequent tax calculations.¹¹ Where appropriate, taxpayers could request a deduction for expenditure incurred in the course of their duties or for maintaining assets. Many such requests regard payments for music. The 1564 tax returns list annual expenses for the upkeep of over ninety organs and their players' salaries. Four important parish churches—San Pantalon, San Fantin, San Polo and the cathedral of San Pietro di Castello—employ *maestri di cappella*, *maestri di canto* or salaried singers. *Cappelle musicali* are maintained by at least four monastic communities (Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Santa Maria dei Frari, Santa Maria dei Carmini, and Santo Stefano; a fifth church, Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi, pays a *maestro* to 'teach singing to the novices, deacons, subdeacons, and professed monks'¹²). Besides information on permanent musical activities, the 1564 tax returns contain over sixty references to the occasional employment of singers and instrumentalists in various parish and monastic churches (mostly in the contexts listed above).

Individual references to *cappelle musicali*, salaried organists, or the one-off intervention of singers and instrumentalists during major festivities are useful as specific data but permit few general conclusions of any significance. Together, however, the tax returns of 1564 provide a homogeneous body of documentation on music-making in a large number of essentially similar institutions over a period of time which, as the government's directives make clear, is far from limited to the years in question. The practices described must be seen not as isolated occurrences or temporary vogues but as enduring, widely-accepted and standardized phenomena. In several cases, the pretexts of custom, common use and civic expectations are used to justify the extent of expenditure on music. For example, the parish priest of San Fantin justifies the

10 I-Vas, Soprintendenti alle decime del clero. Further discussion in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, in particular pp. 21–30 (and pp. 189–226 for a complete transcription of annotations on music). Local taxation of the clergy was one of the many points of ecclesiastical jurisdiction at the roots of the difficult relationship between Venice and Rome.

11 Legislators originally envisaged ten-yearly revisions, as for civic taxation. Despite this, the register of ecclesiastical assets compiled on the basis of the 1564 tax returns was used until 1773 with few changes indeed.

12 I-Vas, Soprintendenti alle decime del clero, b. 33, n. 173 (church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi, 1564): 'insegna cantar alli novitii, diaconi et sudiaconi, et proffessi'.

not inconsiderable outlay of six ducats for singers, instrumentalists, and refreshments on the feast of the patron saint 'because it is usual',¹³ while his counterpart at Sant'Aponal reminds the authorities that the absence of 'decorations, singers and instrumentalists ... on the [greatest] solemnities' is 'dishonourable'.¹⁴ The compilations of 1534-37¹⁵ were not preserved together as a separate archive; what now remains of these materials were inserted in the 1564 folders, perhaps to clarify ambiguities in the later documents. Though relatively few, they are similar in structure and wording, and confirm that the presence of professional musicians on major feast-days in parish and monastic churches was indeed normal practice. On more than one occasion, payments for music are described as habitual and necessary. In 1534, for example, the newly-installed parish priest of Santa Maria del Giglio declares expenses of twelve ducats for the patronal feast of the Annunciation, 'which always falls in Lent ... so everything costs double, and principally the singers, to whom I gave five golden ducats and dinner this year, and they still complained ... My feast-day costs at least twelve ducats, because I would be horrified to tell the truth regarding my expenditure, which is customary, too much for this first year'.¹⁶ Evidently, the practices described in the more comprehensive documentation of 1564 were already far from unknown. Together, the two series of tax returns illustrate a widely-accepted practice whose origins are firmly rooted in civic custom, presumably long pre-dating 1534.

The Financial System

The tax returns also highlight several important mechanisms in the financial system. First, the documents distinguish clearly between the personal respon-

13 Ibid., b. 32, n. 11 (church of San Fantin, 1564): 'per esser cussì el solito'.

14 Ibid., b. 33, n. 110 (church of Sant'Aponal, 1564): 'à tempi di solennità il conzar di chiesa, canti, soni, ... il remandar il che tutto è in arbitrio del piovàn, o di far a suo danno, o di lassar con sua vergogna ...'.

15 Discussed in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 43-46.

16 I-Vas, Sopraintendenti alle decime del clero, b. 32, n. 4 (church of Santa Maria del Giglio, 1534): '... la qual si vien sempre de Quaresema ... che convegno pagar el dopio ogni cossa et precipue li cantadori ali quali ho dato questo anno passato cinque scudi d'orro et el disnar et ancora rognivano ..., monta la mia festa a dir de manco duc. 12 zoè ducati dodexe perché me agrisaria a dir la verità de la spexa che ho fatto, la qual ze usanza, tropo per sto primo anno'.

sibility of parish (and other) priests and the institutional *fabbriceria*¹⁷ for payments regarding music and musicians: while the *fabbriceria* was responsible for maintaining organs, organists, *maestri di cappella*, and salaried singers, expenses for music and festive decorations on the greatest solemnities were generally met by the *piovano*.¹⁸ Only exceptionally do *fabbriceria* account books record occasional payments to external singers and instrumentalists for major liturgical celebrations. Naturally, the backbone of surviving ecclesiastical archives is represented by institutional materials—including, in some particularly fortunate cases, *fabbriceria* account books. As personal belongings, non-institutional account books are rarely preserved in these institutional contexts. Unsurprisingly, research in parish archives has rarely produced anything but references to organs, organists, and, occasionally, the activities of permanent church choirs. Yet, in the tax returns, parish churches provide the majority of references to the presence of outside musicians on important feast-days. Priests were naturally anxious to recuperate personal expenses.

Monastic tax returns tend to highlight expenditure for the maintenance of the community and its property; in several cases, they fail to mention the more modest outlay for music on major feast-days. When documented, however, expenses frequently regard not only the church's patronal feast (as normal for the parishes) but also the commemoration of the founder and sometimes other saints of the order. Moreover, the principal male communities are prominent in their employment of salaried *maestri di cappella*, themselves presumably in charge of more or less permanent groups of singers (drawn wholly or largely from the ranks of the resident monks). Several composers and *maestri di cappella* are mentioned in the printed musical sources.¹⁹ Yet little detailed information on music-making in the context of the male monastic communities of sixteenth-century Venice is presently available; though evident that several monasteries were capable of performing polyphony on a regular basis during liturgical functions, the notoriously fragmentary state of the archives precludes all systematic analysis of the phenomenon, in particular with regard to the makeup of *cappelle*, performance practices and repertory. Surviving capitular records (1496-1549) from the Dominican community of Santi Giovanni e Paolo provide some insights into the organization of the mon-

17 The *fabbriceria* is a kind of Council of Maintenance, charged with the upkeep and administration of the church building and other properties.

18 Given this financial commitment, the parish priest customarily benefitted from all or most of the alms on the major feast-days of his church.

19 For a first listing, David Bryant, 'Musica e musicisti', in *Storia di Venezia: dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, vol. 6: *Dal Rinascimento al Barocco*, ed. Gaetano Cozzi and Paolo Prodi (Rome, 1994), 449-67, at 463.

astery's internal *cappella*. As normal for this kind of documentation, minutes differ markedly in quality and contents, and decisions are in any case largely 'exceptional' with regard to the daily routine of the community and its institutions. Yet the following traits can be identified: the presence of some external singers; variable conditions of employment (service to the *cappella* is frequently exchanged for board and lodgings, only occasionally incremented or replaced by an annual salary of 6-12 ducats and payments in kind); for internal musicians, the allocation of ecclesiastical revenues otherwise enjoyed by the monastic community for liturgical celebrations in Santi Giovanni e Paolo or elsewhere—probably, in the latter case, with whatever portion of the alms was normally reserved for the celebrant. The conferment of revenues may have represented the most common way of financing the musical activities of resident friars. Naturally, the decision to devolve institutional income required authorization by the chapter as a means of establishing its one-off nature and preventing claims for similar treatment by others.

Among the beneficiaries of ecclesiastical revenues listed by the parish church of San Polo in its tax return of 1534 are four singers from the nearby Franciscan community of Santa Maria dei Frari, among them the *maestro di cappella* fra Ruffino. The Augustinian convent of Santo Stefano also uses revenues as a means of financing musicians and *maestri dei novizi*. Capitular records survive for the period 1540-1615. Compilers frequently change, and many confine their annotations to little more than decisions regarding the annual assignment of administrative or other responsibilities to individual friars, the admission of novices and the conferment of holy orders. Moreover, many types of decision potentially linked to music and musicians lay outside the chapter's jurisdiction: these decisions, including the admission of external collaborators and the appointment of *maestri di grammatica*, *maestri di canto*, and organists, were normally taken by the prior, who only sometimes consulted the assembly of friars.²⁰ One such consultation occurred on 19 January

20 For example, on 16 July 1544 'the Prior proposed to hire a *maestro di grammatica* for the novices; all the friars were of the opinion that this was not a matter for the chapter but that the Prior might hire the two *maestri* [the *maestro di grammatica* and *maestro di canto*] at his own discretion ...' (I-Vas, Santo Stefano, b. 4, *Liber propositioinum* 1540-78, fol. 2r: 'fu proposto dal padre Priore di piliare un maestro de puti de gramatica, tuti li padri dissero questo non spetare al Capitolo ma esser in facultà del priore de ritrovare l'uno et l'altro maestro di novitii ...'). Again, on 23 January 1578, the chapter rejected friar Stefano Padovano's offer of service as bass in the choir, coupled with an annual contribution of 24 ducats for board and lodgings in the convent: 'The majority were unfavourable, but said that the prior in office was free to accept whatever friars he desired' (ibid., fol. 84v: 'La maggior parte non si contentorno, ma dissero che questo sia in libertà del padre priore di accettare qual frate gli pare sotto il suo officio').

1578, when the chapter assigned a benefice to friar Cipriano 'for his salary as organist, having served his monastery to the best of his ability (though he could have found better elsewhere), and desirous of making a small organ which will be of use to the monastery, doing his duty without fail, as has also been granted to the *maestro di cappella*'.²¹ The assignation is specifically linked to his activities 'as organist, since it would not otherwise have been conceded'.²² On 12 August 1613, the *maestro dei novizi* friar Marcello of Verona is accorded a monthly payment of two ducats 'in recognition of his work in teaching the novices to sing plainchant and polyphony and serving as *maestro di cappella* in the choir', since 'at present, the revenue from San Vitale being united with that of San Basso, he lacks those emoluments deriving from his predecessors' exemption [from the obligation to deposit proceeds in the institutional coffers]'.²³

Detailed study of the musical activities of the male monastic communities is thus hindered not only by the limited survival of archival sources but also by the internal dynamics of how musicians were recruited and paid. Recruitment, in particular, seems to have eluded systematic registration, perhaps on account of its 'routine' nature in terms of administrative practice. And payment records only rarely explain why a given ecclesiastical revenue had been assigned.

Donations or bequests by nobles, citizens or lay institutions might finance aspects of music-making in parish and monastic churches. Church archives record numerous contributions by private individuals or confraternities for the upkeep or reconstruction of organs and organists' salaries.²⁴ Ceremonies whose musical content is normally patronized by individuals or families are listed above.²⁵ In these cases, payments are rarely recorded in the institutional

21 Ibid., fol. 84v: 'per salario del sonare dell'organo, havendo massime servito il monasterio suo, potendo haver meglio altrove, et volendo far un organeto qual sarà di utilità al monasterio, facendo el debito suo et non mancando, come ancho è stata concessa al maestro di capella'.

22 Ibid.: 'come organista, che altrimenti non saria stata concessa'.

23 Ibid., *Liber propositiconum* 1578-1615, fol. 121r: 'nel riconoscimento delle fatiche sue che fa nell'insegnar à fratinì à cantar canto fermo et figurato, et servire per maestro di capella in choro; ... al presente per esser unita la mansionaria de S. Vitale con quella di S. Basso non haverà più quei emolumenti per l'essentioni ch'hanno havuto i suoi predecessori'.

24 Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 51, note 11.

25 Further on the first masses of newly-ordained priests and the consecration of nuns, *ibid.*, 100-4. For an example of endowments for funerals and their anniversaries, I-Vas, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, b. xvi, reg. mansionerie 1281-1706, pp. 153-54 (extract from testament of Michael Pavasii q. Salvatoris, drawn up on 17 April 1578): 'I desire that five ducats be given each year *in perpetuum* to the sacristy of the convent and monastery of Santi Giovanni e

archives (since only occasionally is money collected by the institution for subsequent distribution). More copiously documented is the contribution of lay confraternities to expenses for the celebration of major festivities. These sometimes correspond to the feasts of the host church: in his tax return of 1564, for example, the parish priest of San Nicolò dei Mendicoli states that 'I must also provide for my feast of San Nicolò, paying for singers, candles and decorations of the church; I pay for everything ... except the trumpets, which are paid for by the *scuola*'.²⁶ Above all, however, expenses follow the confraternity's own liturgical and devotional requirements. Well documented in this respect are the *scuole grandi*.²⁷ The *scuole piccole*, though smaller, are indeed many. A systematic reading of their statutes (*mariegole*) and what little other documentation has survived underlines the existence of widely-accepted standards in their use of music during major feasts (particularly important in this respect is the feast of the protector saint, to whom the confraternity's altar is normally dedicated).²⁸ The *mariegole* set out the rules governing the institution and its members, as established by the founders; revisions required the approval of a qualified majority. Capitular records were normally transcribed in separate volumes, the so-called *libri delle parti* or *notatori*. Only exceptionally were decisions of particular importance 'definitively' added to the *mariegola*. A significant number of decisions regarding the use of music and musicians by the *scuole piccole*—in particular those aimed at curbing the use of institutional funds by the *gastaldo* and other officers for the celebration of solemn festivities—fall into this category. For example, an addition to the *mariegola* of the

Paolo of Venice, to be dispensed among the singers who will sing each year a polyphonic mass on the feast of St Joseph for the said saint, and this in remission of my soul' ('Lasso ch'ogn'anno sii dato in perpetuo alla sacrestia del convento et monasterio de S. Zan e Polo de Venetia duc. cinque d'esser dispensati tra li cantori che canterano ogn'anno il giorno di s. Giosef una messa fegurata de detto santo, et questo in remission dell'anima mia').

- 26 I-Vas, Sopraintendenti alle decime del clero, b. 33, n. 181: 'Anchora bisogna che fatia la mia festa de s. Nicolò la qual spesa sie cantori, cere, conzieri de chiesa tutta la faccio mi ... eccetuando le trombe che tuol quelli della scholla'.
- 27 Jonathan E. Glixon, *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260-1807* (New York, 2003).
- 28 With few exceptions, only the *mariegole* survive as evidence of the confraternities' musical requirements. As objects of value, many of these documents were preserved in private collections. In addition, around the middle of the eighteenth century, the *mariegole* of existing confraternities were copied by order of the Provveditori di Comun (an administrative body whose duties included the surveillance of the *arti* and *scuole piccole*) for the purposes of guaranteeing their preservation and preventing forgery. Surviving fifteenth- and sixteenth-century materials also include a limited number of account books and capitular records.

confraternity of Corpus Domini and Santa Maria della Pietà (active in the parish church of Santa Maria Nova), dated 4 June 1553, ordains

that henceforth, for the feast of the Madonna [which is celebrated on 2 July], no *gastaldo* may spend more than two ducats for decorations, masses, players, singers and preacher, and that, on the contrary, if the said *gastaldo* spends more than the said two ducats, the expense will be attributed to him.²⁹

The underlying dynamics are clarified in two further documents. The following decision, dated 10 February 1515, was transcribed in the *mariegola* of the Scuola di Santa Caterina (active in the church of San Stae):

Since our statutes make no provision for the good administration of the money and property of our *scuola* by the *gastaldi* and their companions, [and] because, unable or unwilling to spend themselves, they have inopportunely paid for the feast of 25 November with money found in the *scuola*, ... it is resolved ... that, in future, no *gastaldo* or other officer ... may draw on money ... belonging to the said *scuola* for any feast, beyond what is necessary and customary, with the express declaration that ... they are personally responsible if they decide to decorate the altar, chapel and church, or hire instrumentalists and singers.³⁰

29 I-Vas, Provveditori di Comun, reg. O, fol. 294^v (documentation transcribed in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 239): 'che de cetero niun gastaldo possa spendere, per causa de far la festa della Madona, che vien a due de luglio più de ducati doi, cioè in spese per far ditta festa, come di concieri, messe, sonadori, cantadori, et predicar, et si altramente el detto gastaldo spenderà de più de i sopradetti doi ducati s'intenderà esser spesi de sua borsa, et per suo conto'.

30 I-Vas, Provveditori di Comun, reg. R, fol. 56^r (documentation transcribed in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 251): 'Perché nelli ordeni nostri non è fatto alcuna provision circa li gastaldi, e compagni ... per modo che alcun de loro non fanno bona administration de i danari, e beni della scuola nostra, perché el se trova, che al tempo del far della festa de dì xxv novembrio per non poder, o non voler spender del suo non restano de farla, et tamen hanno pagato delli danari se hanno trovato haver della scuola, la qual cosa non par conveniente, ... sia deliberato ... che per lo avvegnirsi alcun gastaldo, o compagni non ... possa spender danari alcuni ... della detta scola in far festa alcuna, salvo che le cose necessarie, et consuete, ma se intenda espressamente esser dechiarido, che se el se farà concier alcun dell'altar, et capella, et in chiesa, et etiam si torrà sonadori, e cantori ... sia obligati pagar del suo'.

And, on 11 November 1554, the Scuola di San Rocco dei Marzeri (active in the church of San Zulian) rules that,

finding in the books and accounts ... that, in the past, some *gastaldi* and companions have introduced a bad custom, to the greatest detriment of the poor, because, in the absence of rulings or limitations in our statutes regarding [institutional] expenditure for the festivities and solemnities on the day of San Rocco, in the past the *gastaldi* and companions in office have taken the liberty of spending from the coffers of the poor *scuola* for the said festivities and solemnities ..., little or much as they deemed appropriate, spending little or nothing themselves, ... it is thus decided ... that, henceforth, the *gastaldo* and companions ... cannot spend more than two ducats of the *scuola*'s money for the festivities.³¹

Thus, like the parish priests, the *gastaldi* and other officers of the *scuole* frequently sustained at least part of the expenses for the celebration of major solemnities.

Some fifteenth-century *mariegole* likewise refer to the excessive freedom of governors in managing institutional finances and identify alternative systems of fund-raising. On the whole, the system changes little over the centuries: momentary difficulties had only limited impact on long-term continuity of practice, perpetuated through the adoption of a flexible system of patronage based on both institutional and personal contributions. The sense of responsibility exhibited by governors and the more or less rigorous surveillance of institutional coffers presumably mirrored the economic vicissitudes of the Republic and of individual confraternities (whose income was largely tied to their investments in government bonds): the use of institutional funds might be tolerated in times of plenty, but the diversion of money originally earmarked for social assistance would have aroused the objections of brethren in periods of relative hardship—hence the need to clamp down on future abuse

31 I-Vas, Provveditori di Comun, reg. U, fol. 217^r (documentation transcribed in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 263): Retrovandosi per li libri, e conti ... che l'è sta introdotto per alcuni gastaldi, e compagni sono stà per il passato una mala consuetudine, à grandissimo detrimento de poveri, che per non esserli ordine né limitation alcuna in la nostra mariegola circa el spender al far la festa et solenità per el zorno de misier san Roco, che li gastaldi, et compagni che di tempo in tempo sono stati se sono fatto lecito al far la dita festa et solenità ... spendere delli beni della povera scuola e poco e assai come a loro li è parso, senza spender niente, o poco delle proprie borse, ... et però l'anderà parte ... che de cetero nessun gastaldo, o compagni ... non possano, né debbano nel far la festa ... spender de beni della nostra scola se non la summa de ducati doi'.

with specific regulations.³² In such periods, only the personal generosity of the *gastaldo* and the other officials of the *scuola* could have ensured adequate decorum on major feast-days. Naturally, available finance determined the quantity and quality of musicians and the amount of music performed: as stated in the regulations of the company formed in 1601 by the singers of San Marco to coordinate their activities outside the ducal chapel, no ‘... feast-day may be discarded by reason of the meagre reward but, in serving, [it is necessary to] be more stingy, to distinguish between meagreness and generosity’.³³

The Use of Music on Major Festivities: Custom and the Quotidian

By the end of the sixteenth century, expenditure on major feast-days had reached such proportions that some confraternities imposed compulsory contributions as a means of covering outlay; on more than one occasion, elected governors resigned their office on account of the financial burden. Inevitably, abolition or limitation of expenditure led to falling attendances at festive celebrations (and income from alms)—and established practices, evidently in line with popular expectations, were never slow to re-emerge. References to ‘custom’ are recurrent in the sixteenth-century documentation. The following examples, which lead backwards from the late Cinquecento (for which much data survives) to the less comprehensively documented fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, underlines the sense of continuity characteristic of the use of music by the *scuole piccole* on their major festivities:³⁴

32 Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 112–13.

33 Transcription of entire document in Francesco Luisi, *Laudario Giustiniano* (Venice, 1983), 515: ‘né si lasci festa alcuna per poca mercede, ma nel servire esser più parchi, per far conoscere il poco dal molto’.

34 On this theme cf. Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 143ff and *passim*. Vio, *Le Scuole Piccole*, contains much documentation regarding, above all, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For a calendar of the major feast-days of the *scuole piccole* around 1700, see Glixon, *Honoring God and the City*, 261–81, and David Bryant and Elena Quaranta, ‘Music and Musicians in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-century Venice: A Guide for Foreigners’, in *Venedig, Rom und Neapel als europäische Musikmetropolen. Zeugnisse, Akteure, Perspektiven / Le rayonnement musical de Venise, Rome et Naples. Témoignages, acteurs, perspectives / Venezia, Roma e Napoli come metropoli musicali. Testimonianze, attori, prospettive*, ed. Anne-Madeleine Goulet and Gesa zur Nieden, *Analecta musicologica* 52 (Kassel, 2015), 87–117, at 99–117.

- in 1598, an agreement between the confraternity of the Beata Vergine della Cintura and the friars of Santo Stefano states that the *scuola*, for its feast-day, can 'employ singers and instrumentalists as is the custom and use of this city';³⁵
- in 1552, the Goldsmiths' guild (with the confraternity of Sant'Antonio Abate, active in the parish church of San Silvestro) pays 'singers, i.e. the company of pre Alvise dale Vilotte in two choirs' and 'instrumentalists, i.e. the company of the Fruttarioli' for mass, procession and Vespers on the feast of the patron saint;³⁶
- in 1510, an agreement between the confraternity of San Giuseppe and the church of San Silvestro obliges the *scuola* to pay 'a group of singers' and 'trumpets and *pifferi* for first and second Vespers and mass';³⁷
- in 1457c., the Cripples' guild (active in the church of Arcangelo Gabriele) orders the *gastaldo* to guarantee the presence of 'trumpets and *pifari*, who must come to play on the vigil at Vespers and the morning masses, until the procession and the elevation at high mass', paying them 'according to custom';³⁸
- in 1442, the confraternity of Santa Maria e San Gallo degli Albanesi (active in the parish church of San Maurizio) accords membership of the *scuola* to 'two or four *pifari*', required to play 'on the vigils of San Gallo and San Maurizio at Vespers and the following morning at the dawn [mass] and when the *gastaldo* and companions get up to offer, as also when the Body and Blood of Christ are raised, ... to honour God as do the other *scuole* on their feast-days';³⁹

35 I-Vas, Provveditori di Comun, reg. V, fol. 444^r (documentation transcribed in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 269): 'tuor cantori, et sonadori come è consueto, et uso della città'.

36 I-Vas, Arti, b. 425, fol. 87^r (documentation transcribed in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 317): 'chantadori fo la chonpagnia di miss. pre Alvise dale Vilotte a doi chori' and 'sonadori fo la chonpagnia di Fruttarioli'.

37 I-Vas, Provveditori di Comun, reg. BB, fol. 74^v (documentation transcribed in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 281): 'una muda de cantadori' and 'trombe, e pifari per el primo, e secondo vespero et la messa'.

38 I-Vmc, mss. serie IV (Mariegole), n. 130 fol. 15^r (documentation transcribed in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 449): 'trombe e pifari i qual debia vegnir a sonar la vigilia al vespero, e la maitina ale messe infina fata la precession e levado el Corpo de Christo a la messa granda'.

39 I-Vas, Provveditori di Comun, reg. U, fol. 38^v (documentation transcribed in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 261-62): 'la vigilia di san Gallo, et quella di san Maurizio a vespero, et la matina seguente all'aurora, et quando si leverano il gastaldo et compagni per andar a offerire, et così quando si leverà il Corpo, e Sangue di Christo, ... per onorare Iddio come fano le altre scole nelli giorni delle sue feste'.

- probably dating to shortly after the 1420s is an annotation regarding the presence of ‘three priests who sing at the said feast’ and ‘trumpets and *pifari* to honour the feast’ of St Eustace, patron saint of the confraternity of San Stae, active in the parish church of the same name;⁴⁰
- in 1421, the confraternity of Santa Maria dei Mercanti, present in the church of Santa Maria dei Frari, decides to ‘distribute the bread and candles with instrumentalists at Vespers of the vigil and on the day of the feast of Holy Mary on 8 September’;⁴¹
- in 1373, an addition to the *mariegola* (1340) of the confraternity of San Giovanni Battista e San Giovanni Evangelista, active in the parish church of San Giovanni Decollato, accords membership of the *scuola* to a number of instrumentalists, in return for their services on the vigils and feasts of the two patron saints ‘according to the custom of the *scuola*’.⁴²

In this final document, the explicit reference to respect for the ‘custom of the *scuola*’ illustrates, even at this early date, a continuity of practice whose origins defy all attempts at chronological definition (and certainly long pre-date the few surviving musical sources). At the same time, given the generally high degree of ‘standardization’ between similar institutions and the frequency with which (admittedly later) *mariegole* invoke ‘civic custom’, it is difficult to imagine that what is explicitly documented for the Scuola di San Giovanni Battista e San Giovanni Evangelista was not representative of a widely accepted reality.

The idea of custom, which pervades multiple aspects of the city’s life (including the judicial system by which innovation was viewed as potentially subversive of established order as handed down from the ‘golden age’ of the Republic), provides a constant point of reference for both churches and confraternities, determining the very nature of collective devotional life, dictating common ceremonial standards and creating clearly-perceived expectations among worshippers—expectations of which organizers were obliged to take account. The concept was undoubtedly central in defining the liturgical and

40 I-Vas, Provveditori di Comun, reg. S, fol. 2^v (documentation transcribed in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 254): ‘preti n° 3 che biscantano a la dicta festa’, ‘trombe e pifari per honore de la festa’.

41 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Misericordia, reg. 7, fol. 4^r (documentation regarding the Scuola di Santa Maria dei Mercanti, transcribed in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 321): ‘in la vigilia e in el dì de santa Maria che vien adi .viii°. setembrio se debia dar el pan e la chandela chon sonadori al vespero de la vigilia e in el dì de la festa’.

42 I-Vas, Provveditori di Comun, reg. R, fol. 337^v (documentation transcribed in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 253): ‘secondo l’usanza della scuola’.

paraliturgical aspects of major festivities, the more so at a time when the separation between 'sacred' and 'secular' was not always clearly defined (despite the efforts of the religious authorities). Yet unwritten 'tradition' is naturally subject to a process of slow but inexorable transformation in its outward manifestations. Thus the various visual 'accessories' of solemn feast-days, as listed above, are invariably present over the centuries, though adapted to contemporary tastes and necessities. The same is true of music which, like the other expressions of external worship, entertains the senses, furthers praise and devotion, and provides a means of invoking the intercession of the Blessed Virgin or a saintly protector before the Almighty. The few explicit fourteenth- and fifteenth-century references in archival sources suggest that the importance attributed to 'solemnity of music' in sixteenth-century documents is anything but new: the role of singers and instrumentalists in festive ritual changes little over the centuries (despite evolutions in taste, style and compositional technique). Nor does the professional organization of musicians register significant variations.

Repertories and Performance Practice

Prior to the sixteenth century, almost all surviving documentation on the use of music by the *scuole piccole* regards instrumentalists. Singers—three priests who, in one case, 'canteno', in another 'biscantano' on the feast of the patron saint—are mentioned in documents from two confraternities active in the parish church of San Stae.⁴³ Yet confirmation that performances of vocal music were not unusual during major liturgical ceremonies is provided by local ecclesiastical legislation. This type of documentation, though generic, acquires particular significance in its intersection with what remains of the archives of individual institutions, confirming the widespread and deeply-rooted custom of music-making on major feast-days. Two entries in the collection of council deliberations compiled in 1438 by Lorenzo Giustinian, then bishop of Castello and subsequently patriarch of Venice, regulate the presence of musical inser-

43 For the confraternity of San Stae, see note 40. An annotation in the statute of Scuola della Beata Vergine Assunta states that 'we hire two trumpets, two *pifferi* and a kettledrum to honour the said feast, and with the remaining money begin to make a meal for three priests who sing at the said feast ...' (I-Vas, Provveditori di Comun, reg. R, fol. 105^r, transcribed in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 252: 'togliamo due trombe, due pifferi, e uno naccharino per honorare la detta festa, e del resto di denari principio de fare uno pasto a preti tre, che canteno alla detta festa ...').

tions in liturgical celebrations. The first, attributed to the Council of Grado (1296), prohibits the performance of ‘melodies’ or *cantilene* during the Epistle, Gospel, and Preface (eucharistic prayer),⁴⁴ with a view to safeguarding comprehension of the liturgical text. The second, probably dating to 1374, outlaws the performance of motets not specifically in praise of God, the Blessed Virgin or the saints, and states that texts of the Proper cannot be omitted in favour of motets or other pieces of music (‘propter motetos vel alia in ipsis missis decantanda’).⁴⁵ The reference to textual content indicates beyond reasonable doubt that vocal compositions might be performed during the liturgy: the practice was evidently common enough to necessitate regulation by the ecclesiastical authorities. Yet Venice was the only densely populated area in the patriarchate of Grado, otherwise largely comprised of relatively remote areas of the lagoon, and the ducal basilica lay outside the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Grado. The deliberations were evidently aimed, above all, at regulating music-making in the other Venetian churches.

Though generic references to the presence of musicians at mass and Vespers are frequent in the sixteenth-century documentation, indications on performance practice are few and far between. In particular, the little available evidence on the combination of singers and instrumentalists in performing ensembles is by no means unambiguous. It is clear only that the presence of both was required on solemn feasts. The two groups were usually paid distinctly, but this should not be taken as indicating a necessary division of roles. When, in the early decades of the seventeenth century, the union of voices and instruments in the performance of festive church music is clearly attested in both musical and archival sources, the two groups are still paid separately—evidently not the result of differentiated functions but the natural outcome of their professional organization in separate categories (and *compagnie*). The 1442 deliberation of the confraternity of Santa Maria e San Gallo degli Albanesi prescribes the use of instrumentalists at the Offertory and Elevation of the mass, points identified in the seventeenth-century documentation as

44 Exceptions regard the *Liber generationis* and *Factum est autem* of Christmas Eve and the first Gospel of a newly-ordained deacon. Whether the ‘melodie’ and ‘cantilene’ are monophonic, polyphonic or both is unclear. The acts of the Council of Grado are transcribed in Giuseppe Cappelletti, *Storia della Chiesa di Venezia dalla sua fondazione sino ai giorni nostri* (Venice, 1853), vol. 6, 110–20. For the specific deliberation regarding music cf. Martin Gerbert, *De cantu et musica sacra a prima ecclesiae aetate usque ad praesens tempus* (1774), facsimile edition (Graz, 1968), vol. 1, 425; and Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 160.

45 For the complete text, Cappelletti, *Storia*, vol. 6, 212–13; and Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 161.

appropriate for both motets and instrumental compositions.⁴⁶ At the same time, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century archival sources contain no explicit references to the interruption or ‘modernization’ of practices which were evidently well rooted in liturgical and paraliturgical use.

Performances by two or more choirs of musicians are sporadically documented on major feast-days in the parish and monastic churches. That the practice was common is suggested by a reference to ‘two choirs’ in the statutes of the company formed by the singers of San Marco in 1552 to regulate their activities outside the ducal basilica (though, given the company’s own division into four groups, the text may refer not to polychoral performance but to the quantity of singers engaged): this material is discussed in David Bryant’s contribution to the present volume. Some archival sources suggest that solo voices with instrumental accompaniment (the so-called ‘canto in organo’, to which Lodovico da Viadana refers as common practice in his *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* of 1602) were not infrequently employed during the sixteenth century as a means of adding variety and colour to musical and liturgical practices.⁴⁷ An account book from the Scuola di Sant’Orsola (active in the church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo), one of the few sixteenth-century documents of its kind to have survived from the Venetian *scuole piccole*, gives details of expenditure sustained in 1516, 1517, and 1521 for the feast of the confraternity’s patron saint (21 October).⁴⁸ Three distinct groups of musicians are paid for their services during mass and first and second Vespers: a company of instrumentalists (identified, in 1516 and 1517, as the Compagnia del Fontego della Farina, led by Zuan Maria dal Cornetto), a company of singers (the *cappella* of Santi Giovanni e Paolo) and a third nucleus comprising an organist and a boy singer. In 1521, these are joined by a further group of four singers (‘four voices for two Vespers and mass’)—whether soloists or an enlargement of the *cappella* is unclear.⁴⁹ In 1525, an account book from the Benedictine nunnery of San Zaccaria registers a payment to ‘three sopranos and the boy who sang *in organo*’⁵⁰—hardly

46 Cf. Stephen Bonta, ‘The Uses of the *sonata da chiesa*’, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 22 (1969), 54–84.

47 On this question, see David Bryant and Elena Quaranta, ‘Traditions and Practices in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Sacred Polyphony. The Use of Solo Voices with Instrumental Accompaniment’, in *Music as Social and Cultural Practice. Essays in Honour of Reinhard Strohm*, ed. Melania Bucciarelli and Berta Joncus (Woodbridge, 2007), 105–18.

48 I-Vas, Scuole piccole e suffragi, b. 602, fols. 1^r-59^v (transcribed in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 305–7).

49 Ibid., fol. 1^r: ‘quattro voxe per do vesperi et la mesa’.

50 Account book from San Zaccaria preserved in I-Vas, Dimesse di Murano, b. 16, fols. [1^v-2^v]: ‘tre sorani e l’ puto cantò in organo’.

the make-up of a normal *cappella*. The events surrounding the performance of a motet by a singer and a group of instrumentalists during Vespers on the patronal feast of the church of San Giobbe are the subject of an investigation carried out by the Santo Uffizio in 1548.⁵¹ Singing 'in organo' is also documented on particular occasions in San Marco—for example, in 1537, when the Procuratoria de Supra increases the salary of d. Pietro, a 'tenorista' in the ducal *cappella*, in return for his services 'in organo' on solemn feasts 'whenever his work will be necessary'.⁵²

Given the almost total disappearance of manuscript sources, examples of festive compositions must be sought in the vast though potentially generic printed repertoires. One of the few apparently unequivocal references is provided by Gregorio Zucchini, a resident of the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore, whose *Harmonia sacra* of 1602 includes an eight-part (double-choir) motet in honour of St Benedict (founder of the Order), a twelve-part motet in celebration of St Anne (patron saint of a Benedictine nunnery in Venice) and two eight-part compositions for Christmas—perhaps performed during the Doge's annual visit to the church of San Giorgio Maggiore for second Vespers of Christmas Day.⁵³ Among the contents of Zucchini's *Motectorum et missarum senis, septenisque vocibus ... liber secundus* of 1611 are six-part motets for St George (patron saint of the monastery), St Nicholas (patron saint of the

51 I-Vas, Santo Uffizio, b. 7, fasc. 8 (reproduced in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, plate 7). Further on this episode, Bryant and Quaranta, 'Traditions and Practices', 112-13. The document is also discussed in Giulio M. Ongaro, 'Gli inizi della musica strumentale a San Marco', in *Giovanni Legrenzi e la cappella ducale di San Marco. Atti dei convegni internazionali di studi Venezia, 24-26 maggio 1990, Clusone, 14-16 settembre 1990*, ed. Francesco Passadore and Franco Rossi (Florence, 1994), 215-26 at 219 (where the term 'moteto', to which a member of the instrumental group refers in his evidence, is erroneously transcribed as 'n[ost]ro pezo').

52 I-Vas, Procuratoria de Supra, Terminazioni, reg. 125, fol. 22^{r-v}, transcribed in Giulio M. Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St Mark's at the Time of Adrian Willaert (1527-1562): A Documentary Study' (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1986), 314-15 (doc. 121): 'quandocumque opus fuerit'. For a brief discussion of the use of vocal soloists in otherwise instrumental groups for the performance of the large-scale motets of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli and their colleagues (with relevant bibliography), see David Bryant's contribution in this volume.

53 Gregorio Zucchini, *Harmonia sacra in qua motecta VIII. IX. X. XII. XVI. & XX. vocibus. Missae autem VIII. XII. & XVI. Contextae vocibus continentur* (Venice, 1602; RISM Z 360). The motets are respectively *Exultet omnium turba fidelium*, *Omnes gentes plaudite manibus*, *Pastores surgite*, and *Christus natus est nobis*.

Benedictine monastery of San Nicolò del Lido) and, again, St Benedict.⁵⁴ The five-part *Missa Sancti Stephani* by Ippolito Baccusi, *maestro di cappella* at Santo Stefano from 1574 until at least 1577, and again from 1592, may have been conceived for the patronal feast of this Augustinian church: the same composer's five-part *O lumen ecclesiae*, which honours the founder of the Augustinian order, is potentially suitable for performance at any Augustinian church.⁵⁵ Contrary to Zucchini's tendency to provide large-scale compositions for the greatest events, Baccusi's 'festive' music is in no way different from other five-part masses or motets by himself or other composers. The peculiarity of music for major feast-days resides less, perhaps, in compositional style than in the manner of performance.

Music by Franciscans in honour of St Francis reveals a similar divide between large-scale composition and large- or small-scale performance of smaller compositions. Prints with music by north-Italian composers in the second half of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century include motets for two or three choirs (Antonio Mortaro, 1599; Valerio Bona, 1601; Lodovico Balbi, 1609), *à 8* (Giuliano Cartari, 1588 and 1601; Lodovico Grossi da Viadana, 1597), *à 6* (Costanzo Porta, 1585; Bona, 1601), *à 5* (Porta, 1566 and 1580; Cartari, 1597; Giulio Belli, 1600; Gabriello Puliti, 1600; Lorenzo de Lorenzi, 1604; Giovanni Antonio Cangiasi, 1612), *à 4* (Bona, 1590; Sisto Galli, 1600; Viadana, 1607; Tommaso Graziani, 1627), *à 3* (Cangiasi, 1606; Mortaro, 1610), and *à 1* (Viadana, 1612; Puliti, 1620). The potential demand for music by Franciscan churches was high: Venice and the surrounding islands alone hosted no less than thirteen male and female communities. The variety of available music presumably caters for the wide range of institutional buyers, with their different geographical locations, ceremonial requirements and, perhaps above all, financial capacities as providers of adequate musical accompaniment for the greatest feasts.

In this respect, a comparison of Venice with other urban realities on the Italian peninsula can be instructive. Archival research on musical practices in monastic and parish churches in cities of different sizes and geographical locations in the Venetian dominions reveals few variants indeed in comparison with what has already been described for Venice. In particular, the copious

54 Id., *Motectorum et missarum senis, septenisque vocibus ... liber secundus* (Venice, 1611; RISM Z 362). The motets are *Gloriose martyr Georgi intercede pro nobis*, *Sancte Nicolae confessor Domini*, and *Hodie sanctus Benedictus*.

55 Respectively, Ippolito Baccusi, *Missarum cum quinque, sex, et octo vocibus liber secundus* (Venice, 1585; RISM B 25); and idem, *Motectorum cum quinque sex et octo vocibus* (Venice, 1579; RISM B 23).

documentation from Treviso (whose 55 places of worship included parish and monastic churches, churches without cure of souls, *sacella*, hospital churches, and private chapels) illustrates not only identical patterns of consumption on major feast-days but also an identical sense of custom and, insofar as the lesser number of churches permits, the quotidian.⁵⁶ As in Venice, the presence of singers and instrumentalists on major feast-days, systematically documented beginning in the late sixteenth century, finds precedent in the fourteenth-, fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century materials. Similar uses of music in parish and monastic churches emerge from research conducted in other cities of the Serenissima and elsewhere on the Italian peninsula: Padua, Verona, Conegliano, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo etc.⁵⁷

56 David Bryant, Elena Quaranta, and Francesco Trentini, 'Cappelle musicali and the Economics of Sacred Music Production. Proposals from Treviso for a Broadened Historiographical Model', in *Cappelle musicali fra corte, stato e chiesa nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, ed. Gabriella Biagi Ravenni, Andrea Chegai, and Franco Piperno (Florence, 2007), 107-19.

57 David Bryant, 'Le pratiche della musica nelle chiese monastiche e parrocchiali di Padova (secc. XVI-XVIII). Primo bilancio di una ricerca in corso', in *Barocco padano e musicisti francescani. L'apporto dei maestri conventuali*, ed. Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan, *Barocco padano* 8 (Padua, 2014), 1-16; Noora Heiskanen, 'Consumo e pratiche della musica sacra a Verona all'epoca di Giovanni Matteo Asola', paper read during the international conference *La musica poliorale del secolo XVI: i percussori, l'ambito veneto, Asola e Croce* (Venice, 27-28 May 2010); Umberto Cecchinato, 'Il consumo della polifonia sacra: pratiche e repertori musicali presso le chiese di Conegliano tra Cinquecento e Seicento', *ibid.*; David Bryant, Elena Quaranta, and the 'Treviso' research team of Ca' Foscari University, Venice, 'Come si consuma (e perché si produce) la musica sacra da chiesa? Sondaggi sulle città della Repubblica Veneta e qualche appunto storiografico', in *Produzione, circolazione e consumo. Consuetudine e quotidianità della polifonia sacra nelle chiese monastiche e parrocchiali dal tardo Medioevo alla fine degli Antichi Regimi*, ed. David Bryant and Elena Quaranta (Bologna, 2006), 17-66; 'Firenze' research team of Ca' Foscari University, Venice, 'La mappa della musica da chiesa a Firenze tra cattedrale, laudesi e committenza minore', *ibid.*, 193-226; Noel O'Regan, 'Le pratiche della musica nelle chiese e nelle confraternite di Roma nel Cinquecento', *ibid.*, 67-117; Dinko Fabris and the 'Napoli' research team of Ca' Foscari University, Venice, 'Dal medioevo al decennio napoleonico e oltre: metamorfosi e continuità nella tradizione napoletana', *ibid.*, 227-81; Ilaria Grippaudo, 'Produzione musicale e pratiche sonore nelle chiese palermitane fra Rinascimento e Barocco' (Ph.D. diss., Università di Roma "La Sapienza", 2010).

Music and the Academies of Venice and the Veneto

Iain Fenlon

According to many recent historians, sixteenth-century Italian academies played a significant role in contemporary intellectual and cultural life.¹ While continuing the traditions of Quattrocento humanistic scholarship, the academies of the following century also engaged in new initiatives, stimulated by their adoption of the *volgare* as the preferred language of discourse and publication.² Most commentators are now agreed in assigning a fundamental place in this history to the Accademia Fiorentina, founded as the Accademia degli Umidi in 1540.³ Indeed, one scholar has gone so far as to claim it to have been ‘the original model for all European academies of its type and other academies which supplemented the schools and universities’.⁴ Placed under the patronage of Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici, the principal aim of the Fiorentina was to promote the use of Tuscan as an appropriate vehicle for elevated discourse and the transmission of knowledge. In this respect it differed from many other similar bodies in being fundamentally concerned with questions of poetry and language. Importantly, its championship of the vernacular coincided with the views of Pietro Bembo, the most influential Venetian intellectual of the first half of the century, whose codification of the language of Petrarch and Boccaccio is evident from his own edition of Petrarch’s *Canzoniere*, and above all from his celebrated and influential *Prose della volgar lingua*, first published in 1525. It was also in the Accademia Fiorentina that a debate took place, in 1543, about the relative merits of music *all’improviso* on the one hand, and the polyphonic madrigal on the other. Since the latter, by now the dominant secular form of the time in humanist and courtly circles, had effectively laid claim to the intellectual status of performed music that had previously been

1 Michele Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols. (Bologna, 1926–30) remains the standard general reference work.

2 Eric Cochrane, *The Late Italian Renaissance 1525–1630* (London, 1970), 14. For a general overview see Amedeo Quondam, ‘L’Accademia’, in *Letteratura italiana*, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa (1983), vol. 2, 555–686.

3 Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*, vol. 3, 1–9.

4 Armando De Gaetano, ‘The Florentine Academy and the Advancement of Learning through the Vernacular: the *Orti oricellari* and the *Sacra academia*’, in *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 30 (1968), 19–52 at 46.

occupied by the improvised tradition, the discussion took place at an important juncture in the shifting relationship between music and poetry in contemporary culture.⁵ The debates of the Fiorentina on such matters had a considerable impact on Italian academies elsewhere, including Padua where the arrival of Bembo from Rome in 1521, a few years before the *Prose della volgar lingua* appeared in print, stimulated further discussion of the subject.

A number of contemporaries, including Benedetto Varchi, one of the early members of the Fiorentina, assigned primacy in the evolution of the sixteenth-century academy to another group, the Accademia degli Infiammati of Padua.⁶ Since Varchi himself played an active part in its early activities, this is not so surprising. In a lecture given before his fellow academicians in 1545, he stated that '[both ours and] all others subsequently created throughout Italy, have proceeded from the most happy and flourishing Academy of Padua [the Infiammati], and not only took their origin from it, but adopted the better part of their laws and ordinances from it as well'.⁷ The importance of Padua, the seat of one of the oldest and most distinguished universities in Italy, and as such an intellectual training-ground for Venice, is obvious. In his treatise on the academies, Scipione Bargagli advocates them as 'contributing to the glory of cities and to the education of young nobles in the government of the state'.⁸ Similar sentiments were expressed by Tommaso Garzoni in *La piazza di tutte le professioni del mondo*, where academies are praised for bringing distinction to their cities.⁹ This idea of the academy as an engine of civic virtue was as common in Venice as elsewhere in Italy, but there it took the distinct form of a direct equation between the Academy and the Republic in which the one could be expressed as a metaphor of the other. In the cities of the *terraferma*, governed by a mixture of local aristocrats and Venetian patricians assigned to the purpose for brief periods of time, this orientation was turned to an overtly political purpose. The same is true for the cities of the *terra da mar* along the eastern coast of the Adriatic and further south in Cyprus and Crete; there, even when they had little contact with the local population, they did attract visiting intellectuals and educated Venetian officials on their tours of duty who established a form of cultural activity not too different from that of the academies of

5 Robert Nosow, 'The Debate on Song in the Accademia Fiorentina', in *Early Music History* 21 (2002), 175-221.

6 Maylender, *Storie delle accademie d'Italia*, vol. 3, 266-70.

7 Richard S. Samuels, 'Benedetto Varchi, the Accademia degli Infiammati, and the Origins of the Italian Academic Movement', in *Renaissance Quarterly* 29 (1976), 599-634.

8 Scipione Bargagli, *Delle lodi delle accademie* (Florence, 1569), as reprinted in his *Dell' imprese* (Venice: F. de' Franceschi, 1589), 51-45.

9 Tommaso Garzoni, *La piazza di tutte le professioni del mondo* (Venice: Somasco, 1587), 144.

the *terraferma*.¹⁰ In common with the general Italian pattern, from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards academies proliferated there not only in the larger cities, but also in moderate-sized towns and even comparatively small places.

As the remarks of Bargagli and Garzoni remind us, in a cultural climate in which literary production almost defined intellectual activity, and in which intellectual activity was prized both in itself and for its impact on the education of the governing classes, the role of the academies in Venetian society was central rather than decorative. In the course of the sixteenth century, the interests of academies in Venice and the Veneto broadened beyond the original core subjects; gradually they took in the full range of learning as defined by expansions of the humanistic curriculum, broadened in keeping with the ideals advocated by political theory and the literature of manners. One feature of this enlarged system was the inclusion of music, not merely as an aspect of mathematical study in the Boethian sense, but rather as a practical art with refining properties, a concept stimulated by Ficinian thought.¹¹ In practical terms, the example of the northern Italian courts, particularly those of Mantua and Ferrara, provided a potent model. It was there that aristocratic involvement in practical music, influentially codified in the famous polemic over the value of musical skills that animates the pages of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano*, transformed the art from mere courtly entertainment into an instrument for achieving the Renaissance ideal of balance and harmony of spirit.¹² As such it could also function as a powerful political symbol through the equation of these same qualities with those of a well-ordered state, a metaphor which is a commonplace in Venetian political theory of the period. This helps to explain why some of the best-known examples of academies with

10 Beginning with the Accademia dei Vivi, founded by Francesco Barozzi in 1562, there were academies in the three major cities on Crete by 1600; see David Holton, 'The Cretan Renaissance', in *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, ed. David Holton (Cambridge, 1991), 1-16 at 7-8.

11 Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'Music and Learning in the Early Italian Renaissance', in *Renaissance Thought and the Arts: Collected Essays* (Princeton, 1980), 42-62.

12 James Haar, 'The Courtier as Musician: Castiglione's View of the Science and Art of Music', in *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture*, Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand (New Haven-London, 1983), 165-89, repr. in *The Science and Art of Music*, ed. Paul Cornelison (Princeton, 1998), 20-37; Iain Fenlon, 'The Status of Music and Musicians in the Early Renaissance', in *Le concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance. Actes du XXXIV^e Colloque International d'Études Humanistes. Tours, Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, 1-11 juillet 1991*, ed. Jean-Michel Vaccaro (Paris, 1995), 57-70, esp. 63ff.

strong musical interests were founded in the major cities of the Venetian mainland—Padua, Verona, and Vicenza.¹³

Padua

As the site of a prestigious university, Padua attracted a significant number of high-powered intellectuals, some of whom were connected with both the university and the *Infiammati*; among them were Daniele Barbaro, Sperone Speroni, and Francesco Sansovino. Of these Barbaro was of considerable importance, not only as one of the founders of the Academy, but also on account of his encyclopaedic interests which included both ancient theatre and music. A Venetian patrician who had studied philosophy, mathematics, and optics while at the university, Barbaro was a close friend of Andrea Palladio, with whom he studied ancient buildings in Rome, and he also knew both Bembo and Torquato Tasso. Interestingly, one of the other founders of the *Infiammati*, Leone Orsini, Bishop of Fréjus, was an early patron of the Venetian music printer Antonio Gardano. In 1539 Gardano published an edition of Nicolo Franco's *Le pistole volgari*, a set of letters written in imitation of Pietro Aretino's scurrilous collection printed in the previous year; its title-page includes Orsini's coat-of-arms from which Gardano evolved his own publisher's mark of the Lion and Bear, a visual pun on his patron's name.¹⁴ Since Gardano was probably born in the area around Gardanne in the south of France, a region that encompassed the diocese of Fréjus, it may be that their relationship was long established and then continued in Padua and Venice. In addition to the Aretino edition, a number of Gardano's early editions of music are also dedicated to Orsini including the second edition (the first is lost) of Jacques Arcadelt's *Il primo libro di madrigal a quatro voci* of 1539.

Although there is no direct evidence that the *Infiammati* included the performance of music among its activities, it is entirely possible that it did; certainly the contacts between Orsini and Gardano are suggestive, as is the place of music in the programme of analogous groups. In particular, strong similarities between the organizational structure and official activities of both the Paduan group and the Accademia degli Intronati of Siena have often been noted. The scope of this Sienese academy included 'all disciplines and all liberal arts' among its aims, and in addition to translating the classics, the

13 For an overview see Inga Mai Groote, *Musik in italienischen Akademien. Studien zur institutionellen Musikpflege 1543-1666*, *Analecta musicologica* 39 (Laaber, 2007), 29-34.

14 See also the chapter by Sherri Bishop in the present volume.

members composed their own verses and theatrical works which were then presented at meetings.¹⁵

In this context, it may be significant that the playwright, actor, singer, and poet Angelo Beolco, 'Il Ruzzante', was both a member of the *Inflammati*, and that he knew Bembo. For the first forty or so years of his life, Bembo's musical experiences were largely obtained in the elite and enclosed worlds of the courts in Mantua and Ferrara.¹⁶ In effect this comes down to his engagement with the *frottola*, the musico-poetic form that was so assiduously cultivated in both places.¹⁷ In Ferrara Bartolomeo Tromboncino, one of the two most important composers involved in the comparatively short-lived vogue, was employed by Lucrezia Borgia, who continued to maintain him in service until 1518, when the composer moved to Venice.¹⁸ This also brought him close to Bembo, who became captivated by Lucrezia after meeting her in 1502, and whose Latin elegy addressed to her specifically refers to her ability to both sing and play the lute.¹⁹ The fashion for the *frottola* continued in north Italy well into the 1520s and beyond, even as the vogue for the madrigal began to take hold. In his manual of gastronomy, the *Banchetti, composizioni di vivande* of 1549, Cristoforo Messi Sbughi, steward at the Este court in Ferrara, describes a number of occasions when music was performed in the course of banquets. In January 1529, for example, Ercole d'Este organised such an occasion for his father Alfonso and his aunt Isabella, at which 'Ruzzante with five companions and two women sang most beautiful songs in Paduan style, and wandered around the table arguing together about peasant matters in that dialect'.²⁰ Here the 'beautiful

15 Founded as early as 1525-27, the *Intronati* gave the first Italian public performance of a play in 1532, when the comedy *Gli ingannati*, a collective re-writing by a number of academicians of Plautus' *Menaechimi*, was staged during the carnival season: *Il sacrificio degli'Intronati ... Et gl'Ingannati, comedia dei medesimi* (Venice: Pietrasanta, 1554), one of just many sixteenth-century editions.

16 The best biography of Bembo remains that by Carlo Dionisotti in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, ed. Alberto M. Ghisalberti (Rome, 1966), vol. 8, 133-51. For the works see *Opere del cardinale Pietro Bembo. Ora per la prima volta tutte in un corpo unite* (Venice, 1729).

17 See also the chapter by Giovanni Zanovello in the present volume.

18 William F. Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lucrezia Borgia: The *Frottola* at Mantua and Ferrara', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38 (1985), 1-33.

19 'Ad Lucretiam Borgia', as noted in William F. Prizer, 'Games of Venus: Secular Vocal Music in the Late Quattrocento and Early Cinquecento', in *The Journal of Musicology* 9 (1991), 3-56 at 7, fn. 12. For the text see *Rime di messer Pietro Bembo cardinale, colla giunta delle sue poesie latine e la vita dell' autore descritta da Tommaso Porcacchi* (Verona, 1750), 287-89.

20 Cristoforo Messi Sbughi, *Banchetti composizioni di vivande, et apparecchio generale* (Ferrara: Buglhat and Hucher, 1549). For references to musical performance in the book see

songs in Paduan style' must have been *villotte*, a type of dialect song that arose in the Veneto in about 1520 and became popular for the next ten years or so, largely as a result of the performances of Beolco, who appeared in most of his own plays as the rustic Ruzzante.²¹

It was these, surely, or something very like them, that must have echoed around the walls of the Odeo Cornaro (1530), constructed to designs by Giovanni Maria Falconetto for Alvise Cornaro, in the grounds of his palace close to Padua Cathedral (see Figure 4.1).²² From 1521, the same year that Bembo returned from Rome to settle in Padua after the death of Leo X, Beolco effectively divided his time between Cornaro's *palazzo* and his country estates outside the city. This brought the poet into contact with other artists and writers, including Bembo who on one occasion wrote to Cornaro that he envied him his pleasant life with 'il vostro buono e dolcissimo Messer Angelo'.²³ Part of that pleasure must have involved performances, both in the Odeo and the adjoining Loggia (inscribed 1524, this functioned as a *frons scenae* in front of which plays were given), of *villotte* and frottole by Paduan and composers from the Veneto, including Tromboncino, now permanently resident in Venice. While the Cornaro circle was not officially constituted as an academy as such, it essentially possessed some of its defining characteristics.

Although the *Infiammati* did not last long (it seems to have ceased its activities in about 1545), its influence was considerable in both the Veneto and, more generally, on the culture of academies throughout the peninsular. In Padua itself a number of such societies were founded in the following fifty years, all with similar structures and intellectual programmes.²⁴ Among them was a 'societas musicorum' organized by Francesco Portinaro, the son of a local official who married into the Este family and lived in the residence of the *podestà* in Padua. Later Portinaro became involved with the Accademia dei Costanti of Vicenza.²⁵ Although its activities were largely literary, they included music, and Portinaro, who was employed there as *maestro di musica*, dedicated his

Howard M. Brown, 'A Cook's Tour of Ferrara in 1529', in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 10 (1975), 216-41.

21 For a general introduction, with many references to the songs called for in Beolco's play texts, see Emilio Lovarini, *Studi sul Ruzzante e la letteratura pavana*, ed. Gianfranco Folena (Padua, 1965).

22 For the Odeo, and its derivation from a building thought to be the country villa of Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 BC), see Fritz-Eugen Keller, 'Alvise Cornaro zitiert die Villa des Marcus Terentius Varro in Cassino', in *L'arte* n.s. 14 (1971), 29-53.

23 Alfredo Mortier, *Ruzzante (Angelo Beolco)*, 1502-1542, 2 vols. (Paris, 1925), vol. 1, 35, fn. 2.

24 Marco Sgarbi, *The Italian Mind: Vernacular Logic in Renaissance Italy (1540-1551)* (Leiden, 2014), esp. 41-44.

25 Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*, vol. 2, 114-17.



FIGURE 4.1 Giovanni Maria Falconetto, *Odeio* (Vicenza, 1530)



FIGURE 4.2
Portrait of Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga, frontispiece from his Commentarium rerum suarum libri tres (Rome, 1791). BY PERMISSION OF THE SYNDICS OF CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

1557 madrigal book for five and six voices to the academicians. The social character of the Costanti was unremittingly aristocratic, since membership was restricted to the patrician class.

Portinaro surfaces again in the early history of another Paduan academy, the Accademia degli Etereï.²⁶ This was founded during his time at the *studium* by Scipione Gonzaga, born in 1542 into a minor branch of the Gonzaga family (see Figure 4.2). Scipione had been sent there on the advice of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, one of the regents of the Duchy of Mantua, and President of the final session of the Council of Trent, to continue his education under the guidance of the philosopher Marcantonio Genova.²⁷ The Etereï was most likely not a completely new academy, but was probably formed out of the remnants of a previous group of the same name, which in turn was descended from the Accademia degli Elevati.²⁸ Originally established in 1557, the Elevati is of interest as being one of the first Italian academies to show an interest in music as a practical activity rather than an abstract intellectual construct. This was largely

²⁶ Ibid., vol. 2, 319–23.

²⁷ For Scipione Gonzaga's musical and literary interests see Iain Fenlon, 'Scipione Gonzaga: A 'Poor' Cardinal in Rome', in Iain Fenlon, *Music and Culture in Late Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 2002), 93–117.

²⁸ Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*, vol. 2, 263–65.

due to the efforts of Portinaro; he was to go on to spend much of his career contributing to the musical life of local academies. As the *maestro de musica* of the Elevati, Portinaro taught practical music to the academicians, directed their concerts, and composed pieces for their entertainment, activities which are reflected in his fourth book of madrigals published in 1560; in addition to his own pieces this also includes a number of madrigals by Innocenzo Alberti, one of the three musicians who acted as tutors to members of the academy under Portinaro's guidance.²⁹ While most of the madrigals of the fourth book are dedicated to individual academicians, the opening piece, *Spiriti divini*, is addressed to the Elevati as a whole. In addition to settings of poems by Petrarch, Ariosto, and Machiavelli, the *Quarto libro* also includes, as is a characteristic of the madrigal genre, a large number of anonymous verses, in all probability written by members of the academy.

Whether the musical interests of the Elevati were carried over to the Etereï is not entirely clear, but it is likely. Gonzaga, whose main interests were in both literature and music, was clearly the guiding spirit in the enterprise; the inauguration of the academy in January 1564 was marked by the publication of a Latin oration by Stefano Santini, which explicitly mentions him on the title-page.³⁰ It was in this environment that Gonzaga first made the acquaintance of Torquato Tasso; their life-long friendship is reflected in the dedication, to Gonzaga, of the poet's *Discorsi dell'arte poetica* (written in the early 1560s) and one of his unpublished dialogues. In the crucial year of 1575, when the extent of Tasso's mental instability first became evident, Gonzaga was to transcribe all the stanzas of the *Gerusalemme liberata* then available to him, and some ten years later he edited the celebrated edition of the full text of the epic, issued by the Mantuan court printer Francesco Osanna. Tasso became a member of the Etereï just one year after its formation, and it is from his dialogue *Delle imprese* that we learn that Gonzaga adopted as his academic device the design of a galley being rowed with its sails lowered together with the motto *PROPRIIS NITAR* ('I rely on my own'), a reference to the death of Ercole Gonzaga, at Trent, in March 1563 (it was as a sign of his public respect and grief that Scipione also took the academic name of 'L'Affanato'). In addition to these strong literary interests Gonzaga also cultivated musical ones which extended to composition. Three madrigals for which he was responsible not only for the music but also the poetry, were published in the *Libro secondo* brought out in 1562 with a

29 Francesco Portinaro, *Il quarto libro de madrigal a cinque voice ... Libro quarto* (Venice: Gardano, 1560).

30 Stefano Santini, *Oratio pro Aethereorum Academia initio Patavii habita calendis Ianuariis MDLXIII, Illustrissimo Scipione Gonzaga Principe* (Venice: Bevilacqua, 1564).

dedication addressed to Ercole Gonzaga by Paolo Clerico, a minor composer then living in Mantua.³¹ The presence of Scipione's music in Clerico's publication casts an interesting light on his musical abilities, which must surely have been carried over into the activities of the Etereï. Although Portinaro's name does not occur among the known members of Scipione's academy, it may be that, despite his aristocratic status, he was employed to teach music to the members as he had been by the Elevati. His first book of four-voiced madrigals, published in 1563, is dedicated to Gonzaga. The Elevati was short-lived, and when in 1573 Portinaro was appointed as music master to the Accademia degli Rinascenti in Padua, he engaged a number of the musicians who had earlier worked with him at the Elevati to assist him.

Vicenza

Although academies with strong musical and theatrical interests were founded in a number of towns and cities elsewhere in the Veneto in the course of the century, the phenomenon was by no means universal, even in places which boasted a cathedral and so could be assured of a certain degree of musical activity. Sixteenth-century Treviso, for example, was not a wealthy city, and neither was Udine which stood at the confines of Friuli. In practice, places of this kind were not as susceptible to the aristocratic aspirations of more cosmopolitan centres. In Vicenza, following the demise of the Costanti in 1568, the remaining academicians sought attachment to the Accademia Olimpica which had also been founded in 1556 and which, for the rest of the century, was the most prominent and active of the academies of Vicenza.³² Little is known about the involvement of musicians in the early history of the Olimpica, but the documentation becomes richer from the 1580s.³³ Antonio Pellizari, the custodian of the academy (and as such a paid employee), is first encountered in the records of the academy in January 1582, when he sang, together with other members of his family, at a solemn mass celebrated in connection with the installation of a new 'Prince' of the Olimpica, Giulio Pogliana. Present at the event were the Rectors and Deputies of the city, the official representatives of the Republic charged with overseeing the orderly governance of Vicenza, together with all the nobility. This is a clear indication of the social status of

31 Paolo Clerico, *Li madrigali a cinque voci, libro secondo* (Venice: Scotto, 1562).

32 Bodo Guthmüller, 'Il movimento delle accademie del Cinquecento. Il caso di Vicenza', in *Quaderni veneti* 25 (1996), 9-43.

33 For an overview see Groote, *Musik in italienischen Akademien*, 182-88.

the academy, whose members were largely drawn from the local aristocracy. Contemporary documentation makes specific mention of the high quality of the performances of the Pellizari, which evidently astonished those who heard them; it also emerges that they were retained by the academicians to perform twice a week under normal circumstances, plus additional appearances on special occasions such as the mass marking the beginning of Pogliana's mandate. Some such event occurred later in August of the same year, when Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga of Mantua visited Vicenza where he was entertained in the Teatro Olimpico with an oration and poetry readings given by two of the academicians (the verse had been composed in both refined Italian as well as the local dialect), together with musical performances by the Pellizari. A few years later some of the family, including Antonio, entered Gonzaga service; two of them, Lucia and Isabella, became members of an ensemble of women singers formed in imitation of and in competition with the legendary 'Ladies of Ferrara'. This was almost certainly a consequence of the expansion of the musical establishment at the Mantuan court which took place after the new duke, Vincenzo Gonzaga, succeeded to the title in 1587.³⁴

The most ambitious musical and theatrical occasion which took place at the Accademia Olimpica during the period when the Pellizari were employed there dates from 1585. In March of that year, the new Teatro Olimpico, which had been designed for the academy by Andrea Palladio, was inaugurated with a production of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*.³⁵ From its inception some thirty years earlier, music and theatre had been one of the main interests of the Olimpica, together with science; an early inventory of the academy's library (which no longer exists) includes a substantial number of astronomical and astrological texts, together with a few treatises on architecture. Among them is a copy of the first edition of Barbaro's translation of Vitruvius, published in the year of the academy's foundation.³⁶ This undoubtedly reflects the influence of Palladio, one of the founder members of the Olimpica, who had studied at Padua. Palladio's energies were first placed at the service of the academy when he designed a theatre, of which no archaeological trace survives, for a performance of Terence's *Andria* in an Italian translation by Alessandro Massaria (1557). During the 1560's the academy mounted a number of plays with music,

34 Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1980), vol. 1, 127-28.

35 Stefano Mazzoni, *L'Olimpico di Vicenza. Un teatro e la sua "perpetuo memoria"* (Florence, 1998).

36 Paolo Sanvito, *Il Teatro Olimpico di Vicenza. La genesi di un'impresa architettonica e l'Accademia sua fondatrice* (Naples, 2012), 22-23.

including Antonio Maria Angiolelli's *La Lidia* (1561), Gian Giorgio Trissino's *Sofonisba* (1564), and Niccolò Machiavelli's *Mandragola* (1564).³⁷ These initiatives effectively pre-figure the construction of Palladio's famous theatre. As early as May 1584 the academy had taken the decision to perform Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* in a translation by Orsatto Giustiniani, and later it was decided that the choruses were to be set to music by Andrea Gabrieli. These, which were later published in a set of partbooks printed by Gardano in Venice, are composed in accordance with the recommendation of the dramaturge of the production, that the style should be homophonic in order to aid clear declamation of the text.³⁸ The result is not in the slightest innovatory, perhaps surprisingly in view of contemporary interest in Greek music and the genera; on the contrary, Gabrieli's choruses are written in a syllabic note-against-note style devoid of melody so as to produce a kind of quasi-psalmodic recitative. In performance solemnity would have been encouraged by their slow harmonic rhythm. In this way, the academicians of the Olimpica promoted both the recuperation of ancient drama and architectural practice together with ancient music in what was clearly intended as a kind of *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Never again was Palladio's theatre, which has been preserved together with its contemporary scenery still in place, to witness such an ambitious project. Finally finished in 1609 by his pupil Vincenzo Scamozzi, who added the Odeo and the Antideo (the former was used for meetings of the academy's council and occasionally for concerts), the Teatro Olimpico was subsequently mostly used for civic occasions and public orations.

Venice

In Venice itself, there seems to have been no specifically musical academy until the foundation of the Accademia degli Unisoni in the seventeenth century. At first glance this is something of a surprise. Sixteenth-century Venice was the most cosmopolitan city in Europe, and by the end of the century the richness and diversity of its musical life was without parallel anywhere in Europe. It could be that, in the public sphere, the taste for musical performance was at

37 F. Alberto Gallo, 'L'attività teatrale a Vicenza prima dell' "Edipo tiranno" (1585)', in *Quadrivium* 18 (1977), 103-9.

38 For editions see *La représentation d'Edipo Tiranno au Teatro Olimpico (Vicence, 1585)*, ed. Leo Schrade (Paris, 1960) and *Chori in musica composti sopra li chori della tragedia di Edippo Tiranno (Venice, Angelo Gardano, 1588)*, ed. Nino Pirrotta, Edizione nazionale delle opere di Andrea Gabrieli 12 (Milan, 1995).

least partially satisfied by the activities of the six *scuole grandi* such as San Rocco, the wealthiest of these charitable foundations, where music was particularly encouraged, professional musicians had been employed since the second half of the fifteenth century, and professional instrumentalists were later added to the vocal forces previously available.³⁹ In the course of the sixteenth century the great occasions of church state were celebrated with increasingly elaborate music and ceremony, a development which had at its centre the musicians of St. Mark's basilica.⁴⁰ Yet for all that these general developments both fostered and responded to a growing interest in practical music, there was no formally constituted academy which had at the centre of its concerns the teaching and performance of music, though there were informal groups such as those around Marcantonio Trevisan and Antonio Zantani, and the Florentine Neri Capponi. It was to Trevisan that Adrian Willaert's first book of six-voiced motets was addressed in 1542, with a dedication (by the printer Antonio Gardano) recalling the 'most honoured *ridotto*', where 'every sort of musical instrument' was kept, where 'the most excellent things ... [were] continuously sung and played and the most noble persons who delighted in singing and playing habitually retired'. According to Gardano, Trevisano himself had a good knowledge of both theory and practice, and was able to both sing and play.⁴¹ Capponi's informal academy included Willaert, who acted as *maestro*, and the legendary Polissena Pecorina; Antonfrancesco Doni, who experienced its activities, wrote about it enthusiastically in the pages of his *Dialogo della musica* (Venice: Scotto, 1544).⁴² Antonio Zantani not only sponsored musical gatherings, which were frequented by Annibale Padovano, Claudio Merulo, and Baldassare Donato among others, but also planned the publication of an ambitious collection of madrigals, *La eletta di tutta la musica*, which finally appeared in 1569, two years after his death, following a series of vicissitudes.⁴³ Elsewhere in the city one of the most prominent literary circles,

39 Denis Arnold, 'Music at the Scuola di San Rocco', in *Music and Letters* 40 (1959), 229-41 and Jonathan Glixon, *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260-1807* (New York, 2003).

40 See also the chapter on 'Music, Ritual, and Festival: The Ceremonial Life of Venice' in this volume.

41 Mary S. Lewis, 'Antonio Gardane's Early Connections with the Willaert Circle', in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), 209-26; Martha Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley etc., 1995), 81-82.

42 For Capponi and music see Richard J. Agee, 'Ruberto Strozzi and the Early Madrigal', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983), 1-17, esp. 7-8, and Feldman, *City Culture*, 33-37.

43 Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 3 vols., trans. Alexander H. Krappe, Roger H. Sessions, and Oliver Strunk (Princeton 1949), vol. 1, 439-40, and Feldman, *City Culture*, 63-81.

which met in the palace of Domenico Venier at Santa Maria Formosa, may have included musical performances among its activities; among its members were the poet and composer Girolamo Parabosco, Girolamo Molino, Lodovico Dolce, and the diplomat and man-of-letters Federico Badoer, a member of a prominent patrician family.

It is with Badoer's involvement in the intellectual life of mid-century Venice that we arrive at the most ambitious of all Venetian academies, the Accademia Venetiana della Fama, a formally constituted body with all the apparatus of statutes, bye-laws, and membership lists which he founded in 1557.⁴⁴ An ambitious enterprise, its intellectual aims far surpassed those of the Accademia Aldina (founded by Aldo Manuzio in about 1496), and the more recent Accademia degli Uniti, the two earlier academies in the city with similar intellectual aims and objectives. The Venetiana sponsored two principal activities: a series of public lectures initially given in Badoer's residence and, in obvious indebtedness to the example of the Aldina, an ambitious publishing programme of some 300 titles, of which only about forty ever appeared. Many of the academy's members were active in Venetian political life, and for a while during its somewhat short existence, the Venetiana became the semi-official publisher to the Republic, responsible for publishing its legislative decrees.

In administrative terms the Venetiana was divided into four departments: the Consiglio Politico, the Consiglio Iconomico, the Consiglio delle Scienze, and the Oratorio. While the first two of these functioned as the secretariat and treasury of the academy, the Oratory was responsible for the strong thread of civic Christianity which united the Venetiana's activities. From the very beginning of its existence, Badoer had conceived the academy not merely as a point of contact for the city's intellectuals, but also as the embodiment of the Venetian ideal of learning and religion consolidated in the service of the state, an orientation made explicit in the Venetiana's device, which shows, within a laurel wreath, the figure of Fame holding a flowing banderole inscribed with the words *IO VOLO AL CIEL PER RIPOSARMI IN DIO* (see Figure 4.3).

With the transference of the seat of the academy from Badoer's house to the vestibule of the Biblioteca Marciana, the connections between the Venetiana

44 Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*, vol. 5, 436-43. Among other studies in an extensive literature see Paul L. Rose, 'The Accademia Veneziana: Science and Culture in Renaissance Venice', in *Studi veneziani* 11 (1969), 191-242; Lina Bolzoni, "Rendere visibile il sapere": l'Accademia Veneziana fra modernità e utopia', in *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. David S. Chambers and François Quiviger (London, 1995), 61-75; Iain Fenlon, 'Gioseffo Zarlino and the Accademia Venetiana della Fama', in *Music and Culture*, 118-38.

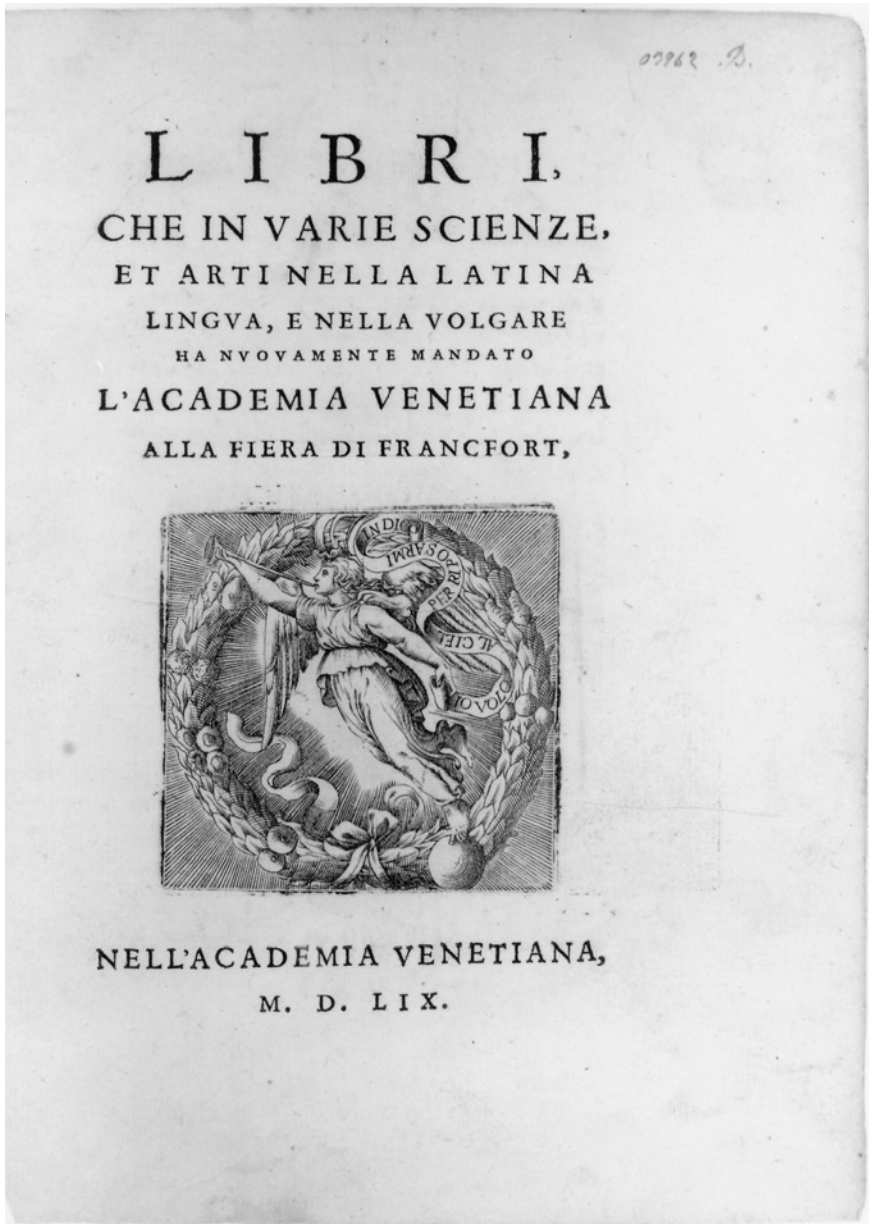


FIGURE 4.3 *Title page, Libri che ... ha nuovamente mandato l'academia venetiana alla fiera di Francfort (Venice, 1559).* BY PERMISSION OF THE SYNDICS OF CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

and the state were more strongly emphasized. Designed by Jacopo Sansovino originally to house the collection of manuscripts donated by Cardinal Bessarion, the Marciana was just one element of a more general *renovatio urbis* inaugurated during the dogeship of Andrea Gritti with, as its focal point, the remodelling of Piazza San Marco and the adjoining Piazzetta. Central to the scheme was a new library, a potent symbol of the values of the new Venetian Republic, arisen from the ashes of the old, founded on the principles of knowledge, civic duty, and Christian ideals. Located on the first floor of Sansovino's building, approached by a richly stuccoed staircase leading up from the Piazza, the library itself, prefaced by a spacious vestibule decorated by Titian, provided a suitably imposing ambience for the academy's activities (see Figure 4.4). By this time, according to the Venetiana's published manifesto, the *Instrumento de deputatione*, which sets out its financial, administrative, and intellectual structure, the academy's membership, which numbered about one hundred, included most of the most prominent intellectuals of Venice, many of whom were also active in its political life. As such, its adherents were drawn almost exclusively from the patrician class.

Writing to Andrea Lippomano in 1549, Badoer stressed that 'Learning is essential to the prospective statesman. He ought to study cosmography, to learn foreign languages, to pursue Latin and Greek so that he will know rhetoric and moral and natural philosophy, and all those sciences which raise our minds from the earth to heaven'.⁴⁵ Fuelled on the one hand by Christianity and on the other by the attempt to revive Greek Academe, this encyclopaedic conception is reflected in the aims and organization of the Consiglio delle Scientie. This was divided into four *stanze*, an arrangement which not only mirrored the scheme of universal knowledge set out in Domenico Delfino's recently-republished *Sommario delle scientie*, but also functioned as a practical, spatial arrangement within Badoer's palace.⁴⁶ Mathematics, one of these four (the others were theology, philosophy, and *umanità*), was in turn split into geometry, arithmetic, astrology, cosmology, and music. These subdivisions were not particularly novel. In Delfino's scheme, first printed in 1501 and heavily indebted to Alfonso de la Torre's fifteenth-century *Vision deleytable di philosophia*, the material is presented in the form of a dream in the course of which the author, guided by Intellect and escorted by Truth, visits all of the kingdoms of the trivium and quadrivium. It is in the course of the seven 'giornate' that articulate this journey, which begins with Grammar and ends with

45 Rose, 'The Accademia Venetiana', 236-40.

46 Domenico Delfino, *Sommario di tutte le scienze dal quale si possono imparar molte cose appartenenti al vivere humano & alla cognition di Dio* (Venice: Giolito, 1556).



FIGURE 4.4 *Jacopo Sansovino, vestibule of the Library of St. Mark's, Venice. PHOTOGRAPH: VENICE, BÖHM*

Astrology, that music is encountered as an essential component of Knowledge, justified by a selection of scholastic-Aristotelian arguments inflected with fifteenth-century Neoplatonism. Described as one of the most important indicators of the intellectual climate of mid-sixteenth-century Venice, Delfino's *Sommario* accords music the high status appropriate to its traditional significance as a body of scientific knowledge.⁴⁷

It is entirely in keeping with this categorization that the strong connections between Delfino's 'giornate' and the classes under which the books of the Venetiana's publishing programme are listed in the *Summa librorum*, a catalogue first printed in Italian in 1558, and then re-issued one year later in an expanded Latin version. Here, under the heading of Music, a mixture of modern editions of classical authors which the academy intended to undertake is presented together with a handful of 'modern' theoretical works.⁴⁸ At the head of the list comes Ptolemy's *Harmonika*, generally thought to be the most lucid and erudite account of Greek theory to have survived from antiquity, which it was now proposed to issue together with a Latin translation in tandem with an edition of Porphyry's commentary, also in Greek. There follow editions of Aristides Quintilianus, Euclid, and the *Cantus liber novus theoreticus*, which is probably a reference to a fifteenth-century compilation described as such in an inventory among Bessarion's manuscripts, of eleven of the most important music treatises of classical antiquity. If carried out, this would have been a challenging project of quite staggering ambition.

Following this concentration on classical texts, the *Summa librorum* then outlines the Venetiana's plans to publish a number of theoretical works in translation, including Italian versions of both Lodovico Fogliano's *Musica theoria* (Venice, 1529) and the *Musica libris quatuor demonstrata* (Paris, 1496) by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. This interest in making important contemporary works available in the vernacular, which is also a feature of Delfino's scheme, marks something of a departure from previous Venetian practice as exemplified by the activities of the Aldina which only published in Latin and Greek, and also reveals a sympathy for Bembo's opinions about the status and dignity of the *volgare*. Both Bembo, librarian and official historian of the Republic, and Speroni encouraged the adoption of Italian for serious discourse and advocated translation of the classics. Speroni, who was one of the founders of the Accademia degli Infiammati which had, among its objectives, the translation

47 Paolo Ulvioni, 'Accademie e cultura in Italia dalla Controriforma all'Arcadia: il caso veneziano', in *Archivio storico civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana – Libri e documenti* 5 (1979), 21–75 at 39.

48 For what follows see, for greater detail, Fenlon, 'Gioseffo Zarlino', 128–38.

into the vernacular of scientific texts then only available in Latin or Greek (see above). It was upon the model of such encyclopaedic conceptions that the ambitious scope of the Venetiana's programme of publication in Latin, Greek, and Italian was clearly based.

As far as music theory was concerned, the moving spirit was undoubtedly Gioseffo Zarlino who, on the evidence of the *Instrumento di deputatione*, was one of the four academicians charged with overseeing the music 'stanza' of the academy. This is a clear indication of Zarlino's intellectual and social standing in Venice, the city in which he had lived for some twenty years. Born in Chioggia in 1517, he was educated by the Franciscans whose order he joined, and is known to have studied logic and philosophy, Greek, Hebrew, and music, the latter with Willaert. These encyclopaedic interests are reflected in his later publications, which include works on chronology, and the construction of calendars and the solar and lunar cycles. Writing in 1581, Sansovino listed Zarlino's library as one of the most important in Venice, alongside those of Paolo Paruta, Aldo Manuzio the Younger, and Sebastiano Erizzo, and Zarlino's will includes about one thousand books which, unfortunately, are not inventoried by title.⁴⁹ Later appointed to the post of *maestro di cappella* of San Marco in 1565 on the resignation of Cipriano de Rore, at the time of the foundation of the Venetiana Zarlino would certainly have been regarded as one of the 'primi intelletti' of the city, as Luca Contile (who was also one of them) described the members of the academy.⁵⁰ This was largely on account of the appearance of his treatise *Le institutioni harmoniche*, published for the first time in 1558 shortly before Badoer's inauguration of the Venetiana, and one of the most important of all Renaissance works of music theory. The list of music titles that the academy proposed to publish undoubtedly represents Zarlino's choices, made after years of study.

Verona

The best-known of all the musical academies of Venice and the Veneto is undoubtedly the Accademia Filarmonica of Verona, formed in 1543 with the aim of the 'coltura ed esercizio della musica' with a membership overwhelmingly drawn, as was common with similar societies elsewhere in the Veneto,

49 See also Isabella Palumbo-Fossati, 'La casa veneziana di Gioseffo Zarlino nel testamento e nell'inventario dei beni del grande teorico musicale', in *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana* 20 (1986), 633-49.

50 Luca Contile, *Delle lettere* (Pavia, 1564), vol. 2, 173.

from the local aristocracy.⁵¹ At the beginning there were 29 members including the academicians of the pre-existent Incatenata. Its activities were presided over by the Regents headed by a 'Prince' who, together with other officers, were elected to serve for two years.⁵² An inventory drawn up before the amalgamation of the two societies includes a wide range of instruments and some thirty sets of partbooks both manuscript and printed containing motets, madrigals, and masses, mostly written by recent composers such as Cipriano de Rore, together with a smattering of older repertory including frottole and music by Francesco de Layolle. This foundation library was absorbed into a larger one which was steadily built up through purchases of the latest work, including madrigals by Jacques Arcadelt and Costanzo Festa, masses by Cristóbal de Morales, and motets by Adrian Willaert.⁵³ This was clearly a working collection; some books deteriorated with use, others went missing, and in 1558 Gasparo da Cremona, a musician, was paid to take care of them.

The primary concern of the Filarmonica with the private exercise of music at a high level is symbolized by the academy's device, elaborated later following the union with the Accademia della Vittoria, which shows a siren holding a celestial globe in her left hand surrounded by the motto COELORUM IMITATUR CONCENTUM. It is to be seen, together with the academy's coat-of-arms, in the illuminated title-page of the Filarmonica's statutes, copied in 1617.⁵⁴ In addition to functioning as a meeting-place the academy also provided instruction. As early as April 1544 it discussed the election of a *maestro* to teach singing, and from the start it purchased high quality instruments in considerable numbers, more than could normally be bought by individual members. From the beginning there were also composers among the membership; this shaped the important role of the Filarmonica as a sponsor of both performances and new composition, activities which the academicians could pursue collectively but probably not individually. In the realm of performance, one of the most prominent public occasions was an annual solemn votive mass sung in one of the city churches with a full musical apparatus of voices and instruments together with 'scenography'. The academy also marked the traditional celebration of the

51 Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*, vol. 3, 386-94; Giuseppe Turrini, *L'Accademia Filarmonica di Verona dalla fondazione (maggio 1543) al 1600 e il suo patrimonio musicale antico* (Verona, 1941).

52 Turrini, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, 29-30 where the names of the founding members of the two academies are listed. For the early history of the academy see also Enrico Paganuzzi in *La musica a Verona* (Verona, 1976), 129-56.

53 Turrini, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, chapter II which prints transcriptions of this and a number of other inventories.

54 Turrini, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, table III where the title-page is illustrated.

First of May and, in the course of the years, participated in civic life, including public celebrations and entertainments given in honour of visiting dignitaries including the composer Jacques Buus who was entertained at several banquets given in his honour during the years 1547-52.

The academy's first *maestro*, Giovanni Nasco, whose salary was paid from the subscriptions raised from the membership, served from 1547-51 and composed new pieces during his tenure, presumably in response to the requests of the academicians. Nasco's successors included Vincenzo Ruffo, who was employed for just one year (1551-52), Alessandro Romano, the Fleming Lambert Courtois, and finally Agostino Bonzanino who had been one of the founder members of the academy. Purchases of music and instruments continued throughout this period and, following Nasco's example, Bonzanino composed new pieces for the Filarmonica. Bonzanino was followed, for an extremely brief period, by the ubiquitous Portinaro (see above), and then by Ippolito Chamaterò, the Spaniard Pietro Valenzola, and the local aristocrat and composer Paolo Bellasio. Following its amalgamation with the Vittoria, the membership of the Filarmonica doubled and its meeting place was transferred to the palace of Count Giusti, in an arcadian setting situated among orange groves.

Beyond those produced by the academy's own *maestri*, a considerable number of published books of music by other composers were also dedicated to the academy as a whole, including madrigals by Giaches de Wert, Ippolito Baccusi, and Marco Antonio Ingegneri, while others were dedicated to individual academicians and to the members of the *ridotto* of Count Mario Bevilacqua, who joined the Filarmonica in 1568 on his return to Verona from Bologna where he had studied law. The Bevilacqua family palace, designed by Sanmicheli, housed a collection of Greek and Roman antiquities together with a picture gallery and a library, where the *ridotto* held its meetings. It was there, according to Pietro Pontio, that 'almost daily many gentlemen gather and exercise themselves in virtuous things such as playing and singing and discussions of similar topics'.⁵⁵ The musical activities of Bevilacqua's *ridotto* are reflected in a number of printed books of madrigals including publications by Orlando di Lasso, Luca Marenzio, Philippe de Monte, Claudio Merulo, and Leone Leoni, all of which are dedicated to Bevilacqua himself. The activities inside Bevilacqua's palace also acted as a stimulus to local printers, as with the *Giardino de madregali a quattro voci de diversi eccellentissimi musici* of 1578, one of the rare publications of music by the local firm of Sebastiano and Giovanni dalle Donne, and the *Rime dell'Acuto* (Verona, 1587). Bevilacqua's informal *ridotto*

55 Pietro Pontio, *Ragionamento di musica* (Parma, 1588), 1.

was just one of a number of private aristocratic academies with musical interests which met in the city; among the others were the Accademia dei Moderati (of which the composer Giovanni Matteo Asola was a member) and the Accademia dei Novelli.⁵⁶ According to the dedication of Pietro Cavatoni's *Scielta de madrigali a cinque voci* of 1572, which includes pieces addressed to individual members of the *Novelli*, Cavatoni was the *maestro della musica* 'della nascente vostra così nobile, et lodevole compagnia'.⁵⁷

From its inception the Accademia Filarmonica was concerned with literary and scientific matters; this is also reflected in its library. Most of the non-music books date from before the middle of the sixteenth century, and include contemporary poetry, commentaries on classical authors, translations of the classics as well as many editions in the original language, history, and inevitably, collections of poetry by Petrarch and Ariosto, and plays by contemporary writers.⁵⁸ Also on the shelves could be found a few works of music theory including Girolamo Mei's *Discorso sopra la musica antica, e moderna* (Venice, 1602), and Pietro Aaron's *Toscanello in musica* (Venice, 1529). The Filarmonica continued up to and after the plague of 1630, which had a dramatic impact on Verona, as it did upon the region in general, including Venice where approximately one third of the population perished. Thereafter, although the academy continued, it never regained the cultural vivacity that had distinguished it for much of the previous century. From surviving manuscript inventories, which continued to be made as late as the eighteenth century, it emerges that a good deal of the library has survived intact, while an impressive number of the academy's instruments, which are of considerable interest to organologists since in many cases their original tuning systems are unaltered, have also been preserved.

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Following a general Italian pattern, academies proliferated throughout the Venetian domains from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards. In the larger cities there were a number, while moderate-sized towns including Udine, Belluno, Rovigo, Conegliano, Murano, and Asolo typically supported a few, and even comparatively small places such as Burano, Castelfranco, Feltre, and Crema boasted at least one. The model was also exported to the cities and

56 Maylender, *Storia delle accademie*, vol. 4, 53-54 (Moderati) and 85 (Novelli).

57 Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)* (New York-Oxford, 1998), 879-80.

58 Turrini, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, Appendix 9.

provinces of the Venetian *terra da mar*, where government was exercised by members of the patrician class: there were academies in Istria and Dalmatia, and one in Crete.⁵⁹ As the remarks of Bargagli and Garzoni remind us, the role of academies in Venetian society was central; they brought distinction to cities, and contributed to the education of the aristocracy in the business of government. In the course of the sixteenth century their concerns broadened beyond their initial interests; influenced by enlightened expansions of the humanistic curriculum, gradually they moved beyond their original core subjects in the direction of the ideal educational and intellectual profile advocated by political theory and the literature of manners. As they did so, the pursuit of music as a philosophical, theoretical, and practical matter, became of considerable importance. This enhanced status of the art is reflected not only in the institutional apparatus of academies and the publication of the books of music which they sponsored, but also in the recognition of the refining qualities of music itself. In his *Discorsi politici*, Paolo Paruta speaks of the wonderful concord and union of the Venetian population.⁶⁰ Similarly, in Gasparo Contarini's famous celebration of the Venetian system, *La repubblica e i magistrati di Vinigia*, the familiar metaphor of consonance is employed in praise of the government of the Republic.⁶¹ According to Francesco Sansovino, the Loggetta at the base of the campanile in Piazza San Marco designed by his father Jacopo includes a bronze statue of Apollo since 'Apollo is the sun, which is singular and unique, just as this Republic, for its constituted laws, its unity and uncorrupted liberty, is a sun in the world, regulated with justice and wisdom ... from the union of the magistracies, combined with equable temperament, there arises an unusual harmony, which perpetuates this admirable government'.⁶² These resonances of a rich musical life are not merely figures of speech; behind the conceits lay a musical reality which was both visible and audible not only in public processions, ceremonies, and other rituals, but also behind the closed doors of patrician palaces both in Venice itself as well as in the towns and cities of the *terraferma*.

59 For an overview see Gino Benzoni, 'Aspetti della cultura urbana nella società veneta del '500-'600: le accademie', in *Archivio Veneto* 143 (1977), 87-159, and the same author's 'Le accademie', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 4,1: *Dalla controriforma alla fine della repubblica: Il Seicento*, ed. Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Venezia, 1983), 131-162. See also the chapter by Ivano Cavallini in the present volume.

60 Paolo Paruta, *Discorsi politici. Aggiuntovi un soliquio* (Venice: Nicolini, 1599), 391.

61 Gasparo Contarini, *La repubblica e i magistrati di Vinigia* (Venice: Scotto, 1544), xxxiii. On Contarini and his book see Felix Gilbert, 'The Date of Composition of Contarini's and Gianotti's Books in Venice', in *Studies in the Renaissance* 14 (1967), 172-84.

62 Francesco Sansovino and Giustiniano Martinioni, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare descritta in XIII libri* (Venice: Curti, 1663), 307-8.

PART 2

Music in the Public and Private Space



Music, Ritual, and Festival: The Ceremonial Life of Venice

Iain Fenlon

When the Florentine architect Jacopo Sansovino died in Venice in 1570, his ambitious project to re-model Piazza San Marco along classical lines was left unfinished.¹ The project itself had been largely promoted by Andrea Gritti, Doge from 1523 until 1538, and undoubtedly the main political force behind an even more substantial urban scheme. Following the trauma of the Venetian defeat at Agnadello in 1509, and the consequent loss of Venetian prestige, Gritti's objective had been to restore confidence in the city as a great commercial centre, flourishing once again under the benign administration of a model republican regime. In this context, the re-fashioned Piazza was to have symbolic power, as the most prominent feature of a spectacular large-scale *renovatio urbis* which touched many areas of the city.² In practice this design was elaborated through a radical architectural renewal of the central and interconnected civic spaces at San Marco and the Rialto, in order to lend them an appropriate sense of splendour, modernity, magnificence, and *auctoritas*.³ The final outcome is an attempt to represent, in appropriate architectural language, what historians have come to call the Myth of Venice, the concept of the city as the perfect Republic, unwallled and yet unconquered for a thousand years, ruled for the benefit of all its citizens by a benevolent patrician class.⁴

- 1 Manfredi Tafuri, *Jacopo Sansovino e l'architettura del '500 a Venezia* (Padua, 1972); Deborah Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino: Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven-London, 1975); Manuela Morresi, *Piazza San Marco: istituzioni, poteri e architettura a Venezia nel primo Cinquecento* (Milan, 1999); eadem, *Jacopo Sansovino* (Milan, 2000); Iain Fenlon, *Piazza San Marco* (Cambridge, MA, 2009).
- 2 Manfredi Tafuri, 'Renovatio urbis': *Venezia nell'età di Andrea Gritti (1523-1538)* (Rome, 1984), and some of the individual chapters in *Venezia e il Rinascimento: religione, scienza, architettura*, ed. Manfredi Tafuri (Turin, 1985), translated as *Venice and the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA-London, 1989).
- 3 Donatella Calabi, 'Il rinnovamento urbano del primo Cinquecento', in *Storia di Venezia: dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, vol. 5: *Il Rinascimento, società ed economia*, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome, 1996), 101-63.
- 4 Gina Fasoli, 'Nascità di un mito', in *Studi in onore di Gioacchino Volpe* (Florence, 1958), vol. 1, 445-79; Franco Gaeta, 'Alcune considerazioni sul mito di Venezia', in *Bibliothèque*

At the same time it is also a brave reinterpretation, on a magisterial scale, of the plan of the ancient Roman forum as described by Vitruvius.⁵ In these terms, Sansovino's project, which was not finally completed until the late seventeenth century, is the most spectacular example anywhere in early modern Italy of the transformation of urban space in order to reinforce claims to power through the appropriation of Roman style for contemporary objectives.⁶

At the centre of Sansovino's scheme is the Basilica of San Marco, constructed in the final decades of the eleventh century as a grandiloquent expression of Venice's new-found political and economic status in the upper Adriatic.⁷ The effect is regal if not imperial, the intended analogy being with Byzantium.⁸ Subsequently embellished by booty removed from Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade, the building was further enhanced both internally and externally over the centuries by marble cladding and pictorial mosaics. Although the provision of a suitable resting place for St Mark's relics was the main motivation for the foundation of the basilica, its proximity to the Ducal Palace also gave it a distinct civic meaning. During the centuries which followed the construction of the building, the bonds which tied Mark to both Doge and state were strengthened through the evolution of a characteristically Venetian mixture of liturgical and civic rituals.⁹ These were enacted mostly in the basilica, the Piazza and the adjoining Piazzetta, which for these purposes constituted a unified ceremonial space.¹⁰ From there they were also transported to other locations in the city, when the *andata in trionfo*, the elaborately choreographed ducal procession which is known to have been a prominent feature of the ceremonial cityscape since at least the late thirteenth century, visited sites of

d'Humanisme et Renaissance 23 (1961), 58-75. Artistic expression of various aspects of the Myth are discussed in David Rosand, *Myths of Venice: The Figuration of a State* (Chapel Hill-London, 2001). For some musical responses see Ellen Rosand, 'Music in the Myth of Venice', in *Renaissance Quarterly* 30 (1977), 511-37.

5 Margaret M. D'Evelyn, *Venice and Vitruvius: Reading Venice with Daniele Barbaro and Andrea Palladio* (New Haven-London, 2010).

6 Eamon Canniffe, *The Politics of the Piazza: The History and Meaning of the Italian Square* (Aldershot, 2008), 103-6.

7 Otto Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture* (Washington DC, 1960); idem, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice* (Chicago, 1984); Otto Demus et al., *Le sculpture esterne di San Marco* (Milan, 1995).

8 Deborah Pincus, 'Venice and the Two Romes: Byzantium and Rome as a Double Heritage in Venetian Cultural Politics', in *Artibus et Historiae* 26 (1992), 101-14.

9 Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981); Iain Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven-London, 2007).

10 Iain Fenlon, 'Magnificence as Civic Image: Music and Ceremonial Space in Early Modern Venice', in Iain Fenlon, *Music and Culture in Late Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 2002), 1-23.

particular historical or religious significance. Typically these were parish churches, convents, and monasteries associated with Venetian military or naval victories.¹¹ In this way the Piazza functioned as the centre of the city's devotional and political geography, and as the heart of its ceremonial and ritual life.

In this sense, the Piazza was not merely a ceremonial forecourt to the basilica, but was also the site of a wide range of communal experiences which united civic and religious values within a recognizable and constantly evolving rhetorical language. As well as being a theatrical stage for the enactment of state rituals, the square was also a highly evocative and emotionally-charged space, an arena for collective experiences of all kinds. Here both audience and spectators were surrounded both by symbols of political authority, emblems of statehood, and bearers of historical memory, of which the most potent were the four bronze horses from Constantinople which adorned the west façade of the basilica.¹² Embedded into its walls, and placed strategically close to it where they were invested with new functions and meanings, marble and porphyry fragments served as constant reminders of Venetian imperial status.¹³ Within this single space, different aspects of Venetian society, from its government and bureaucracy to its devotional and commercial life, were present in a co-ordinated fashion, accessible to all, and clearly demonstrative of an underlying order.

Politics and Devotion

The choreography of the many public festivities which articulated the year emphasised the indissolubility of religious and civic values, by inextricably fusing together the political and devotional dimensions of public life. In the course of the annual cycle, the Venetians publicly celebrated the feast days of sixty-five saints and ten moveable feasts. The political nature of these occasions was underlined liturgically since the *patriarchino*, the rite which after 1453 was enacted only in San Marco and was effectively a liturgy of state, was

¹¹ See also the chapter by Jonathan Glixon in the present volume.

¹² Michael Jacoff, *The Horses of San Marco and the Quadriga of the Lord* (Princeton, 1993).

¹³ Michael Vickers, 'Wandering Stones: Venice, Constantinople and Athens', in *The Verbal and the Visual: Essays in Honor of William Sebastian Hecksher*, ed. Karl-Ludwig Selig and Elizabeth Sears (New York, 1990), 225-47; Marina Belorskaya and Kenneth Lapatin, 'Antiquity Consumed: Transformations at San Marco', in *Antiquity and its Interpreters*, ed. Alina Payne, Ann Kuttner, and Rebekah Smick (Cambridge, 2000), 83-95.

used in place of the Roman rite which was practiced elsewhere in the city.¹⁴ At such moments the quasi-sacred nature of the dogeship invested Venetian civic ritual with a strongly devotional component. One French visitor, Philippe de Commynes, observed in 1495 that Venice 'is the most reverend city that I have ever seen in ecclesiastical matters',¹⁵ while the eccentric English traveller Thomas Coryat, described it in 1608 as 'the Jerusalem of Christendome'.¹⁶

By the second half of the sixteenth century, the liturgy enacted in the basilica on major feast days was elaborated through the performance of poly-choral polyphony. The evolution of this style of musical composition for two or more choirs can be traced to practices that pre-date Adrian Willaert's arrival as *maestro di cappella* in 1527, but its high point is arrived at with the large-scale compositions of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, published in the *Concerti* of 1587.¹⁷ This substantial collection, assembled by Giovanni as a posthumous monument to his uncle's achievements at San Marco while also demonstrating continuities with his own work, includes both secular and sacred compositions for the major Venetian occasions of church and state. As has been often noted, Andrea Gabrieli's large-scale works in this idiom are indebted not only to Venetian tradition, but also to the style of works written by Lasso for the Bavarian court chapel, which Gabrieli must have heard during his sojourn north of the Alps in 1562. Shortly after his return to Venice Andrea wrote his first ceremonial piece, the madrigal *Felici d'Adria*, composed for the visit to the city of Archduke Charles of Austria.¹⁸ This inaugurated his career as a composer of Venetian ceremonial music, a career which culminated in a sequence of settings of the Ordinary of the Mass performed for the state visit to Venice of five Japanese princes in the summer of 1585.¹⁹ They were probably among the last things that he wrote.

14 For its details see Giulio Cattin, *Musica e liturgia a San Marco: testi e melodie per la liturgia delle ore dal XII al XVII secolo. Dal graduale tropato del duecento ai gradualini cinquecenteschi*, 4 vols. (Venice, 1990-92).

15 *The Memoirs of Philippe de Commynes*, ed. Sam Kinser, trans. Isabelle Cazeaux (Columbia, SC, 1973), 562.

16 Thomas Coryat, *Coryat's Crudities hastily gobbled up in five moneths travells in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia* (London, 1611; facs. reprint: London, 1978), 184.

17 For early sixteenth-century practices in San Marco see Iain Fenlon, 'Strangers in Paradise: Dutchmen in Venice in 1525', in Iain Fenlon, *Music and Culture in Late Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 2002), 24-43. See also the chapter by David Bryant in this volume.

18 The Archduke made two visits to Venice, in 1565 and 1569.

19 Denis Arnold, *Giovanni Gabrieli and the Music of the Venetian High Renaissance* (London, 1979), 171-77.

Many of Giovanni Gabrieli's motets are liturgically appropriate to the celebrations which marked the major events in the annual calendar at the turn of the sixteenth into the seventeenth century. The more crowded and elaborate ceremonial life of Venice which was in place by this date not only placed additional burdens upon the *maestro di cappella*, which resulted in a greater sharing of responsibilities with the basilica's organists (both Giovanni and Andrea were employed in this role), but also led to an expansion of the forces available. A critical feature of this expansion was the decision to add instruments to the thirty or so singers in the choir. As early as 1557 a separate musician was appointed to take charge of instrumental music, the Dalla Casa brothers were engaged to provide the basilica's first permanent instrumental ensemble in 1568, while a third organist was appointed in 1588 and a *vice-maestro di cappella* in 1592. Significantly, the documentation recording the appointment of this third organist explicitly speaks of 'the concerts performed in our church of San Marco with so much public dignity on solemn feast days on which most of the city participates that we must not only strive to continue them but must try in every way possible to increase and augment them.'²⁰ The artistic consequences of these resources can be seen in the music not only of Giovanni Gabrieli, but also in that of Giovanni Bassano and Giovanni Croce. For example, of the five settings by Giovanni of the psalm *Iubilate Deo omnis terra*, three are for eight voices, one for ten, and another for fifteen; these clearly functioned as magnificent all-purpose celebratory pieces on occasions for which their texts made them liturgically appropriate as part of Vespers. Giovanni also set a number of texts for Vespers on Christmas Day, which was celebrated when the *andata* crossed the lagoon to the Benedictine church on the island of San Giorgio Maggiore (see Figure 5.1). The following day, the feast of St Stephen, the journey was repeated and mass was celebrated in the church. The *Concerti* of 1587 include a number of large-scale Christmas motets by both Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli suitable for this latter occasion, including Giovanni's *O magnum mysterium*, Andrea's *Angelus ad pastores ait*, and his seven-voice *Hodie Christus natus est*. These last two texts were also set by Giovanni in his 1597 collection, the first for twelve voices and the second for ten. In addition to Christmas, the celebration of Easter also took on a public form through rituals conducted in both the basilica and the Piazza.²¹

20 Giacomo Benvenuti, *Andrea e Giovanni Gabrieli e la musica strumentale in San Marco* (Milan, 1931), LXXIII.

21 John Bettley, 'The Office of Holy Week at St. Mark's, Venice, in the Late 16th Century, and the Musical Contributions of Giovanni Croce', in *Early Music* 22 (1994), 45-60; Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*, 147-48.



FIGURE 5.1 Giacomo Franco, *Andata to S. Giorgio Maggiore on Christmas Day*, engraving. VENICE, MUSEO CIVICO CORRER

Other major feast days in the calendar marked important events in the history of the Republic in ways which powerfully associated the specifically Venetian with the universally Christian. At the centre of Venetian mythology was St Mark whose body, according to legend, was removed from Alexandria in the ninth century by two Venetian merchants who transported it to the lagoon. After being briefly housed in the Doge's palace, it was then installed beneath the High Altar in the basilica. The historical evidence for this account is fragile, and cannot be traced further back than the thirteenth century when the Venetians were consolidating their image of the Republic as a powerful political force. In this context, the appropriation of Mark lent political weight to the evolving foundation myth of Venice which, in the absence of Roman roots, could now present itself as a holy and apostolic city of equal antiquity since Venetian possession of the Evangelist's body allowed the remodelling of their relationship to St Mark on that of the popes to St Peter. In Venetian eyes the city was as independent as Rome, and the Doge's authority, inherited from Mark, as absolute as that of the occupant of the Chair of St Peter. By the sixteenth century St Mark had come to personify not only the privileges of the Doge, but the Republic itself. Many Venetian churches glowed with paintings depicting events from the life of the saint, no fewer than four festivals were dedicated to Mark, and his symbol was extensively used throughout the city and its dominions as an image of Venetian authority. In view of this strong identification of the Republic with the Evangelist, it is not surprising that texts in praise of Venice's principal patron saint are so common in the music written by musicians working in the city, especially those working at the basilica itself. The most striking example is the *Oration di San Marco, Deus qui beatum Marcum* (see also below). This was suitable not only on the feast day of St Mark, but also on the occasion of the Doge's investiture and as part of ceremonies related to other major state office holders. Giovanni Gabrieli, among others, set this text in the grand manner together with *Iubilemus singuli* and *Virtute magna operatus est*, which are also in honour of St Mark.

In addition to the celebration of mass, the principal feast day of St Mark was marked with rituals which emphasised his connection to the evolving history of Venice. On the vigil of this day, a Vespers procession walked around the Piazza and then entered the basilica where, during the singing of the Magnificat, the Doge lit a candle in honour of the Evangelist and placed it on the High Altar. Behind this simple act, which annually renewed the links between Mark and the city, lay the twelfth-century Alexandrine Donation, when Pope Alexander III presented Doge Sebastiano Ziani with a candle together with the other *trionfi*, emblems of ducal privilege which included a

ceremonial folding stool and six silver trumpets.²² This aspect of the Donation and its significance was recalled in turn on every occasion that the *andata* took place, when a white candle was placed in a strategic position directly in front of a page bearing the ducal crown (*corono*) on a ceremonial cushion.

In addition to St Mark, a central figure in Venetian political rhetoric was that of Venetia herself, a female personification of the state, who was traditionally represented as a modified figure of Justice holding scales and sword and seated upon a Solomonic throne of lions. In this guise Venetia represented the Pax Venetiana, bestowed not only upon its own fortunate citizens but also upon those of the cities of the mainland and the empire. Since, according to legend, the city had been founded on the feast of the Annunciation, the figure of Venetia also assumed the attributes of the Virgin, in particular her purity, inviolability and immortality. This conflation of images also helps to explain the important place of Marian devotion in the public ceremonial life of the city. On all the major feast days dedicated to the Virgin, of which there were four (the Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, and the Nativity), the Doge attended mass in the basilica, while the feasts of the Annunciation and the Assumption were celebrated as great civic events of the Republic. In addition to being constantly reminded of the local resonances of the cult of the Virgin through the annual cycle of feasts celebrated in parish churches, Venetians were everywhere confronted by Marian images. They were to be found not only in the official iconography of Piazza San Marco, but in street corner shrines and on plaques set into the walls of local churches. For the citizens of the Republic, her comforting presence carried a quite precise political and civic message that was intimately connected to the origins and evolution of Venice, and in these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that so many Marian texts were used by composers associated with the basilica. This is particularly true of large-scale settings of the Magnificat, settings such as Andrea Gabrieli's twelve-voice version published in the 1587 *Concerti*, which could also have been performed during Vespers on any major occasion including the feast of the Ascension, when the celebration of mass and Vespers in the basilica was combined with the annual marriage of Venice to the sea, a symbolic affirmation of Venetian control of the Adriatic. It was undoubtedly for this and similarly grand ritual occasions that Giovanni Gabrieli's large-scale Magnificats were also written. He set the text no fewer than seven times: once for eight voices, twice for twelve, and once each for fourteen, seventeen, twenty, and finally thirty-three voices.

22 Agostino Pertusi, 'Quaedam regalia insignia', in *Studi veneziani* 7 (1965), 3-123 at 103-19; Muir, *Civic Ritual*, 103-19; Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*, 120-21.

Processions

Sixteenth-century Venice was a city of processions. The most visible and elaborate of them, the ducal *andata*, was endlessly reproduced in images. Shown in the decorative borders of maps, and described in detail in guidebooks, the experience of the *andata* was available to the Venetians as well as being one of the strongest impressions of the city that visitors took away with them. In its fullest version, as recorded in sixteenth-century texts and images, the *andata* included all the principal office-holders of state together with minor officials, five foreign ambassadors, the canons of the basilica, the patriarch of Venice (though only on specified occasions) and, at the core of the procession, the Doge himself.²³ While the chancery officials were placed in front, the nobility who had been elected into the various magistracies walked behind. This group of prominent patricians, the only element of Venetian society that participated directly in the democratic process, were drawn from the narrow band of the patriciate in which power, money, and influence were concentrated.²⁴ Over the course of time, as questions of rank and status became more important, the exact position of each individual office-holder within the structure of the procession became more rigidly defined. The primary purpose of Matteo Pagan's sequence of eight large woodcuts which, when placed in order, present a continuous view of the procession, was to fix the relative position of the participants (see Figure 5.2).²⁵ On some occasions this roster of participants was augmented by other social groups, such as the two main categories of Venetian charitable confraternities (the *scuole grandi* and the *scuole piccole*), the trade guilds, and sometimes even particular parishes.²⁶ The *trionfi* were an essential part of the ceremonial apparatus of the *andata*; as Francesco Sansovino, who provides a detailed description of the participants in the procession, explained in his guidebook, *Venetia città nobilissima* of 1581, their presence emphasised that the Doge was the equal of popes and emperors. The *trionfi*, historical relics

23 Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*, 123-27.

24 Paul F. Grendler, 'The Leaders of the Venetian State, 1540-1609: A Prosopographical Analysis', in *Studi veneziani* n.s. 19 (1990), 35-85; James Grubb, 'Elite Citizens', in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City State, 1297-1797*, ed. John J. Martin and Dennis Romano (Baltimore-London, 2000) 339-64.

25 Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto, 2005), 66-67.

26 Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State to 1620* (Oxford, 1971); Brian Pullan, 'The Scuole Grandi of Venice: Some Further Thoughts', in *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento*, ed. Timothy Verdon and John Henderson (Syracuse, 1990), 272-301.



FIGURE 5.2 *Matteo Pagan, Procession in St. Mark's Square, Venice, c. 1550. woodcut, c. 1550. VENICE, MUSEO CIVICO CORRER*

as well as emblems of status and authority, were triumphantly carried in the ducal procession on all the major occasions in the ceremonial year.²⁷

The *andata* was not a silent affair. On many of the more important feasts in the Venetian calendar, the choir of the San Marco walked in the procession, and so too, on occasion, did the professional singers employed by some of the wealthier *scuole*.²⁸ In Gentile Bellini's famous painting *Procession in Piazza San Marco* of 1496, which shows the Scuola di San Giovanni carrying their prized relic of the True Cross on the feast day of Saint Mark, a group of five singers is shown accompanied by an instrumental ensemble.²⁹ In its expanded form, the *andata* could amplify the liturgy outside the Piazza by processing to other areas of the city as well. On these occasions, civic and liturgical rituals associated with the figure of the Doge were enacted outside the central civic and religious arena. This allowed the patrician class not only to broaden the audience for official ceremony, but also to knit together the social fabric of the city through communal ritual acts which involved a broad spectrum of the population, and which could be amplified according to historical circumstance.

At a local level it was the parish and the *scuola* that structured the lives of ordinary Venetians. Many citizens would have belonged to one of the *scuole piccole*, whose memberships were often restricted according to criteria of occupation or national origin, and which were sometimes patronized by wealthy patrician families who acted as benefactors. Some were attached to parish churches, others were tied to a specific function, such as the Scuola di San Fantin, which was dedicated to assisting prisoners condemned to death. Many of the *scuole piccole* maintained meeting houses, constructed according to a standard typology, with an *albergo* where mass would be celebrated on the first floor. The forecourt functioned as a sort of parade-ground, where members of the confraternity would be drawn up in formation before processing; simple music, such as the *laude* by Innocenzio Dammonis published by Petrucci, may have been performed along the way.³⁰ By the sixteenth century

27 Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare descritta in XIII. libri* (Venice, 1581), 492-93.

28 Jonathan Glixon, *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260-1807* (New York, 2003).

29 A detail of the painting can be seen in the contribution by Bonnie J. Blackburn to the present volume (Figure 9.1). Howard Mayer Brown, 'On Gentile Bellini's *Processione in San Marco* (1496)', in *IMS Report of the Twelfth Congress Berkeley 1977*, ed. Daniel Heartz and Bonnie Wade (Kassel etc., 1981), 649-58.

30 Glixon, *Honoring God*, 34.



FIGURE 5.3

Venice, Scuola dei calegheri.

PHOTOGRAPH: VENICE, BÖHM

there were perhaps as many as two hundred *scuole*.³¹ Many of the hundred or so craft guilds (*Scuole di arti*) which fulfilled a similar function, providing solidarity for their members in the workplace, and support in times of sickness and death, also maintained a meeting house arranged along similar lines (see Figure 5.3).³² On the feast days of St Mark and Corpus Christi, two of the most important religious festivals of the year, the guilds were required to process in the *andata*. Since membership of the *scuole* crossed neighbourhood

31 Richard MacKenney, 'Continuity and Change in the *scuole piccole* of Venice, c.1250-c.1600', in *Renaissance Studies* 8 (1994), 388-403; Richard MacKenney, 'The *scuole piccole* of Venice: Formations and Transformations', in *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Nicholas Terpstra (Cambridge, 2000), 172-89.

32 Richard MacKenney, 'Arti e stato a Venezia tra tardo medioevo e '600', in *Studi veneziani*, n.s. 5 (1981), 127-43; Richard MacKenney and Peter Humfrey, 'The Venetian Trade Guilds as Patrons of Art in the Renaissance', in *Burlington Magazine* 128 (1986), 317-30; Silvia Gramigna and Annalisa Perissa, *Scuole di arti mestieri e devozione a Venezia* (Venice, 1981); Richard MacKenney, *Tradesmen and Traders: The World of the Guilds in Venice and Europe, c.1250-c.1650* (London-Sydney, 1987).

boundaries, their presence had the effect not only of broadening participation, but also of fulfilling political objectives by underlining the allegedly harmonious collective organisation of the city, one of the basic concepts that lay behind the Myth of Venice. Similarly, while the visibility of the *scuole* communicated the idea of communal devotion and charity, the participation of the guilds symbolised the complementary notion of trade as the basis of civic concord.

The *scuole grandi* represented the interests of the *cittadino* class, made up of professional men such as doctors, lawyers, civic servants, and prominent merchants. Their main function, like that of the *scuole piccole*, was to promote virtuous living and to distribute benefits, both material and spiritual, among both their members and impoverished outsiders. By the sixteenth century their financial resources had become considerable, and much of their effort and financial resources was devoted to the construction and decoration of their meeting houses. At the time there were some who believed that such ostentatious behaviour was not becoming conduct for bodies which were essentially charitable foundations, but the results were much admired, and by the second half of the century, the *scuole* had established themselves as one of the sights of Venice. Although they were independent foundations, the *scuole grandi* were regulated by the state and were expected to participate in processions on important public occasions. As the ceremonial life of Venice became more elaborate in the course of the sixteenth century, so the demands upon this civic aspect of their activities increased. By the end of the sixteenth century it had become common practice for musicians from San Marco to be imported by the *scuole* on important occasions, most commonly their patronal feast.³³ It was an event of this kind that Coryat witnessed during his trip to Venice in the early seventeenth century. Among the many wonders of the city 'hastily gobbled up' (as he later described it) was the celebration of the feast day of St Roch, which he attended in the main hall of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco, one of the six *scuole grandi*. There, surrounded by the vast glowing canvases of Jacopo Tintoretto, he listened for some three hours to music 'both vocall and instrumental, so good, so delectable, so rare, so admirable, so super excellent, that it did even ravish and stupifie all those strangers that never heard the like'. His lyrical description goes on to praise the choir of 20 voices and the instrumental ensemble of 24 performers (ten trombones, four cornetti, two violas da gamba, one violin, and seven organs).

For most Venetian citizens, the most meaningful focus of identity in the sixteenth century was the parish, of which there were about seventy.³⁴ Two of the

33 See also the chapter by Giulio Ongaro in this volume.

34 See also the chapters by Elena Quaranta and Jonathan Glixon.

largest were attached to the large mendicant churches of the Frari and Santi Giovanni e Paolo, both of which had a permanent choir, an organist, and a music master to teach the novices. A number of *scuole piccoli* attached to parish churches employed musicians for the occasional performance of a polyphonic mass. Many medium-sized parish churches also paid for music on important occasions, a practice that was facilitated since many Venetian churches had a formalized connection with at least one musician from the basilica, many of whom held ecclesiastical status. It was through this system of additional payments and benefits that the Procurators, who had overall control for the basilica and the Piazza, attempted to maintain a high quality of musical life at San Marco; at the same time the practice may occasionally have benefited musical activity at a parish level. Even in the smaller parish churches singers and instrumentalists would be employed, if only once a year, usually to celebrate the patronal feast day. Noticeably absent from these arrangements are members of the foreign communities some of whom (the Greeks, Albanians, and Slavs), established their individuality through their own *scuole*, while others (such as the Germans, the Arabs, Turks, and Persians) established warehouses (*fondachi*) where merchants and traders would congregate and transact business. Familiar to us from the paintings of Carpaccio, these different ethnic groups usually participated in Venetian ritual life only as observers.

Pilgrims from Northern Europe as well as Italians from elsewhere in the peninsular congregated in the city before setting out to the Holy Land to make the greatest of all spiritual journeys. Particularly as Easter approached and the galleys were repaired and readied for departure on the spring tides, the pilgrimage trade was a significant part of the commercial activities in and around the Piazza.³⁵ Before embarking, pilgrims normally stayed in Venice for some weeks in order to make all the necessary arrangements: money had to be changed, prices and conditions agreed with the ship's master and provisions laid in. The culmination of these preparation occurred on the feast of Corpus Christi, when those soon to set sail for Jerusalem were incorporated into a vast procession which was, in effect, an expanded form of the ducal *andata*. Some impression of this crowded occasion (thousands must have participated) is provided by an early seventeenth-century engraving by Giacomo Franco, and a number of eye-witness accounts (see Figure 5.4). By this date, each pilgrim, accompanied by a senator, was presented with a candle which was then

35 See Ugo Tucci, 'Mercanti, viaggiatori, pellegrini nel quattrocento', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 3,2: *Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, ed. Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Vicenza, 1980), 317-53; Ugo Tucci, 'I servizi marittimi veneziani per il pellegrinaggio in Terrasanta nel medioevo', in *Studi veneziani* n.s. 9 (1985) 43-66.

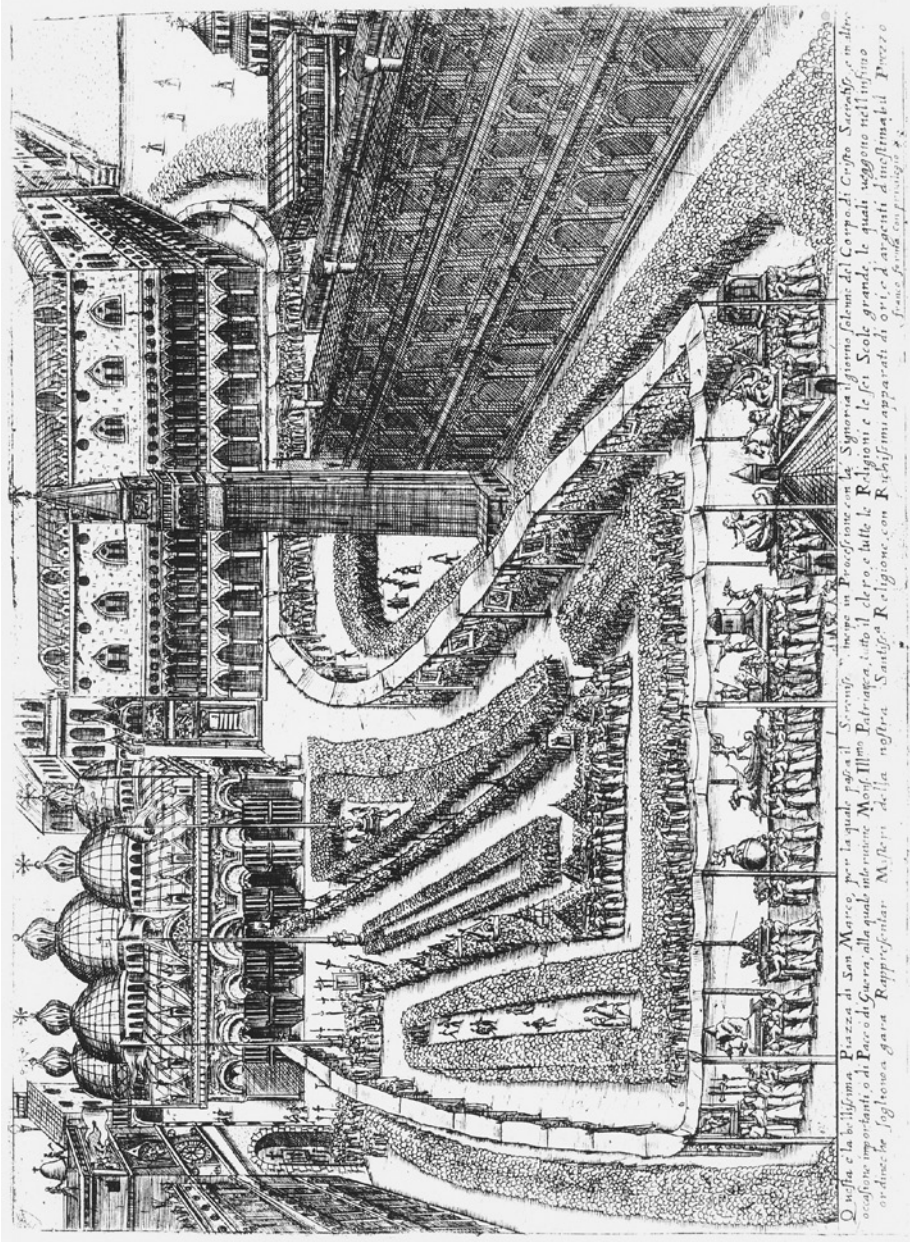


FIGURE 5.4 Giacomo Franco, Corpus Christi Procession in Piazza San Marco, engraving. VENICE, MUSEO CIVICO

CORRER

preserved and carried to Jerusalem to be placed in front of the Holy Sepulchre. This ritual characteristically transformed a common festal act celebrated throughout Catholic Europe and invested it with local significance.³⁶ In this way Venice became a psychological and symbolic extension of the sacred space of Jerusalem itself, and the ceremonies in the Piazza and the basilica became an official benediction of a great spiritual enterprise.

In addition to the *andata*, the investiture of the Doge was also a public occasion; this was experienced by a crowd of both citizens and foreigners crammed into the nave of San Marco.³⁷ At the heart of the ceremony was the administration of an oath taken by the new Doge which, by the late sixteenth century, was punctuated by the performance of the *Oration di San Marco*.³⁸ This act, which effectively marked his consecration, was immediately followed by the presentation of the *vexillum* or banner of St Mark, a solemn moment which also appeared on Venetian coinage. Carried in pouches, and exchanged over tables and in shops, this familiar image served as a constant reminder of the central politico-theological concept of the Doge as Saint Mark's representative on earth, and as the principal mediator on behalf of all Venetian citizens in times of crisis. These resonances were also evident during the Holy Week ceremonies, when the Doge was one of the central actors in the rituals that took place both in the basilica and outside in the Piazza on Easter Sunday.³⁹

A good example of the organic process of Venetian civic and religious ritual at work can be seen in the aftermath of the victory over the Ottoman fleet at Lepanto in 1571, when an expansion of the Venetian civic liturgy was devised. The principal agent for this, Saint Giustina, on whose feast day the victory had taken place, was a minor figure in the Roman calendar, but had always been more significant in Venice since her relics are preserved in Padua, in the church of the Benedictine monastery which bears her name. A decree from the Senate now ordered that a full ducal *andata* be held annually on her feast day (7 October). This, which took place for the first time in 1572, began with a solemn mass celebrated in San Marco and then moved to the convent of Santa Giustina in the north of the city. There a second mass was celebrated by one of the canons of San Marco according to the *patriarchino*; in this way ducal authority was

36 Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991).

37 Andrea Da Mosto, *I dogi di Venezia con particolare riguardo alle loro tombe* (Venice, 1939), xxiii-xxxi; Edward Muir, 'The Doge as *Primus Inter Pares*: Interregnum Rites in Early Sixteenth-Century Venice', in *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, ed. Sergio Bertelli and Gloria Ramakus, 2 vols. (Florence, 1978), vol. 1, 145-60; Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*, 129-45.

38 Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*, 140-41.

39 Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*, 145-49.

asserted through liturgy and ceremony.⁴⁰ The standard of Alvise Mocenigo (1507-1577), during whose dogeship the battle had been fought, was displayed, and the vestments of the officiating clergy were trimmed with ermine from Mocenigo's official robes, as specified in his will.⁴¹ Coins, popularly known as *giustine* since their design includes an image of Saint Giustina, were then presented to the nuns by the Doge while a hymn was sung, and the procession, singing double-choir litanies and psalms, returned to the Piazza.⁴² There a review of the *scuole* and of all the clergy of the city took place, a symbolic act which emphasised the Doge's authority over the ecclesiastical establishment. Thus the *andata* joined together a mass celebrating a great naval victory with a civic procession in which officials of state, clergy, and the *scuole* all participated in a public representation of a harmonious political order. As with other similar events, the Santa Giustina *andata* provided the government of the Republic with the opportunity to honour a saint and commemorate the dead, while at the same time strengthening social cohesion through communal displays of piety and patriotism. It was through such means that the Venetians were constantly reminded of the unity of Church and State, placed under the patronage of St Mark, and guided by the Doge, his representative on earth. In the case of the Turks, who remained uneasily and prominently lodged in the Venetian collective consciousness despite Lepanto, there was the added attraction of annually identifying a common enemy.

The Victory at Lepanto

For the citizens of the Republic, the victory at Lepanto was seen as the first military triumph for decades in which they could feel pride; a Pyrrhic victory it may have been in the view of later historians, but its impact on Venetian morale at all levels of society was great at the time. The immediate celebrations presented it as a clear sign of Divine providence, a theme that was taken up in many of the more permanent memorials which began to appear in the months following the battle. Similar resonances are present in the text of one of Andrea Gabrieli's eight-voiced polychoral pieces from the *Concerti* of 1587, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Sabaoth*. This composite assemblage of explicit references to battle, invoked through the use of Old Testament themes, preceded

40 Cattin, *Musica e liturgia a San Marco*.

41 Da Mosto, *I dogi a Venezia*, 277-78.

42 Nicolò Papadopoli, *La monete di Venezia*, 4 vols. (Venice, 1893-1919), vol. 2, 311, 318-22, table 1-2.

by the opening words of the Sanctus-Benedictus section of the Ordinary of the mass, was almost certainly composed to be performed as part of the Lepanto celebrations. With its twin references to Samson and Gideon, both of whom are portrayed in the Book of Judges as hero-liberators who protected the Israelites from extinction at the hands of the Philistines, this constitutes both an explicit reference to the battle of Lepanto as well as to the special status of the Venetians:

Blessed be the Lord God of Hosts. Blessed are they who fight in the name of the Lord. Truly, the hand of the Lord is strong and dreadful: the hand of the Lord fights for them [who fight in his name], the hand of the Lord protects them. Samson fought, Gideon fought, Samson conquered, Gideon conquered. Our men fought in the name of the Lord. The Lord fought for us and overcame his enemies. Be glad, rejoice and sing his praises.

Beyond the addition of the Santa Giustina *andata* to the ritual calendar, Lepanto was celebrated and recalled in a wide range of plays, verse, paintings, music, and sculpture. One of the earliest literary efforts, Celio Magno's *Trionfo di Christo contra Turchi*, which presents the familiar theme of the Venetians as the Chosen People, through whose courage the Infidel has been punished, was given for the first time before the Doge and Senate at the beginning of the carnival season in 1572. Following an *andata* on St Stephen's day, mass was said at San Giorgio, followed by a banquet for the principal office-holders of state in the Ducal Palace. The *Trionfo* itself, a short and simple drama cast in the mould of the traditional *sacra rappresentazione*, inaugurated the practice of plays with music given at the end of the feast. Although none of the music has survived, it is clear from the printed librettos that they were quite elaborate in presentation, particularly during the dogeship of Marino Grimani (1595-1605).⁴³

In the following decades, St Giustina became an increasingly familiar presence in work of art of all kinds. Both in the ephemeral literature and elsewhere, her image was now indissolubly wedded to the crucial process of Divine intervention through which the victory had been secured. Her feast day, now elevated to the status of a major celebration in the Venetian calendar, involved a good deal of music. One piece that was evidently composed for performance on this occasion is Giovanni Bassano's five-voiced motet, *Beata virgo et martyr Iustina*, published in his *Motetti per concerti ecclesiastici* of 1598. The

43 Jonathan Shiff, *Venetian State Theater and the Games of Siena, 1595-1695: The Grimani Banquet Plays* (Lewiston NY etc., 1993).

freely-composed text of Bassano's motet, which like the rest of the *Motetti* was written in connection with his official duties in the service of San Marco, celebrates the circumstances of Saint Giustina's martyrdom:

Blessed Justina, Virgin and Martyr, when she was being taken to the place of punishment by the heathen tyrant, began to shout to the Lord in suffering: 'I give thanks to you O Lord whom I have always loved, have always sought, have always desired, because you counted me worthy to be received into the company of Martyrs. Alleluia.'⁴⁴

As the first *vice-maestro* in the history of the basilica, Bassano's colleague Giovanni Croce also composed a good deal of polychoral music for performance in San Marco, particularly during the 1590s immediately after he had taken up his new position. The earliest major source of Croce's sacred polychoral music is his first book of eight-voiced motets of 1594. This contains two motets, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Sabaoth* and *Percussit Saul*, the first of which sets exactly the same text as Andrea Gabrieli; it was undoubtedly from there that Croce took the words for his own composition. Seen against this background, Croce's setting might well have been intended as a further re-evocation of the victory at Lepanto, which continued to be commemorated with great ceremony, including a ducal *andata*, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴⁵

Similar in mood to *Benedictus Dominus Deus Sabaoth* is the second eight-voice militaristic motet from Croce's 1594 collection, *Percussit Saul*, whose words taken from the words of the Israelite women following David's killing of Goliath:

Saul has slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands, because the hand of the Lord was with him. He killed the Philistine and removed disgrace from Israel. Is this not David, the one they made songs about in their dances, saying, Saul has slain his thousands and David his ten thousands?⁴⁶

44 Giovanni Bassano, *Motetti per concerti ecclesiastici a 5, 6, 7, 8, & 12 voci* (Venice, 1598); Giovanni Bassano, *Opera omnia*, ed. Richard Charteris, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 101 (s.l., 1999), vol. 1, 9-17.

45 For the possible connection of both Gabrieli's and Croce's settings of *Benedictus Dominus Deus Sabaoth* to Lepanto see Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*, 179-80.

46 Giovanni Croce, *Motetti a otto ... comodi per le voci, e per cantar con ogni stromento* (Venice, 1594). For the Old Testament text see I Samuel 18:7, repeated by the servant of

This too may well have been written for performance as part of the annual commemoration of Lepanto. The same purpose probably lies behind Croce's *Missa Percussit Saul* (composed on his own motet) published, together with his *Missa sopra la battaglia* (composed on Jannequin's chanson), in 1596.

The final liturgical ceremony on the feast day of Santa Giustina took place at Second Vespers. As on all the major feasts in the Venetian calendar, the choir was required to be present, and polyphonic psalm settings for two choirs were sung while the Pala d'oro, the large gold and enamel altarpiece set with precious stones, was open to view.⁴⁷ At this date the choir sang from the *pulpitum magnum* in front of the iconostasis. Then, above the Tomb of St Mark and in the presence of the Doge and Senate, in front of an altarpiece captured from Constantinople, the liturgy was enacted according to the unique requirements of the San Marco rite. It was through such ceremonial actions, and the music that accompanied them, that the Venetians were to recall the victory at Lepanto down until the fall of the Republic.

The Visit of Henry III of France

While the victory at Lepanto proved to be of enormous psychological importance to Venetian morale, and was celebrated accordingly, the visit to the city of Henry III of France in 1574 was also marked with splendid public ceremonies. These began on the Lido, the geographical and symbolic boundary of the city on the edge of the lagoon; there, in front of the ancient church of San Nicolò, the principal officials of church and state welcomed their royal guest into the Venetian *civitas*. The main audience for this spectacular event was an impressive flotilla of brigantines, provided and elaborately decorated by the guilds, which functioned as a visual representation of the economic and commercial foundations of the Republic. On the island itself two temporary structures, allegedly designed by Andrea Palladio, had been constructed.⁴⁸ The first, a triumphal arch made of wood simulated to resemble marble, was modelled on that of Septimius Severus in the Roman forum. The main iconographical

Achish 21:11, and Deuteronomy 32:30. It also occurs in the Roman liturgy, but not in the *patriarchino* of San Marco.

47 David Bryant, 'The "cori spezzati" of St. Mark's: Myth and Reality', in *Early Music History* 1 (1981), 165-86; James H. Moore, 'The *Vespero delli Cinque Laudate* and the Role of *Salmi spezzati* at St. Mark's', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981), 249-78.

48 For a discussion of Palladio's responsibility for the two structures see Tracy E. Cooper, *Palladio's Venice* (New Haven-London, 2005), 217-18.

themes, presented in a decorative sequence of statues, inscriptions and paintings were those of Venice as the dispenser of Peace and Justice, and Henry, 'Rex Christianissimus Francorum', as Defender of the Faith, illustrated by scenes of his military victories. Further historical scenes showed events connected to his election as King of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the summer of 1573.

The second temporary structure, described as a 'loggia' in contemporary accounts, was a reserved space where the King, accompanied by the Doge and Papal legate, was to be received by the Patriarch of Venice. Ten Corinthian columns joined by garlands articulated the front façade, while the rear wall was divided by columns to form compartments. An altar in a circular niche stood in the centre, while a painting on the ceiling above presented four figures of Victory, their arms raised in the act of coronation with laurel wreaths. These referred to the four great battles that Henry had won against his Protestant enemies, while the virtues were clearly intended to be those of the king himself. Above the altar had been placed a picture of Christ the Redeemer by Jacopo Tintoretto. Through this mixture of classical and Christian motifs, the loggia continued the theme already established by Palladio's arch, that of Venice as the new Rome, superior to the ancient city since the achievements of the Church Triumphant raised it to a higher level. The focal point for the ritual that confirmed this message was the altar where Henry now knelt while the *Te Deum* and other pieces of music were sung by the choir of San Marco and the Patriarch gave his benediction. The procession then descended from the loggia and passed under Palladio's triumphal arch to the quayside where Henry boarded the *bucintoro*. As he did so all the church bells of the city were rung. It was at this moment that a Latin dialogue written in elegiac distichs set to music by Gioseffo Zarlino, *maestro di cappella* at the basilica, was performed (the music does not survive). The extent to which it could be heard in the din of artillery fire and the noise of the crowds must be doubted, but such practical matters were undoubtedly of secondary interest to the choreographers of the occasion. More importantly, a sense of decorum had been satisfied through the performance of a piece whose text was written in Latin, the dignified language of the educated élite, cast in a literary form derived from classical literature. As such it had been conceived and composed as a complementary musical response to the resonances of the ancient world evoked by Palladio's temporary structures.

This marked the end of the official rituals, performed in a sequence of cultural forms both visual, literary, musical, and ceremonial that were dense with symbolic meanings. While the air resounded to the sound of trumpets and drums, accompanied by the ringing of church bells, the *bucintoro* now carried

the King to Ca' Foscari on the Grand Canal, where he and his entourage were to stay for the next ten days. During their time there, the Grand Canal in front of the palace was transformed into an arena for various spectacles and entertainments, and above all for the performance of music. There a platoon of boats had been lashed together covered by a temporary loggia protected by an awning. Here groups of professional singers and instrumentalists performed music on a number of occasions, some of which, specially commissioned for the occasion, set texts in praise of the king and his virtues.

One of these, *Ecco Vinegia bella* by Andrea Gabrieli, scored for twelve voices arranged in two six-voice choirs, is quite specific in its reference to the festive din of Henry's entry.⁴⁹ The text relates how Hercules, now grown old and tired of his labours, has come to relax in the embrace of his sister, Vinegia, while she, at the height of her fame is content to welcome 'Glorious Henry' and to rejoice in his ascent to the French throne. The text of a second work *Hor che nel suo bel seno*, for two four-voice choirs, specifically refers to Henry's victories at Jarnac and Moncontour. In essence this is an analogue in words and music to the celebratory canvasses of Palladio's arch at the Lido. A third piece, *Questo Re glorioso* by Vincenzo Bell'haver, organist of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco, was also probably written for this occasion or for a similar one during Henry's visit. Scored for twelve voices arranged in three choirs, its text refers to the prophecies of the sea-god Proteus.⁵⁰ This was also one of the themes of Cornelio Frangipane's *Tragedia* which was performed in the presence of the king a few days later in the Doge's Palace.⁵¹

Of the various themes that can be detected in the arrangements made to celebrate Henry III's visit to Venice, the most persistent relates to his status as 'His Most Christian Majesty'. For his Venetian audience, Henry's worthiness to inherit this title from Charles IX had been achieved through his suppression of the Protestants, a policy which reached a climax with the St Bartholomew's massacre of August 1572. In the context of the poor relations between Venice and Spain that only worsened as the Holy League failed to initiate further action against the Turks after Lepanto, and only deepened further after the Venetian-Turkish peace of 1573, the warmth with which Henry's visit was

49 David Nutter, 'A Tragedy for Henry III of France, Venice 1574', in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, ed. Andrew Morrough, Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi, Piero Mosselli, and Eve Borsook, 2 vols. (Florence, 1985), vol. 1, 591-611; Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*, 207-8.

50 All three texts are identified in Nutter, 'A Tragedy for Henry III'.

51 Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*, 208-9.

greeted becomes comprehensible. So too is the significance of the occasion for the continuing elaboration of the Myth of Venice.

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The idea of Venetian political stability and civil order that lay at the heart of the myth had been elaborated during the fifteenth century by humanists who identified the city with models of republicanism taken from classical antiquity. As a result, the Venetian constitution, characterized as the embodiment of ancient political wisdom, provided the explanation of why Venice, almost alone among the Italian states, had remained unconquered for more than a millennium. For the patrician class, the myth was a precious political asset which could be employed to foster a collective civic consciousness in this densely populated, overcrowded, and most cosmopolitan of cities. During the second half of the sixteenth century Venice experienced not only the news from Lepanto and the celebration surrounding the visit of Henry III of France, but also famine and plague, experiences that were traditionally interpreted as divine retribution for the sins of a wicked and unrepentant people. In the troubled decades after the Council of Trent, consolidation of the Venetian social fabric was supported not only through the increased use of the principal urban spaces for ceremonies and rituals, but also by recourse to existing relics and cults. In addition to being a city of processions, Venice was also a city of relics. A party of Dutch pilgrims who visited it *en route* for the Holy Land in 1525 spent much of their time venerating relics and collecting indulgences, and Giovanni Botero was convinced that in no other city could so many complete relics of saints be worshipped.⁵² This devotional patrimony was understood by the Venetians to be a clear demonstration of the special character of their divinely protected city. Similar sentiments lay behind the decision to construct the votive church of the Redentore in thanksgiving for the release of the city from the plague of 1575-77 in which one quarter of the population perished. While Andrea Gabrieli's eight-voice motet *O crux splendor* was probably composed for performance during the laying of the foundation stone of the new church on the island of the Giudecca, a number of motets by composers working in Venice were written to be sung during the mass which took place annually as the culmination of an *andata* from the Piazza to the Redentore over a pontoon of boats slung across the Giudecca Canal. It has been suggested that two of

52 Iain Fenlon, 'Strangers in Paradise: Dutchmen in Venice in 1525'; Giovanni Botero, *Relatione della repubblica venetiana con un discorso intorno allo stato della chiesa* (Venice, 1605), 105.

Giovanni Gabrieli's large-scale works, the monumental *In ecclesiis* and *Dulcis Iesu patris imago*, were also composed for this occasion. A strong sense of the *respublica Christiana*, an integrated state of mind in which a strong attachment to both church and state overlapped to the point of indissolubility, had long been a feature of the Venetian mentality. As the official reaction to the plague of 1575-77 so powerfully demonstrates, it could now be brought into play not only to strengthen the conception of Venice as the Perfect Republic, but also to re-fashion it as the City of God. In this process, both music and ritual played a fundamental role.

Ridotti and Salons: Private Patronage*

Rodolfo Baroncini

And so this city is utterly different from all others and a novel and miraculous example of God's handiwork. And on account of this, and its many other rare and surpassing excellencies, Venice exceeds all other ancient and modern cities in nobility and dignity, so that it may in all justice be called the Metropolis of the universe. The pomp and glory of this nation are beyond calculation; its riches are inexhaustible; and the splendour of the buildings, the sumptuousness of the clothes, the remarkable freedom enjoyed by its inhabitants and their friendliness and charm are things that cannot be imagined or described. Venice is both adored and respected, both loved and feared; and it is quite remarkable how everyone loves living there, for it seems as though all newcomers, wherever they may come from, as soon as they have tasted the sweetness of the life there, find it impossible to leave. And this means that there are people of every nationality in the city, and, just as the limbs and arteries of our body are all connected to the heart, so all cities and all parts of the world are connected to Venice. Money flows here as nowhere else and ours is a city as free as the sea itself; without needing legislation itself, it legislates for others. And what is most marvellous of all is that although the city harbours such great diversity of races and customs, nonetheless an incredible peace and justice reign there. This is entirely due to the careful foresight and skill of those who govern the city. Here the finest pick of talents in all the arts and professions gather; here every kind of excellence holds sway, pleasures and delights are enjoyed, vice is extirpated, and virtue flourishes...¹

* The following abbreviations are used: I-BGc = Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica; I-Fas = Florence, Archivio di Stato; I-Vas = Venice, Archivio di Stato; I-Vasp = Venice, Archivio storico del Patriarcato di Venezia; I-Vmc = Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr; I-Vnm = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

1 'Questa Città però è differentissima da tutte le altre, & è nuova, & maravigliosa opera della man di Dio; & sì per questo, come per molte rare, & soprannaturali eccellenze in nobiltà, e dignità avanza tutte le altre città del Mondo, così antiche, come moderne, onde drittamente può chiamarsi Metropoli dell'universo. La pompa, & grandezza di questa terra è inestimabile, le sue ricchezze non hanno fine, la sontuosità delle fabbriche, la splendidezza del vestire, la

If Venice was, for all the reasons Moderata Fonte writes, a city 'utterly different from all others', it was certainly also unique in the varied and unusual modes of financing and patronage through which it sustained music and the arts. The situation in Venice was indeed very different from that in other Italian cities, and complex enough to be discouraging even to the most motivated of scholars²—because of the particular socio-economic and political structure of the 'Venetian system'.³ In fact, the city was distinguished from others not only by being a nation of collective patronage (institutional patronage supported by the state, as expressed by the Basilica di San Marco, as well as devotional and ecclesiastical patronage, promoted by the numerous confraternities and conventual and parish churches),⁴ but also by being the home to a system of

libertà del vivere, & l'affabilità delle persone quanto sia rara, e stimata, non si può immaginar, né descrivere. E' cara, e stimata Venetia, & insieme è amata, & temuta; & è gran cosa, come a tutti piaccia l'habitarvi; che ogni persona, venga di che luogo esser si voglia, come un tratto gusta la dolcezza del suo vivere, par che non se ne sappia più partire. Di quà viene, che in lei sono persone de tutti i paesi; & come tutte le membra, & arterie del corpo nostro hanno corrispondenza col cuore, così tutte le Città, & parti del mondo hanno corrispondenza con Venetia. Qui corre il denaro più che, in altro luogo, & è città libera pur come è il mare, & senza leggi dà leggi ad altri. Et quel, che sopra tutto è da notar per meraviglia, benché vi siano tante diversità di sangui, e di costumi, evvi però una pace, & equità incredibile; Il che tutto procede dalla accurata providenza, & valor di chi la governa. Qui a gara i più scelti ingegni in tutte le arti, & professioni convengono, tutte le virtù vi regnano, le delitie, & piaceri si gustano ...'. Moderata Fonte, *Il merito delle donne scritto da Moderata Fonte in due giornate. Ove chiaramente si scuopre quanto siano elle degne e più perfette de gli huomini* (Venice: Domenico Imberti, 1600), 10. English translation: Virginia Cox, *The Worth of Women: Wherein is clearly revealed their nobility and their superiority to men* (Chicago, 1997), 43-44.

- 2 'Venice is a maze': thus writes Martha Feldman (not without a certain sense of despair), in regard to the city's social and musical situation at the beginning of her *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley etc., 1995), xxvii.
- 3 The bibliography surrounding this subject is immense. Concerning the city's socio-economic structure see, for a starting point, Domenico Sella, 'L'economia', in *Storia di Venezia: dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, vol. 6: *Dal Rinascimento al Barocco. Economia e finanza*, ed. Gaetano Cozzi and Paolo Prodi (Rome, 1994), 651-711.
- 4 On state patronage and the Basilica di San Marco see Giulio Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St. Mark's at the Time of Adrian Willaert (1527-1562): A Documentary Study' (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1986); Rebecca Edwards, 'Claudio Merulo: Servant of the State and Musical Entrepreneur in Later Sixteenth Century Venice' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1990); and Rodolfo Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli* (Palermo, 2012), 31-45. On the collective patronage of devotional and ecclesiastical institutions see Rodolfo Baroncini, 'Contributo alla storia del violino nel sedicesimo secolo: i "sonadori di violini" della Scuola Grande di San Rocco a Venezia', in *Recercare* 6 (1994), 61-190; Elena Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco. Organizzazione e prassi della musica nelle chiese di Venezia nel Rinascimento* (Florence, 1998); and Jonathan

private patronage that was both widespread and centrifugal—very different from the centripetal system of noble patronage that developed in the main Italian courts during the Quattro and Cinquecento.⁵

Although it has largely been overlooked in musicological literature, private patronage around the Venetian lagoon was a significant phenomenon and perhaps the only one like it in Italy and in all of Europe at the time, both in terms of the number of people who contributed to it and in terms of its social inclusivity.⁶ Indeed, it involved the participation of not only the patriciate but also a diverse cast of characters from the citizen class—those employed in the offices of the state, those in the liberal professions, entrepreneurs, and those in international commerce—as well as merchants and foreign officials (residents or semi-residents) who did not belong to either of Venice's two dominant social categories. It was, in fact, thanks to this dense and motley web of private patrons, composed of small and medium scale merchants—not only to the secure (though modest) wages paid by the city's permanent musical institutions (San Marco, the *scuole grandi*, and the few stable chapels active in the main conventual and parish churches)—that the Serenissima was able to provide for a truly exorbitant number of musical workers: composers, singers, instrumentalists, instrument makers, dancers, and music publishers and printers.⁷

Glixon, *Honoring God and the City. Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260-1807* (New York, 2003). See also the contributions by Giulio Ongaro, Jonathan Glixon, and Elena Quaranta to the present volume.

- 5 On noble patronage in Italy, see Claudio Annibaldi (ed.), *La musica e il mondo. Mecenatismo e committenza musicale in Italia tra Quattro e Settecento* (Bologna, 1993), and, in particular, the theoretical formulations proposed in his important introductory essay, 9-42.
- 6 If one excludes the brief reference in an article by Rebecca Edwards published in 1987 ('An Expanded Musical and Social Context for Andrea Gabrieli: New Documents, New Perspectives' in *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo. Atti del convegno internazionale (Venezia 16-18 settembre 1985)*, ed. Francesco Degrada [Florence, 1987], 43-57), the first study to tackle the issue is Feldman's monograph *City Culture* (cited above), which was followed by an article on Leonardo Sanudo by Berthold Over, 'Leonardo Sanudo, Ein venezianischer Literatur- und Musikmäzen im ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert', in *Kunst und ihre Auftraggeber im 16. Jahrhundert. Venedig und Augsburg im Vergleich*, ed. Klaus Bergoldt and Jochen Brüning, *Colloquia Augustana* 5 (Berlin, 1997).
- 7 Partial though significant data on the number of musical workers active in Venice during the Cinque- and Seicento can be found in Rodolfo Baroncini, 'La vita musicale a Venezia tra Cinque e Seicento: musicisti, committenti e repertori', in *Italian Music in Central-Eastern Europe. Around Mikolaj Zieleński's Offertoria and Communiones (1611)*, ed. Tomasz Jeż, Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, and Marina Toffetti (Venice, 2015), 131-50.

But Venetian private patronage stands out not only because of this. It is significant also for its impact on the reception of and experimentation with innovative musical repertoires and for its often decisive influence (in both a positive and a negative sense) on the musical choices made within the sphere of collective patronage. The two systems of patronage (collective and private), far from being impermeable and independent, were in fact intimately intertwined.⁸ Although the Serenissima—as Moderata Fonte writes, intentionally fostering the myth—was a happy island, it was not immune to the nepotistic relationships that governed patriarchal society at this time, and as a result, it was difficult to obtain any sort of social promotion without the support of a powerful patron. Thus, while it is true that musicians at San Marco and at the *scuole grandi* were normally hired on the basis of an audition process, it is also true that candidates had to ‘procure themselves good will’ (‘procurarsi di buoni favori’)—to borrow the words of Lodovico Zacconi (witness to one dramatic ducal audition)—in order to be successful.⁹

On the Dearth of Sources and Their ‘Construction’: Questions of Method

With the exception of Martha Feldman’s study published two decades ago, a work laudable for its inclusive and multidisciplinary approach (though limited in the chronological span it considers),¹⁰ Venice’s vast realm of private patronage has not attracted much scholarly attention.¹¹ Considering the importance of this subject—one which is, in my view, fundamental and essential to a clear understanding of the mechanisms of musical production around the Venetian lagoon during the sixteenth century and beyond—one can only assume that this lack of interest is due in large part to the difficult nature of the source

8 See Rodolfo Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 50ff.; idem, ‘Patronato collettivo e privato a Venezia alla fine del Cinquecento: Giovanni Gabrieli e il suo accesso alla Scuola Grande di San Rocco’, in *Vox Antiqua* 3 (2013), 11–25.

9 In 1584 the author of the celebrated *Prattica di Musica*, who was working as a singer in Venice, presented himself for a long and draining audition at San Marco, an experience he describes vividly in his autobiography. For a discussion of the incident and relevant bibliographic references, see Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 41–43.

10 Feldman, *City Culture*, 3–95.

11 The only contribution to appear after Feldman’s volume, and the two articles cited above in note 6, is the brief panorama of the phenomenon presented in Jane A. Bernstein’s *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539–1572)* (New York–Oxford, 1998), 139–54.

material. Indeed, as Feldman laments, the dearth of letters and chronicles as well as specific and direct archival documentation is particularly problematic.¹² In light of these difficulties, it is not possible to reconstruct the vast galaxy of private patronage (which we can glimpse through Tables 6.1 and 6.2) without devising new methodologies. These are based on cross-comparison of diverse sources (the paratextual elements presented in printed volumes of music and all types of documentary and literary sources) and, above all, on a 'transversal' interrogation of register sources (which are typically serial and non-deliberate) that have rarely been considered by musicologists before now, such as baptismal and marriage registers¹³—books compiled systematically, though not always enthusiastically, by the seventy parishes active in the city starting in October 1564.¹⁴ Dry and, sometimes, desolately basic, these sources contain information—thanks to the Council of Trent's requirement that even the names of godparents and witnesses be recorded—that allows us to recover, at least in skeletal form, a web of social relationships, both vertical and horizontal, that musicians (and other members of the artistic élite as well) formed out of necessity over the course of their creative careers.

To comprehend the weight and significance of these sources, one must be aware that at this time being a *compadre* (godparent) at a baptism or *compadre dell'anello* (sponsor) at a wedding implied the establishment of a spiritual

12 The limited number of attempts at historiographical research in this area up to now, and their comparatively weak results, can be partially attributed to the type of written documentation from this period preserved in Venetian archives. Considering the noteworthy corpus of documents—extremely rich notarial archives as well as a vast assortment of administrative acts produced by the Venetian state and its numerous judiciaries—there is an extreme dearth of epistolary sources (a deficit that is fortunately diminishing with the increased conservation and cataloguing of private aristocratic archives). As is well known, sources of this sort are one of the key and most frequently utilized resources for this kind of research because of their qualitative value. As for Feldman's dismay at the situation described above, it bares noting, nonetheless, that we cannot lament the loss of that which, in reality, was never produced: the principal vehicle for the promotion of the arts and music in Venice was not academies but rather *ridotti*, aggregations that, despite organizing serious musical projects, were informal and ephemeral in character.

13 The one study to apply this methodology in some places is Roark Miller, 'The Composers of San Marco and Santo Stefano and the Development of Venetian Monody (to 1630)' (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1993).

14 This enormous body of register material is now housed, though not always in complete form, at the Archivio Storico del Patriarcato and in the parishes themselves, which still conserve their historical-archival patrimony. For a useful and reliable map of the city's old parishes and their districts see Ennio Concina, *Venezia nell'età moderna. Struttura e funzioni* (Venice, 1989).

kinship that sanctioned, in a more binding fashion, a relationship that already existed between the contracting parties. Moreover, in cases where this bond was established between figures from differing social classes (for example between a musician and a member of the patriciate), it was usually indicative of a patriarchal relationship based on the exchange of musical protection/service.¹⁵ It should also be noted that in cases where members of the same social class were involved, the relationship of *cumpaternitas* frequently presumed the existence of reciprocal material interests, which thus took the form of a socio-economic alliance.¹⁶ The presence of material motivation at this level only renders more plausible the existence of patriarchal dependence in cases involving figures from differing social classes, for example a musician and a member of the patriciate or the citizen class. For this reason, baptismal records (and the related networks of sponsors to which they bear witness) are often more reliable in establishing the existence of patron-client relationships than are dedicatory letters attached to musical publications. Indeed, as is well known, homages in printed collections are not always symptomatic of a pre-established relationship with the dedicatee; rather they often represent a simple 'calling card' intended to launch an eventual affiliation. It is extremely significant that some musicians highlighted the existence of a particular relationship with a given patron where they had the opportunity, declaring themselves openly to be *compadri*: as, for example, does Giaches de Wert in the dedicatory letter to Ottavio Farnese included in his *Secondo libro di madrigali*,¹⁷

15 On relationships of spiritual kinship and their patriarchal implications see Guido Alfani, *Padri, padrini, patroni. La parentela spirituale nella storia* (Venice, 2007), transl. Christine Calvert, *Fathers and Godfathers. Spiritual Kinship in Early-Modern Italy* (Farnham-Burlington, 2009). Meanwhile, on the methods and significance of this exchange in musical circles see Annibaldi, *La musica e il mondo*, 9-42. It is important to keep in mind, however, that the theory of noble patronage discussed by Annibaldi in this and later articles refers primarily to the context of the Italian ducal courts and is not applicable, other than in a very general fashion, to Venice's unique systems of patronage.

16 See Alfani, *Fathers and Godfathers*, 193-208. The preliminary findings of an on-going study on this subject conducted by the present author were presented at a workshop on the Venetian music publishing industry held at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in February 2013 and at the Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America (Berlin, March 2015) with the title: "'In Merzaria': The Gardano Firm's Socio-Anthropological Context within the San Salvador and San Zulian Districts'. The findings not only confirm Alfani's impressions, they also reveal how in Venetian circles the presence of an underlying material relationship recurs with impressive frequency, among both the ruling and the lower classes.

17 Giaches de Wert, *Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci novamente con nova giunta ristampati* (Venice: Gardano, 1564), dedicatory letter to Ottavio Farnese, duke of Parma

as well as Paolo Vergelli in the dedicatory letter to his patron Gottardo Occagna (defined two times as *compadre*) that appears in Cipriano de Rore's *Terzo libro di madrigali*¹⁸ and Vincenzo Bell'haver in his will in reference to his patrons Mattio Soranzo and Zuanne Vico.¹⁹ In terms of methodology, it is imperative that scholars be cognisant of the impact that relationships of spiritual kinship can have on all aspects of research pertaining to the issue patronage. Expanding our scholarly perspective in this way, therefore, cannot help but enrich our picture of the city's musical life; and to ignore this data would, with near certainty, be to inaccurately skew our findings.²⁰

and Piacenza: 'I have been more than a bit thoughtful, my most illustrious and excellent master, finding myself obliged by your great courtesy and kindness and not wishing to be considered ungrateful, to ensure that this gift to *your* excellence not be seen as light and reckless, a fleeting thing given in response to monetary compensation, [but rather one given] in thanks for the great honours [you have bestowed upon me through] your inef-fable courtesy and kindness, agreeing to sponsor the baptism of my son, with all most loving proof...' ('Sono stato non poco pensoso, illustrissimo & eccellentissimo signor mio ritrovandomi tanto obbligato alla cortesia & benignità sua grandissima, considerando che dove cercar potessi da una parte fuggire l'odioso nome di ingrato, non mi fusse da l'altra parte giudicata per cosa leggiere & temeraria il donar'a *vostra* eccellenza cosa de sì poco momento, in ricompensa de contanti singolari beneficij, & grandi honori riceputi dalla ineffabil cortesia & benignità sua, a non essersi sdegnata di tenerme un mio figliuolo a battesimo, con ogni amorevolissima dimostratione...').

18 Cipriano de Rore et al., *Di Cipriano Rore et di altri eccellentissimi musici il terzo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Scotto, 1548), dedicatory letter: 'To the noble and valorous signor Gottardo Occagna, my most respectful godfather and master. Signor Godfather, most honouring and diligent...' ('Al nobile & valoroso signor Gottardo Occagna compadre & signor mio osservandissimo. Signor Compare honorandissimo sapendo la diligenza...').

19 I-Vas, Notarile testamenti, Girolamo Savina, b. 826, cedola n.o 173, 21 August 1587.

20 This is what happens to Feldman, for example, in her nonetheless fascinating *City Culture*, 60-62, where she discusses the relationship between the patron Occagna and musicians Vergelli and Cipriano de Rore. Attempting to demonstrate that Occagna was a second-rate patron, not worthy of recognition in a volume dedicated to the work of Cipriano, Feldman defines the important cornetto virtuoso, Paolo Vergelli—without recognizing the musical prestige of this role—as a sort of middleman for the publisher Antonio Gardano. This misleading oversight would perhaps not have happened if she were aware of the deep patron-client relationship between Vergelli and Occagna, a connection explicitly stated two times in the collection's dedicatory letter by way of the reference to Occagna's status as Vergelli's godfather.

The Parish Registers: Prospects for Research

Before discussing the quantitative data contained in Tables 6.1 and 6.2, it will be helpful to provide a few examples of the utility and quality of the information that can be gleaned from the parish registers. Unearthing certain baptismal notes, for example, allows us to review and better define the image and activity of key figures in early modern Venetian musical circles. For example, we know very little about Baldassare Donato, about his activity outside San Marco, and about his connections with local patrons during the thirty years between the death of Willaert and his appointment as *maestro di cappella* at the ducal chapel. Our image of the composer, one of Willaert's most precocious and talented students, thus depends heavily on what we know of his activity at San Marco. Fortunately, Donato's entanglement in a rich web of aristocratic patronage from 1566 onwards contradicts the idea that over the course of those three decades (and particularly after 1568, the year in which he published his final collection of secular music²¹) his musical activity was entirely absorbed by his responsibilities at the ducal chapel and by its ecclesiastic repertory. Over the course of twenty years, which continued in the same vein as the previous two decades—marked by his noteworthy production of madrigals and other secular works and by his attendance at well-respected *ridotti*, such as that of Antonio Zantani²²—Donato bound himself to six members of the patriciate through sponsorship ties. This is attested by a series of baptismal notes from the Sant'Angelo district: in 1566 with Catarin Malipiero di Michiel, brother of the senator Ottaviano (who frequented Diedo's *ridotto* and, years later, was the dedicatee of a collection of pastoral madrigals) and with unidentifiable members of the Badoer family;²³ in 1571 with Carlo Corner and with the abbot Francesco Loredan di Girolamo, resident in the elegant palazzo in Campo Santo Stefano;²⁴ in 1582 with Sebastiano Badoer,²⁵ and finally, in 1585 with

21 *Il secondo libro de madrigali a quatro voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1568).

22 On Zantani's *ridotto* see the accurate description in Feldman, *City Culture*, 63–81.

23 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di Sant'Angelo, Battesimi, reg. 1, c. 69, 12 August 1566.

24 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di Sant'Angelo, Battesimi, reg. 1, c. 60, 24 July 1571. Francesco Loredan, son of Girolamo quondam Lunardo was *abate commendatario* at the Abbey of Vangadizza (Badia Polesine), a title that was compatible with his lay status. Cfr. I-Vmc, Ms. Cicogna 2501, Marco Barbaro, *Genealogie e origini di famiglie venete patrizie* (s.d.), vol. 4, fols. 217^v–218. Francesco resided with his brother Lunardo, his brother's wife Laura Querini, and a court of 16 servants, in the family's famous palazzo situated in Campo Santo Stefano (cfr. I-Vasp, Sezione Curia Antica, *Status animarum*, parrocchia di San Vidal, cc. nn.).

25 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Vidal, Battesimi, reg. 1, c. 177, 22 March 1582.

Lunardo Zane di Marin,²⁶ who was also patron of the harpsichordist Agustin di Nicolò (see Table 6.1). It is reasonable to believe that Donato lent various services to this distinguished group of patrons, likely including the composition of diverse madrigals and other secular works.

Another example of the rich information these sources have to offer is found in the register that records Claudio Merulo's marriage to Anzola di Agustin, widow of the organ builder Franzin di Zan Pietro da Salò, in the parish of San Samuele on 4 February 1584:

1583 adi 4 febraro

Fu fatto el contrato matrimoniale in casa della fabrica de *san* Samuel de ordine de monsignor illustrissimo Patriarcha, fatta prima una volta le stride, per mi prè Sebastian Tagiapiera sagrestan per commission del Reverendo ms prè *Zan* Antonio Corona piovàn, il qual all'hora erra in Padoa, tra il signor Claudio da Correggio organista in *san* Marcho, et madona Anzola relita del *quondam* ms Franzino fabricator di organi habitante nella detta nostra Parrochia di *san* Samuel presenti gli testimoni infrascriti:

Il clarissimo ms Lorenzo Loredan de *ser* Polo

Il signor Giacomo Palma pitor

Il signor Vincenzo Colona dalli organi

Io pre Sebastian Tagiapietra sopradito fece il sopradito contrato²⁷

4 February 1583

A marriage was conducted in the *casa della fabrica* of San Samuele by the order of the monsignor, the most illustrious Patriarch, after having been officially announced, by me, priest Sebastian Tagiapiera, sacristan for the Reverend priest messer *Zan* Antonio Corona *pievano*, who at that time was in Padua, between signor Claudio da Correggio, organist at San Marco, and madona Anzola, widow of the late Franzino, organ builder and resident in our parish of San Samuele in the presence of the undersigned witnesses:

The Illustrious messer Lorenzo Loredan di Polo

Signor Giacomo Palma, painter

Signor Vincenzo Colona dalli organi

I, priest Sebastian Tagiapietra, above named made this aforementioned contract

26 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di Sant'Angelo, Matrimoni, reg. 2, c. 107, 8 April 1585.

27 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Samuele, matrimoni, reg. 1, 1565-1610, c. 149, 4 February 1584 [*more veneto* 1583].

TABLE 6.1 *Patrons belonging to the patriciate, 1540-1600*

Patron	R ^a	Dedicated publication (collections and single-composer prints) ^b	Musicians supported ^c
Sebastian Badoer di Marin			
Lorenzo Barozzi		Francesco Portinaro, <i>Il secondo libro di madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1554)	Baldassare Donato, 1566 and 1582
Marin Basadonna di Luca			Melchiorre [Marchiò], sonador, 1598
Bernardin Belegno di Marc'Antonio			Paulo Veraldo, singer at San Marco, 1599
Alvise Bembo			Nicolò Vandoli, singer at San Marco, 1603
Marco Bembo	X		Antonio, organist at San Salvador, 1566
			Angelo Gardano, 1591
			Bartolomeo Magni, 1610
Torquato Bembo di Pietro, monsignore		Francesco Portinaro, <i>Il primo libro de madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1550)	
Stefano Bolani di Andrea			Ettore Tanara, lute player, 1593
			Giovanni Picchi, 1608
Alvise Bragadin			Antonio, organist at San Salvador, 1569
Giovanni Bragadin di Girolamo		Jacquet de Berchem, <i>Madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1546)	
Giovan Battista Bragadin di Polo		Pietr'Antonio Spalenza, <i>Il primo libro di madrigali a 4 voci</i> (1574)	Melchiorre [Marchiò], sonador, 1594
Giovanni Capello di Piero, abbot		<i>Musica per concerti ecclesiastici di diversi autori</i> (1590)	

Girolamo Capello di Alvisè	X	<i>Fiori musicali di diversi auttori a 3 voci</i> (1587)	Claudio Merulo, 1583
Paulo Capello (San Salvador)			Andrea Romanini, organist at San Giobbe, 1578
Silvano Capello di Giovanni Battista	X		Giovanni Gabrieli, 1581
			Nicolò Mosto, musico at San Marco, 1573-99
Simon Capello (San Canzian)			Giovanni Priulli, 1602
Vettor Capello			Cristoforo Porro, singer at San Marco, 1599
Paulo Colonna, abbot of S. M. della Carità		Giovanni Croce, <i>Salmi che si cantano a terza a 8 voci</i> (1596)	
Alessandro Contarini di Stefano		<i>Il desiderio. Secondo libro de madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1566)	
Alvisè Contarini di Alvisè	X	Giulio Bonagiunta, <i>Canzone napolitane a 3 voci. Secondo libro</i> (1566)	
Alvisè Contarini di Nicolò		Leonardo Primavera, <i>Il primo libro de canzone napolitane a 3 voci</i> (1565)	
Dario Contarini di Girolamo	X	Giulio Zenaro, <i>Madrigali a 3 voci</i> (1589)	Giovan Battista Menegazzo, violin player, 1598
Dionisio Contarini			Iseppo Bonardo, musico at San Marco, 1598
Giacomo Contarini (Sant'Angelo)			Vivian Tinoli, cornett player, 1588
Giovanni Alvisè Contarini			Iseppo Almerigo, harpsichord player, 1584
Lodovico Contarini di Alessandro	X	Iseppo Bonardo, <i>Napolitane a 3 voci</i> (1588)	
Santo Contarini di Benetto		Giovanni Battista Mosto, <i>Il primo libro de madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1578)	
Carlo Corner di Alvisè			Baldassare Donato, 1571
Andrea e Giacomo Corner		2 madrigals in Marc'Antonio Pordenone, <i>Il primo libro de madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1564)	Pietro Colorni, sonador, 1592
		Marc'Antonio Pordenone, <i>Il secondo libro de madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1567)	

TABLE 6.1 *Patrons belonging to the patriciate, 1540-1600 (cont.)*

Patron	R ^a	Dedicated publication (collections and single-composer prints) ^b	Musicians supported ^c
Marco Corner, bishop of Padua		Giovanni Croce, <i>Vespertina psalmodia a 8 voci</i> (1597)	
Polo Dandolo di Leonardo (Santa Trinità)			Camillo Ogliati, sonador, 1597
Alessandro Dandolo di Francesco			Camillo Ogliati, sonador, 1600
Pietro Antonio Diedo di Alvise	X	<i>Canzon di diversi per sonar</i> (1588)	Vincenzo Bell'haver, 1584 and 1586 Gioseffo Guami, 1588 Vincenzo Bell'haver, 1584 Giovanni Picchi, 1599 Giovanni Picchi, 1600
Fantin Diedo di Alvise			Antonio, organist at San Salvador, 1569
Antonio Dona' di Nicolò			Piero Polentin, violin player, 1580
Francesco Dona' di Bartolomeo			Giulio Abondante, 1585
Andrea Falier di Marc'Antonio			Giacomo Muraca, violin player, 1599
Lorenzo Foscari (Santa Margherita)			Battista Zanetti, violin player, 1589
Lorenzo Foscari di Zorzi			G. Antonio Colombo, organist at the Frari, 1589
Piero Foscari			Marco Facoli, 1565
Alvise Giustinian di Piero			Stefano Rivieri, singer at San Marco, 1607
Antonio Giustinian		Giovanni Croce, <i>Mottetti a 4 voci</i> (1597)	Michiel Bonfanti, violin player at San Marco, 1586
Giovanni Giustinian, cavaliere			Iseppo Bressan, singer at San Marco, 1574
Lorenzo Giustinian di Leonardo			Baldassare Donato, 1574
Giovanni Gradenigo di Vettor			Iseppo Bonardo, musico at San Marco, 1599
Almorò Grimani di Girolamo, Procurator			

Francesco Lando di Giovanni		Sperindio Bertoldo, <i>Il primo libro di madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1561)	
Giovanni da Lezze di Priamo cavaliere e procuratore	X	Simon de Boyleau, <i>Motetta quatuor vocum</i> (1544)	
		Annibale Padovano, <i>Il primo libro di ricercari a 4 voci</i> (1556)	
Andrea da Lezze di Giovanni, Procurator		Jacques Arcadelt, <i>Il quinto libro di madrigali a 4 voci</i> (1544)	
Giovanni da Lezze di Andrea, Procurator			Paulo Veraldo, singer at San Marco, 1594 Stefano Scotto, musico at San Marco, 1594
Pietro Lippomano		Francesco Sponga (Usper), <i>Il primo libro de madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1604)	
Giovanni Lolini			Paulo Veraldo, singer at San Marco, 1601
Domenico Loredan			Giov. Battista Menegazzo, violin player, 1593 Baldassare Donato, 1571
Francesco Loredan di Lunardo, abbot			Claudio Merulo, 1584
Lorenzo Loredan di Polo		Claudio Merulo, <i>Il primo libro de mottetti</i> (1584)	
Bartolomeo Malipiero di Vettor			Iseppo Almerigo, harpsichord player, 1585
Catarin Malipiero di Michiel			Baldassare Donato, 1566
Ottaviano Malipiero di Michiel	X	AA. VV. <i>Madrigali pastorali a 6 voci. Il Bon Bacio</i> (1594)	
Piero Marcello di Domenico			Cristoforo Porro, singer at San Marco, 1598
Marc'Antonio Memo di Zuanne, Doge			Paulo Scarelli, harpsichord player, 1588
Antonio Michiel di Iseppo			Francesco Mosto, musico at San Marco, 1586
Giovanni Michiel di Alvise		Nicolò dalla Casa, <i>Canzoni e madrigali a 4 voci</i> (1591)	
Giacomo Minotto (San Giovanni in Laterano)			Giacomo Forzarito, sonador, 1583

TABLE 6.1 *Patrons belonging to the patriciate, 1540-1600 (cont.)*

Patron	R ^a	Dedicated publication (collections and single-composer prints) ^b	Musicians supported ^c
Filippo Mocenigo, archbishop of Nicosia		Ippolito Ciera, <i>Madregali del laberinto a 4 voci</i> (1554)	Melchiorre [Marchiò], sonador, 1598
Giovanni Moro di Zorzi			Battista, sonador from Pesaro, 1602
Battista Morosini di Francesco, Procurator		Giovanni Croce, <i>Il primo libro di madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1585)	
Gilio Morosini di Antonio	X	Ruggiero Giovannelli, <i>Sdruciolli ... Madrigali a 4 voci</i> (1587) AA. VV. <i>Florindo e Armilla canzon pastorale a 5 voci</i> (1593)	Giovanni Matteo Asola, 1593
Almorò Nani di Zorzi dalla Bocola			
Girolamo Orio di Silvestro		Andrea Gabrieli, <i>Greghesche a 3 voci</i> (1571)	Urban di Francesco, sonador, 1595
Domenico Paruta, abbot of San Gregorio	X	Orlando di Lasso, <i>Sacrae cantiones ... liber secundus</i> (1565) Andrea Gabrieli, <i>Il primo libro di madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1566)	
Giovan Battista Paruta di Bartolomeo			
Vettor Pasqualigo di Pietro	X	Paolo Bozi, <i>Canzonette a 3 voci</i> (1591)	Paulo Scarelli, harpsichord player, 1596
Francesco Pesaro di Benedetto		Antonio Molino, <i>Il secondo libro de madrigali a 4 voci</i> (1569)	

Beneta Pisani di Andrea	X	Philippe de Monte, <i>Eccellenze di Maria Vergine a 5 voci</i> (1593)	Claudio Merulo, 1572
Francesco Pisani, cardinal of S. Marco		Melchiorre Barberijs, <i>Intabulatura de lauto. Libro quarto</i> (1546)	Stefano Scotto, musico at San Marco, 1599
Zuan Andrea Pisani di Bartolomeo			Giacomo Loschi, sonador, 1588
Vettor Pisani (San Luca)			Antonio Padoan, musico at San Marco, 1606
Nicolò Pizzamano			
Nicolò da Ponte di Pietro		Giovanni Bassano, <i>Madrigali et canzonette</i> (1602)	
Girolamo Priuli di Pietro		Orazio Scaletta, <i>Effetti d'amore, canzonette a 4 voci</i> (1595)	
		Orazio Scaletta, <i>Timpano celeste a 1, 2, 3 e 4 voci</i> (1611)	
Pietro Priuli di Federico	X	1 canzonetta in Antonio Morsolino, <i>Canzonette</i> (1594)	Francesco Rasi, 1597
Francesco Querini di Giulio			Massimiliano, organist and organ builder, 1569
Giacomo Querini di Francesco			Giulio Zaccchini, 1572
Lorenzo Rimondo di Polo			Domenico Bianchini <i>alias</i> Rossetto, lute player, 1582
Carlo Ruzini di Domenico	X	Philippe de Monte, <i>La Ruzina</i> (1591)	Stefano Scotto, musico at San Marco, 1594
Andrea Sanudo			Francesco Laudis, musico at San Marco, 1583
Leonardo Sanudo di Andrea	X	Giovanni Croce, <i>Mascarate</i> (1590)	Paulo Studenzoli, sonador, 1572
		AA. VV., <i>Il trionfo di Dori</i> (1592)	
		AA. VV., <i>Madrigali pastorali a 6 voci. Il Bon Bacio</i> (1594)	
		AA. VV., <i>Parte della pietosi affetti ... a 5 voci</i> (1598)	

TABLE 6.1 *Patrons belonging to the patriciate, 1540-1600 (cont.)*

Patron	R ^a	Dedicated publication (collections and single-composer prints) ^b	Musicians supported ^c
Matteo Sanudo, bishop of Concordia		AA. VV., <i>I diporti della villa</i> (1601)	
Giacomo Savorgnan		Giovanni Croce, <i>Messe a 5 voci</i> (1596)	
		Floriano Candonio, <i>Il primo libro de madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1546)	
Giacomo Soranzo di Francesco, Procurator		Claudio Merulo, <i>Liber primus sacrarum cantionum</i> (1578)	
		Claudio Merulo, <i>Liber secundus sacrarum cantionum</i> (1578)	
		Bartolomeo Sorte, 2 madrigals in <i>Il primo libro di madrigali a 4, 5, 6 e 7 voci</i> (1573)	
		Paulo Gradenigo, <i>Il primo libro de madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1574)	
Giacomo Soranzo di Vettor			Michele Carrara, lute player, 1600
Matteo Soranzo di Zaccaria			Eteroclitto Giancarli, lute player, 1600
Beneto Tagliapietra di Alvise			Vincenzo Bell'haver, 1587
Marco Trivisan di Pietro (Sant'Agnese)	X	Adrian Willaert, <i>Motecta ... sex vocum</i> (1542)	Girolamo Dalla Casa, 1592
Michele Tron di Alvise	X	<i>Il desiderio primo libro de diversi eccellentiss. autori a 4 voci</i> (1566)	Giulio Bonagiunta, singer at San Marco, 1566
Zaccaria Valier di Dolfin		Domenico Magiello, <i>Il secondo libro di madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1568)	

Francesco Vendramin di Marco, cardinal	Antonio Mogavero, <i>Canzonette ... a 3 e 4 voci</i> (1591)		
	Eteroclitto Giancarli, <i>Compositioni musicali</i> (1602)		
	Giovanni Croce, <i>Nove lamentationi</i> (1610)		Urban di Francesco, sonador, 1596
Filippo Vitturi di Daniel	Giulio Zenaro, <i>Il primo libro de madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1588)		
Lorenzo Vitturi, archbishop of Crete			Agustin di Nicolò, harpsichord player, 1584
Leonardo Zane di Marin			Baldassare Donato, 1585
Marc'Antonio Zane (Rio Marin)			Agustin di Nicolò, harpsichord player, 1586
Antonio Zantani	X	AA.VV., <i>La eletta di tutta la musica ...</i> (1569)	
Carlo Zeno di Francesco (San Fantin)			Ventura Marchetti, violone player, 1568
Catarin Zeno di Nicolò	X	Filippo Nicoletti, <i>I finti amori a 5 voci</i> (1585)	Iseppo Bonardo, musico at San Marco, 1601
Andrea Zorzi			Marco Facoli, 1565
			Agustin di Nicolò, harpsichord player, 1592

^a R = *Ridotto*.

^b Place of publication: Venice. The titles of the prints are presented in abbreviated form.

^c The data listed in this column come predominantly from the parochial registers housed in I-Vasp. The dates listed alongside each name refer to the date of the document in question. Italicized dates indicate sources housed in archives other than I-Vasp.

TABLE 6.2 *Patrons belonging to the citizen class (1540-1600)*

Patrons	R ^a	Dedicated publication (collections and single works) ^b	Musicians supported ^c
Girolamo Altan, Manufacturer of woollen textiles			Camillo, singer, 1592
Donato Baglioni di Michelangelo		AA. VV., <i>Corona di dodici sonetti</i> (1586)	
Alvise Balbi di Vincenzo, lawyer	X	Ippolito Baccusi, <i>Motectorum cum quinque sex et octo vocibus</i> (1579)	Andrea Gabrieli, 1579
		Giovanni Bassano, <i>Ricercate, passaggi et cadentie</i> (1585)	Giovanni Gabrieli, 1585
Alvise Balbi di Piero, prior of the Ca' di Dio			Vincenzo Colonna, 1585 and 1587
			Domenico Bianchini <i>alias</i> Rossetto, 1583
			Giacomo Muraca, violin player, 1586 and 1590
Giulio Baron Gritti			Pasqualin Savioni, musico at San Marco, 1594
Bartolomeo Barozzini di Beneto			Anzolo di Andrea, harpsichord player, 1586
Nicolò Belloni di Giacomo, merchant			Giovanni Gabrieli, 1587
Vincenzo Belloni di Giovan Battista			Giovan Battista Menegazzo, violin player, 1596
Bartolomeo Bontempelli dal Calice		Pietro Lappi, <i>La terza con il Te Deum et litanie ... a 8 voci</i> (1607)	Battista Zanetti, violin player, 1595
Michiele Booth, Flemish merchant		Luca Marenzio, <i>Madrigali a 4 voci</i> (1587) (dedication written by G. Vincenti)	Paulo Veraldo, singer at San Marco, 1604

Giacomo Borso				Paulo Veraldo, singer at San Marco, 1601
Neri Capponi, Florentine merchant	X		Silvestro Ganassi, <i>Letterione seconda</i> (1543)	Adrian Willaert, 1542-44
Cornelio Corniani di Francesco, apothecary			Giovanni Battista Mosto et al., <i>Corona de madrigali a 6 voci</i> (1580)	Francesco Guami, 1591
Giovan Battista Corso				Ventura Marchetti, violone player, 1585
Secondo Cremona, lawyer				Andrea Romanini, organist at San Giobbe, 1578
Gasparo Dalla Gatta di Sebastian				Paulo Veraldo, singer at San Marco, 1597
Marco Davit di Nadalín (Santa Eufemia)			Domenico Montenegro, <i>Il primo libro di villanelle a 3 voci</i> (1590)	
Simon Decher di Ruberto, merchant	X		Orindio Bartolini, <i>Canzonette et arie alla romana</i> (1606)	
Andrea Fasuol di Francesco				Zuane Rosso, sonador, 1590
				Iseppo Almerigo, harpsichord player, 1600
Girolamo Fenaruolo			Antonio Barges, <i>Il primo libro di villotte a quattro voci</i> (1550)	
Francesco Ferrari, Genuese merchant			Girolamo Dalla Casa, <i>Madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1590)	
Giovanni Finetti di Andrea, lawyer	X		Marco Facoli, 'La Finetta', in <i>Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo</i> (1588)	
Pasqualin Foppis di Bortolo, lawyer				Francesco Castello, violin player, 1605
Federico Fossa, physician				Paulo Grani di Alvise, singer, 1591
Antonio Franceschi di Giacomo				Zuane Arzignan, singer at San Marco, 1597
Ettore Franceschi (Sant'Angelo)				Bartolomeo Serauri, organist, 1584
Carlo Frizier di Andrea				Giacomo Muraca, violin player, 1587

TABLE 6.2 *Patrons belonging to the citizen class (1540-1600) (cont.)*

Patrons	R ^a	Dedicated publication (collections and single works) ^b	Musicians supported ^c
Giovanni Andrea Funch di Valentino	X	Orindio Bartolini, <i>Il primo libro de madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1606) Jean de Macque, <i>Il sesto libro de madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1613)	Bartolomeo Busti, musico at San Marco, 1607
Giovanni Maria and Tomaso Giunti	X	Giovanni Croce, <i>Il secondo libro di madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1592) Giulio Bonagunta, <i>Canzone napoletane a 3 voci. Secondo libro</i> (1566) Hettor Vidue, Alessandro Striggio, <i>Madrigali a 5 et 6 voci</i> (1566)	
David Grandonio			
Iseppo Grandonio, lawyer			
Ottavio Grassi di Alessandro			Iseppo Almerigo, harpsichord player, 1596
Paolo d'Hanna, Flemish merchant		Jaques Buus, <i>Intabolatura d'organo</i> (1549)	
Guglielmo and Carlo Helman, merchants	X	Giovanni Pello, <i>Il primo libro de canzoni spirituali a 6 voci</i> (1584) Giovanni Croce, <i>Il primo libro di madrigali a 6 voci</i> (1590) Orazio Scaletta, <i>Villanelle alla romana a 3 voci</i> (1590)	Giovanni Gabrieli, 1590-1605 Francesco Laudis, musico at San Marco, 1590 Guglielmo Forte, singer at San Marco, 1602
Guglielmo Maffei, procuratorial notary			Giovanni Bassano, 1580-1603
Lorenzo Maffei, apothecary alla Vittoria			Gioseffo Guami, 1590
Giovanni Maggi, silk merchants			G. Antonio Colombo, organist at the Frari, 1577

Marco Mantoa Benavides di Pietro	X	AA. VV., <i>Nuova spoglia amorosa ... madrigali a 4 e 5 voci</i> (1593)	Ventura Marchetti, violone player, 1589
Antonio Marchesi di Pietro, merchant			Francesco Laudis, musico at San Marco, 1594
Stefano Marchesi di Bartolomeo			Agustin di Nicolò, harpsichord player, 1588
Francesco Marini, Genuese merchant			Battista calegher, musico at San Marco, 1586
Giovanni de' Martini, lawyer			G. Antonio Colombo, organist at the Frari, 1575
Mercanti del Fontego [dei tedeschi]		Domenico Bianchini <i>alias</i> Rossetto, <i>Intabolatura de lauto</i> (1546)	
Marco Milani di Polo, merchant of precious stones		Giulio Bonagiunta, <i>Canzone napolitane a 3 voci Secondo libro</i> (1566)	
Milan Milani di Antonio, merchant	X		Eterocrito Giancarli, lute player, 1589 and 1598
Agustin Modena			Claudio Rovasio, singer at San Marco, 1573-74
Bartolomeo Moro, lawyer			Nicolò Vandoli, singer at San Marco, 1596
Giovanni Morosini, physician			Francesco Laudis, musico at San Marco, 1597
Gottardo Occagna, merchant	X	Perissone Cambio, <i>Madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1545) Lodovico Novello, <i>Mascherate di più sorte ... a 4 voci</i> (1546) Cipriano de Rore et al., <i>Il terzo libro di madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1548)	Girolamo Parabosco, 1545-49 Paolo Vergelli, 1548
Girolamo Oth di David, merchant	X	Giulio Cesare Barbetta, <i>Intavolatura de liuto</i> (1585) Gabriele Villani, <i>Primo libro delle toscanelle a 4 voci</i> (1587)	Giovanni Gabrieli, 1600 and 1602 Michele Carrara, 1602

TABLE 6.2 *Patrons belonging to the citizen class (1540-1600) (cont.)*

Patrons	R ^a	Dedicated publication (collections and single works) ^b	Musicians supported ^c
Gabriele Ottoboni		Giulio Bonagiunta, <i>Il primo libro delle canzoni napoletane a 3 voci</i> (1565)	Giovanni Gabrieli, 1591
Bernardo Pesenti, lawyer			Giovan Battista Menegazzo, violin player, 1590
Giovanni Pizzoni, silk merchant			Giovanni Gabrieli, 1585-1612
Camillo Rubini di Donato, merchant	X	Orazio Vecchi, <i>Canzonette libro terzo a 4 voci</i> (1585) Giovann Battista Riccio, <i>Il primo libro delle divine lodi</i> (1612 [reprint]) Giovann Battista Riccio, 'La Rubina', canzon a 3 in <i>Terzo libro di divine lodi</i> (1620)	Giovan Battista Grillo
Giovan Battista Saggion, physician			Girls at the Ospedale dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo, 1608
Giulio Sanson di Leonardo, secretary		AA. VV., <i>Il primo fiore della ghirlanda musicale a 5 voci</i> (1577) (edited by Giovanni Battista Mosto)	Francesco Laudis, musico at San Marco, 1585 Paulo Studenzoli, sonador, 1572
Pietro Secchi, silk merchant (San Boldo)			G. Antonio Colombo, organist at the Frari, 1572
Pietro Sonica di Francesco, lawyer			Fausto Seriati, organist, 1580
Ruberto Strozzi di Filippo	X	Silvestro Ganassi, <i>Regola Rubertina</i> (1542) Girolamo Parabosco, <i>Madrigali a 5 voci</i> (1546)	Cipriano de Rore

Ruberto Strozzi di Camillo di Matteo Tiberio Superchio di Valerio, physician	AA. VV., <i>Corona di dodici sonetti</i> (1586)	Andrea Romanini, organist at San Giobbe, 1579 Girolamo Barbieri, sonador, 1591 Ventura Marchetti, violone player, 1582
Andrea Tomasi, dottor (San Samuele) Camillo Trivisan, lawyer	X	Hettor Vidue, Alessandro Striggio, <i>Madrigali a 5 et 6 voci</i> (1566) Francesco Sponga (Usper), <i>Ricercari et arie francesi</i> (1590) Cipriano de Rore et al., <i>Motectorium ... quinque vocum</i> (1544) Jacques Buus, <i>Recercari a 4 voci, libro primo</i> (1547) Jacques Buus, <i>Il secondo libro di Recercari ... a 4 voci</i> (1549)
Lodovico Usper di Matteo, lawyer Girolamo Uttinger, German merchant		Iseppo Almerigo, harpsichord player, 1604
Baldassarre Vacca di Antonio, physician Giacomo Vanlemens di Enrico, merchant Alvise Vedoa di Agustin, physician		Paolo Bellasio, <i>Villanelle a 3 voci</i> (1592)
Zuanne Vico di Francesco		Michiel Bonfanti, violin player at San Marco, 1595 Vincenzo Bell'haver, 1587
Fabrizio Vignon di Ettore, ducal notary Fabio Viviani di Francesco, notary		Cristoforo Porro, singer at San Marco, 1596 Francesco Laudis, musico at San Marco, 1581
Francesco Vrinz di Gherardo, merchant Alessandro Zamberti di Bartolomeo		Giovanni Gabrieli, 1590-1604
	X	Mathias Hermann Werrecore, <i>La Battaglia italiana ... a 4 voci</i> (1549)

TABLE 6.2 *Patrons belonging to the citizen class (1540-1600) (cont.)*

Patrons	R ^a	Dedicated publication (collections and single works) ^b	Musicians supported ^c
Brunoro Zampesco, general		Leonardo Primavera, <i>Il primo et secondo libro de madrigali a 5 et a 6 voci</i> (1565)	
Cesare Ziliol di Vettor			Iseppo Almerigo, harpsichord player, 1598
Scipione Ziliol di Alessandro		Giulio Abondante, <i>Il quinto libro de tabolatura da liuto</i> (1587)	Iseppo Almerigo, harpsichord player, 1595

^a R = *Ridotto*.^b Place of publication: Venice. The titles of the prints are presented in abbreviated form.^c The data listed in this column come predominantly from the parochial registers housed in I-Vasp. The dates listed alongside each name refer to the date of the document in question. Italicized dates indicate sources housed in archives other than I-Vasp.

The three witnesses present at the event offer a concise but particularly instructive picture of those who were, at that moment, Merulo's key supporters: Lorenzo Loredan di Polo, the organist's primary patron (to whom four months later he dedicated his *Primo libro de mottetti a quattro voci pari* [Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1584]), the celebrated painter Giacomo Palma il giovane, and the organ builder Vincenzo Colonna. This web of vertical and horizontal relationships on the one hand confirms the tight bond that united the 'divin Claudio' with his final Venetian dedicatee and, on the other, offers further evidence of his versatility and the truly noteworthy range of interests he cultivated—not only music, literature, and publishing, but also organ building and painting.

To better understand the unique nature of private patronage in Venice, it will thus be useful now to analyse the information presented in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 in more depth. The data they synthesize offer—it bears reiterating—a window onto the world of private patronage in Venice between 1540 and 1600, which (despite the heuristic difficulties noted above) is surprisingly rich and multifaceted. The 181 individual patrons have been subdivided according to their social class and appear in two distinct lists: Table 6.1 includes members of the patriciate, a total of 105 names, and Table 6.2 includes those belonging to various ranks of the citizen class as well as a few foreign merchants who were semi-residents but lack this title, a total of 76 names. As I have already noted, the information presented here is the result of a study based on the integration of diverse research methods—traditional methods based on the examination of paratextual elements present in printed editions of music, and a method which can be termed 'alternative,' based in large part on the study of seemingly irrelevant indirect documentary material, such as the parish records discussed above. The results of the former method are summarized in the second column of each table, while the results of the latter are summarized in the third column.²⁸

The first observations to be made are methodological ones. Our perception of the phenomenon would be much more vague and incomplete if this study were based either primarily or exclusively on the dedicatory letters included in musical prints. Such a method, as already observed, is not only potentially flawed; it also reveals only a portion of the city's patronage networks, as is well illustrated by the fact that more than half of the names listed in the two tables

28 The dates that appear alongside the names in the third column are the dates of the sources referenced. A conspicuous portion of this data comes from the canonical baptismal and marriage registers housed at I-Vasp and has to do with relationships of spiritual kinship. Information stemming from other sources, which are diverse in nature and are housed primarily at I-Vas, is indicated with italics.

(101 out of 181) were identified via the ‘alternative’ method outlined above. Moreover, it is important to note that the homage paid in musical publications, though lending undeniable visibility to the client-dedicatee, does not necessarily reflect a superior form of patronage. And, vice versa, the absence of any trace in print of a certain patron’s benefaction (or the existence of only a few such clues) is not necessarily a sign that his (or her) support was of lesser importance, especially in an era when music continued to circulate widely in manuscript form and when the act of performance was granted as much weight as the act of composition.²⁹ Indeed, two of the most interesting and most noted figures in the world of Venetian private patronage during the late Cinquecento—patrician Pietro Priuli (see Table 6.1) and citizen Antonio Milani (see Table 6.2), both benefactors of prominent musicians—left very few traces of their musical interests in printed editions.³⁰ It is therefore difficult to argue that otherwise obscure figures singled out in musical publications, such as Zaccaria Valier or abbot Paolo Colonna (to whom a collection of madrigals by Magiello and a collection of psalms by Giovanni Croce, respectively, were dedicated; see Table 6.1) practiced a form of musical patronage (if they practiced any at all) that was more intense than that of someone like Silvano Capello, who, as we shall see, was the actual (rather than virtual) patron of the Gabrieli and other ducal musicians. But it is not only the names of new patrons like Silvano Capello and others that emerge from these ‘alternative’ data. Along with them, the names of musicians as significant as Giovanni Gabrieli (see Table 6.1 and, above all, Table 6.2) or Baldassare Donato (see Table 6.1) re-emerge from the dust of Venice’s ecclesiastical sacristies—figures at the forefront of the city’s musical scene, who it would be very odd indeed to not find as participants and protagonists in a phenomenon so expansive, so significant, and so widespread as the world of private patronage.

‘Money Flows Here as Nowhere Else’

Continuing our exploration of the data outlined in the two tables, and proceeding from the general to the specific, one of the most important aspects to highlight is the large number of members belonging to the citizen class active in one way or another in this extraordinary phenomenon of de-centralized

29 Annibaldi has noted the importance of the act of performance in the range of services potentially agreed upon by musical clients. See Annibaldi, *La musica e il mondo*, 17-18.

30 On the patronage of Priuli and Milani see Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 502-12.

patronage, as it is specific to and characteristic of Venice during this time. Far from being coincidental, this fact stems from a process of socio-anthropologic mobility and regeneration at a moment of transformation and particular economic prosperity for the Serenissima in which members of the citizen class were the primary protagonists. Unlike Venice's patrician class, the citizen class was open. Originally composed of so-called *cittadini originari* (birth-right citizens), who were traditionally involved in state bureaucracy and dedicated to the liberal professions, it was reinvigorated over the course of the sixteenth century by a large influx of people (*cittadini de intus e de extra*) active in international commerce and in manufacturing and finance who came, for the most part, from the mainland territories of Bergamasca and Bresciano and also from other key Italian city-states (Genua, Florence, and Milan), as well as from Germany and Flanders. At a time when part of the patriciate was stepping back from mercantile and business risks, these immigrants created a framework of new forces that, despite continuing political decline, would usher the city into a new phase of wealth and economic prosperity, based no longer only on commerce but on the development of the wool industry and manufacturing—the very same period during which Moderata Fonte wrote her *Meriti*.³¹ Thus, if patronage of the arts and music already represented a means by which to imitate and emulate the patriciate, a useful way for Venice's *cittadini originari* to affirm their own prestige and identity, this was all the more the case for the city's *cittadini de intus e de extra*, given the new wave of wealth associated with them. Musico-artistic patronage would be, along with charity work, an activity tenaciously pursued—one practically indispensable—not only because it offered a means to strengthen prestige and family identity but also because it allowed the construction of *bona fide* personal cults that reflected full and total recognition from the city's entire social network.³²

From the two tables it is possible to glean not only general information about Venice's system of private patronage but also many other details that help us to formulate a clearer picture of its physiognomy. It is evident, for example, that the benefaction of the 181 patrons listed in the two tables varied in important ways. Although it seems that the majority participated in and in

31 Cfr. Sella, *L'economia*.

32 On the combination of artistic patronage and enthusiasm for charity as a means for social recognition and the construction of identity for the new citizen class see Rodolfo Baroncini, 'Gli Ospedali, la nuova *pietas* e la committenza musicale cittadina a Venezia (1590-1620): i casi di Bartolomeo Bontempelli dal Calice e Camillo Rubini', in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra*, ed. Antonio Addamiano and Francesco Luisi (Città del Vaticano, 2013), 569-85.

some way contributed to the city's musical life, not all were hosts of a *ridotto* and only a few supported specific musical projects. If this is a point on which the two tables are reticent, concealing much more than they reveal, in a general sense, the number and type of works dedicated to and the musicians supported by a patron can normally stand as a reliable measure of his or her benefaction. This is illustrated, for example, by the number of dedications received and/or musicians supported by patrons such as Leonardo Sanudo, Gilio Morosini, Giacomo Soranzo, Alvise Balbi, Neri Capponi, Carlo Helman, Camillo Rubini, and Ruberto Strozzi—all of whom were hosts of important *ridotti* and who sustained specific musical projects (as dedications and various other forms of documentation attest). It is also clear that at least some of the numerous patrons who receive only singular and un-noteworthy mention (for example, the dedication of a work whose genesis is not attributable to that dedicatee or the support of a relatively insignificant musician) did not operate at the same level. Moreover, (and this is precisely where the reticence I mentioned above comes into play) the information in the two tables must be interpreted with extreme caution: it is, of course, possible that a dedication and even a bond of spiritual kinship might sometimes be coincidental and not thus indicative of a true patron-client relationship. We must also remember that in most cases the information in these tables reveals only a small piece of a much larger puzzle that might eventually emerge thanks to the occasional providential documentary discovery but that is, in most cases, destined to remain invisible due to defects in the source material and in our research.

The case of Pietro Priuli, mentioned above, is emblematic in this regard. Not a single full anthology was dedicated to him. Instead, Pietro the son of Federico and nephew of Francesco, a Procurator of San Marco, remains the dedicatee of only a simple canzonetta included in a 1594 collection by Antonio Morsolino.³³ To judge from this brief mention in a collection light in tone and by a secondary composer, it would seem that Priuli's financial support was minimal and only occasional. In reality, though, as we know from Mantuan and Roman sources, he was an important patron of Francesco Rasi and one of the first proponents of monody in Venetian circles.³⁴ And this case is not an exception given that, as I have mentioned, even an 'innocent' relationship of spiritual kinship could be indicative of well-structured patron-client bonds and some-

33 *Il primo libro delle canzonette a tre voci di Antonio Morsolino con alcune altre de diversi eccellenti musici* (Venice: Amadino, 1594): *Come fenice che rinova al fuoco* is dedicated to the 'Clarissimo sig. Pietro Priuli'.

34 Cfr. Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 502-5.

times even of a true *ridotto*. Such is the case with another patrician, Marco Bembo (see Table 6.1), whom baptismal records of the parish of San Salvador list as godfather at the baptism of a son of the *merciao*³⁵ Antonio Berlendi on 15 January 1592, together with the music publisher Angelo Gardano.³⁶ It is unlikely that Gardano (a highly successful publisher) and Bembo (a patrician) would have entered into a relationship of spiritual kinship with a local *merciao* without other interests in play. And indeed this turns out to be the case. Not only did Gardano and Berlendi share material interests that touched on the publishing activities of the former,³⁷ but, even more significantly, Bembo was a passionate bibliophile and music collector. As the inventory of his property reveals, he had an impressive library of four hundred and ten printed volumes ‘of various types, both large and small, of every quality’ (‘de diverse sorte tra grandi e piccoli d’ogni qualità’) and a well-equipped music studio that included six ‘viole da sonar’ and four lutes.³⁸ Bembo’s decision to name Bartolomeo Magni—Angelo Gardano’s son-in-law and overseer, upon Gardano’s death, of his workshop—as the executor of his will stands as further evidence of the patrician’s close relationship with the Venetian publisher. In light of this fact, it is possible that several musical editions issued by Gardano’s press were among the printed books ‘of all quality’ that Bembo collected.

Shared Patronage

If we shift our focus from patrons to musicians, we discover other unusual aspects of Venice’s patronage system. A quick scan through the third column of the two tables verifies that many names appear multiple times, despite the wide selection of musicians listed (essentially every big name in the city’s musical scene, a good number of ducal singers and instrumentalists, and various other less well-known figures). In fact, rather than serving one or two patrons exclusively, the majority of Venetian musicians were linked to a

35 *Merciai* (especially those from the district of San Salvador, like Berlendi) were merchants who sold textiles and precious fabrics to other purveyors of luxury goods.

36 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Salvador, Battesimi, reg. 2, cc. nn., lettera P, 15 January 1592 [*more veneto* 1591].

37 On-going research undertaken by the present author suggests that the relationships which Gardano established with Berlendi and with various other *merciai* in the district of San Salvador were related to interests connected to the circulation and sale, both domestically and abroad, of his musical publications.

38 I-Vas, Giudici di Petizion, Inventari, b. 344 / 9, no. 46, (1609-1611), 30 December 1610.

veritable web of benefactors. This is true not only for musicians of low and medium calibre, such as the ducal singer Paulo Veraldo (who can be linked to six patrons), and for those largely unknown to musicologists such as the harpsichordist Iseppo Almerigo (who can be linked to seven separate patrons), but also for prominent figures like Giovanni Gabrieli (who had eight separate patrons). This type of 'shared' patronage, in which a vast web of patrons (who were often connected to each other in some way) enjoyed the services of the same virtuosi, is consistent with the plurality and social flexibility of the 'Venetian system'. It did not, however, prevent closer patron-client relationships from being formed, although the affection of a single patron did not normally carry with it the full range of neo-feudal characteristics that afflicted the exclusive and patriarchal dependence typical of noble patronage systems. Giovanni Gabrieli, for example, had a particularly close relationship with Carlo Helman, but he also formed bonds with various other Venetian patrons from the citizen and the patrician classes.³⁹

Naturally the two tables can also serve as indicators of the musical tastes and predilections expressed by this varied and multifaceted group of benefactors. It is possible to verify, for example, whether there are differences in taste and in choice of repertory between the two tables and, consequently, between patrician and citizen benefactors. Indeed, looking at the data listed, a few differences between the two dominant social blocks that sustained music and the arts seem to emerge: if the madrigal is, predictably, the dominant genre in both tables (constituting slightly more than half of the editions listed in Table 6.1 and slightly less than half of those listed in Table 6.2), there are noticeably more motet editions in Table 6.1 (see the summary in Table 6.3). Meanwhile, collections of canzonette and, above all, of instrumental music are more numerous (percentage-wise) in Table 6.2 (see the summary in Table 6.4):

TABLE 6.3 *Repertorial choices in Table 6.1*

Total number of publications	56
Madrigals	33
Canzonette	10
Motets	10
Instrumental music	3

39 Cfr. Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 128-42.

TABLE 6.4 *Repertorial choices in Table 6.2*

Total number of publications	44
Madrigals	19
Canzonette	11
Motets	4
Instrumental music	10

However, to assume from this data that the canzonetta and instrumental music were in particular favour with the citizen class and attracted less attention from the patriciate, seems inaccurate for at least two reasons. First, the nearly one hundred editions dedicated to Venetian patrons between 1540 and 1600 represent only a portion (representative but limited) of the music performed in their dwellings and in their *ridotti*. In that regard, it is useful to look again at the third column in which the names of supported musicians are listed, distinguished by their respective musical roles, in order to get a clearer and more complete picture of the issue. Some of the items related to instrumental music in Table 6.2, for example, are lute intabulations (Bianchini, Barbetta, and Abondante), which seems to suggest that lute playing was particularly appreciated by the citizen class. However, looking at the third column in Table 6.1, the names of several lute virtuosi figure prominently—not only Bianchini and Abondante but also less well-known figures such as Ettore Tanara, Michele Carrara, and Eterocrito Giancarli. The same can be said of the virtuoso harpsichord player Marco Facoli, who appears as dedicator of one piece in Table 6.2 but who also appears in connection with two noble patrons in Table 6.1. Moreover, scanning again through the column labelled ‘supported musicians’ in Table 6.1, it is clearly no less filled with all sorts of instrumentalists than the corresponding column in Table 6.2. It thus seems wise to deduce that instrumental music, in all forms, was equally popular among both of the city’s dominant social classes—the patrician and the citizen classes.

Indeed, in my opinion, the idea that the two classes may have had differing tastes and that certain genres (for various reasons, not the least as markers of social difference) were favoured more by one group than the other can be sustained only with great caution. Beyond the situation just discussed regarding instrumental music, we must also bear in mind a fundamental question. As is well known, the citizen class created its own social and devotional structures,

and in the artistic arena, too, it sought to assert its own unique identity.⁴⁰ But in general, new musical fashions and practices, which were experimented with in patrician circles (as happened, for example, with the new practices of accompanied solo song at the end of the century), were immediately taken up, clearly in the spirit of emulation, by the citizen class.⁴¹ As we shall see shortly, this motor was facilitated by the prevalently open and mixed social composition of the Venetian *ridotti*, which were rarely closed and exclusive. Moreover, starting in the middle of the century—precisely for reasons of identity, conformity, and social respect—the citizen class began to take on artistically elevated and grandiose events, some intentionally imbued with an unequivocal aura of *gravitas*. Such is the case with the staging of Dolce's *Le troiane*,⁴² presented in 1566 with Intermedi composed by Claudio Merulo. Perhaps one of the most weighty events realized in Venice during the sixteenth century in terms of its programme and spectacle, it was sponsored by a group of lawyers and doctors from the citizen class led by the judge Giovanni de' Martini.

If the search for links between specific choices of repertory and social class is thus a difficult path to follow, the data synthesized in these two tables do shed light on the tastes and preferences of individual patrons. On this front, too, the lack of widespread data constitutes a minefield, but there are a few cases in which it is reasonable to talk about preferences for certain repertories and specific practices. That the patrician Andrea Zorzi, patron of Marco Facoli, the best keyboard player in sixteenth-century Venice, seems to have had a predilection for the harpsichord is confirmed by his additional support a few years later of a less well-known (though at the time much esteemed, given the numerous occurrences of his name in the two tables) harpsichord player, Agustin di Nicolò (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2). Another patrician, Stefano Bolani, seems to have harboured a similar passion for the lute and the harpsichord and for instrumental dance music. Bolani was the benefactor of the Bolognese lutenist Ettore Tanara and also of Giovanni Picchi who, in addition to being an organist, was skilled on the lute and, above all, on the *arpicordo* and the

40 Such is the case with the creation of the splendid seat of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco, whose difficult phases of planning and construction are well described in Manfredo Tafuri, *Venezia e il Rinascimento* (Turin, 1985), 125–54.

41 The means by which the new accompanied monody reached and subsequently spread throughout the Venetian lagoon are exemplary in this regard: while the new style was effectively brought and popularized for the first time by members of the most influential patrician families towards the end of the Cinquecento, a few years later it became lauded and promoted with great enthusiasm by certain merchants from the citizen class (Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 502–15).

42 Lodovico Dolce, *Le troiane, tragedia recitata in Vinegia l'anno 1566* (Venice, 1566).

harpsichord (see Table 6.1). Similar and more precisely definable (thanks to the presence of a musical publication linked to his name) were the tastes of the citizen Scipione Ziliol, dedicatee and pupil of the celebrated lute virtuoso Giulio Abondante. Ziliol was also patron of the esteemed harpsichordist Iseppo Almerigo, who was associated with another member of the Ziliol family as well (see Table 6.2). In contrast, three of the five musical anthologies to which the tireless and highly cultured Leonardo Sanudo is linked (as originator and partial dedicatee) reveal the madrigal, and the pastoral madrigal in particular, to have been his primary interest (see Table 6.1).⁴³ This penchant for the pastoral madrigal was clearly also shared by the patrician Gilio Morosini (dedicatee of two madrigal collections) and by many other patrons as well. Indeed, the light madrigal and the canzonetta in their various forms dominated Venice's musical scene after Willaert's death and the disappearance of several centres key to the cultivation of Petrarchism, such as Venier's *ridotto*.

Aside from these cases and a few others where the two tables seem to reflect specific musical tastes, the information that emerges is less homogeneous, at times drastically so—symptomatic of an overarching familiarity with diverse genres and repertoires: an eclectic and highly diversified musical world where the *mascherata* and the 'comic' canzonetta (a genre supported by Occagna and that found its place even amidst Sanudo's programmatic agenda) were cultivated alongside the madrigal, the motet and all types of instrumental music, from the *ricercar* to the *canzon da sonar* and dance music. To offer a few examples, the Florentine bankers Ruberto Stozzi and Neri Capponi favoured the serious madrigals of Willaert and de Rore and were also interested in the teaching and performance of the instrumentalist Ganassi, as were the Procurator Giovanni da Lezze and his son Andrea, who were the dedicatees of three collections representing three different polyphonic genres of the time (the madrigal, the motet, and the *ricercar*). Similar, too, were the tastes of the German merchant Girolamo Oth. Although he availed himself of Giovanni Gabrieli's elevated musical services later in the century, Oth also enjoyed the canzonetta and Barbetta's flowing dances for the lute.⁴⁴

43 On Sanudo's patronage, in addition to the article by Over cited above, see Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 56–58.

44 For an analysis that connects Oth's patronage to his other seemingly divergent activities see Rodolfo Baroncini, 'Giovanni Gabrieli e la committenza privata veneziana: i ridotti Helman e Oth', in *Spazi Veneziani. Topografie culturali di una città*, ed. Sabine Meine, Venetiana 15 (Rome, 2014), 23–58.

Phenomenology of Private Patronage: The *Ridotto*

In early modern Venice, *ridotti*, or musical salons, served as the primary mechanisms through which private patronage was expressed. Also inappropriately known as ‘academies’, musical *ridotti* (or rather, *ridotti* that focused mainly on music) were mundane get-togethers normally hosted by one or more catalyst individuals and were characterized by moderate social heterogeneity and cultural plurality. As in the literary *ridotto* described in Valerio Marcellino’s *Il Diamerone*,⁴⁵ patricians, citizens, foreign gentlemen, various individuals belonging to the so-called *popolo grasso*, and, naturally, all kinds of musicians and the artistic élite converged in the city’s musical *ridotti*. A source of social prestige for organizers and attendees alike, *ridotti* also offered essential networking opportunities for musicians, who could meet potential patrons and make connections that could lead to institutional employment. Although they are often referred to as *accademie* in contemporary Venetian sources, it is important to reiterate that *ridotti* were not true academies.⁴⁶ Far from being institutional in nature, furnished with governing bodies and lists of members and operated according to complex rules and specific protocols, *ridotti* were simply gatherings of cultivated men (or those with the ambition to appear as such) where one could enjoy, listen to, and discuss musical performances, poetry recited in the vernacular and in Latin, and learned philosophical, medical, and scientific analyses. In fact, it should be stated from the outset that musical (or primarily musical) *ridotti* almost always involved the recitation of poetry and brief discussions of artistic or literary topics. Eloquent, in this regard, is the testimony offered by Veronica Franco in a letter addressed to one her noble clients:

It would be pleasing and helpful if you would come to me tomorrow, in particular, when music is being performed, on time, so that before the musical performances begin, I might enjoy, as I desire, the sweet harmony of the discourses of *Your Worship*, whose hands I kiss.⁴⁷

45 Valerio Marcellino, *Il Diamerone. Ove con vive ragioni si mostra, la morte non esser quel male, che'l senso si persuade* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1564).

46 See also the chapter ‘Music and the Academies of Venice and the Veneto’ by Iain Fenlon in the present volume.

47 Veronica Franco, *Lettere famigliari* (Venice, 1580), 79: ‘A me sarà gratia, & favore ch’ella venga, & massimamente domani alla musica per tempo, perché io avanti il cominciar del suono musicale, possa, si come desidero, godere della dolcissima armonia de’ soavi ragionamenti di Vostra Signoria alla quale bacio le mani’.

The variety of the interests and of the ‘discourses’ (*ragionamenti*) in which musical *ridotti* engaged reflect the flexibility and plurality of their socio-cultural fabric. Not only was literature omnipresent and obviously central thanks to its close bond with music, but so too were the figurative arts and the wide array of humanistic and scientific disciplines addressed by learned early modern writers. Musical *ridotti* were therefore intimately connected to other artistic and cultural experiences. At the same time, literary, philosophical, and scientific gatherings surely also involved some musical performance. It is well known, for example, that music was among the interests of those who attended Domenico Venier’s celebrated literary salon,⁴⁸ and there is evidence that even Giacomo Contarini, Palladio’s patron and the host of one of the most lively circles centred on the discussion of art, science, philosophy, and literature in Venice during the second half of the Cinquecento, was interested in music as well.⁴⁹ Moreover, the ease with which one might pass from discourse to the recitation of a sonnet and from there to its extemporaneous performance as song is well illustrated in the lucid dialogue of the proto-feminist Moderata Fonte. Corinna—the young intellectual in the group of seven women that Fonte imagines gathered in the garden of a palazzo along the Grand Canal to discuss the hardships faced by women at the time—recites a sonnet (‘Libero cor nel mio petto soggiorna’) about the necessity of ‘pursuing virtuous activities’ and the ‘careful study of letters’ as an antidote to the ‘company of those falsest of creatures, men’:

The judicious ladies were so utterly charmed by the sonnet that the talented damsel recited for them, on account both of its sentiments, which

48 In addition to Girolamo Parabosco, composer and organist at San Marco, various attendees of Venier’s *ridotto* cultivated specific musical interests: Girolamo Fenaruolo (dedicatee of the *Primo libro de villotte a quatro voce* of Antonino Barges), Girolamo Molin, and Domenico Venier himself (Cf. Feldman, *City Culture*, 83–119).

49 On Contarini, ‘knowledgeable of all beautiful things, whether architecture, painting, sculpture, instruments of war, harmony, or analematics ... almost a modern-day Archimedes ... so highly learned in all the sciences and arts’ (‘Intendente di tutte le belle cose, sia architettura, pittura, scultura o strumenti bellici, armonici et analematici ... quasi novello Archimede ... di così alto giudizio in tutte le scienze et arti’, Vincenzo Scamozzi, *Discorsi sopra le antichità di Roma* [Venice, 1582], dedicated to Girolamo Porro), and his famous *ridotto* see Paul L. Rose, ‘Jacomo Contarini (1536–1595), a Venetian Patron and Collector of Mathematical Instruments and Books’, in *Physis* 18 (1976), 117–30; and Tafuri, *Venezia e il Rinascimento*, 198–208. On his musical interests and his relationship with the ducal musician Iseppo Bonardo see Table 6.1 and the related documentation in I-Vasp, Parrocchia dei Santi Apostoli, Battesimi, reg. 3, c. 62, 8 February 1598 [*more veneto* 1597].

all applauded, and of the ease and dignity of its style. So they all heaped praises on Corinna and begged for a copy of the poem; and Virginia, who was particularly struck by it, entreated Corinna to sing it to them, accompanying herself on the harpsichord; which she did, to universal applause, following it with other songs...⁵⁰

This passage, in fact, describes a *ridotto*, albeit one unusual in its entirely female membership and in the striking actuality of its *ragionamenti*. And the scene, it should be noted, is not much more fanciful than those described by Doni and Valeriano in their respective dialogues, for all of the figures, both male and female, Fonte mentions are historical personages (the fictitious identity of the seven protagonists excepted).⁵¹ What is more, in some cases they are people she herself knew well and visited regularly, as recent documentary discoveries attest.⁵²

Shifting from a quantitative to a qualitative mode of inquiry—that is to say, from describing a simple list of musicians and patrons to cogently cataloguing all *ridotti* and musical studios active in the city's cultural landscape—is difficult but not impossible. Although laborious due to the complex research and synthesizing of sources it requires, this shift has the potential to yield good results, allowing us in some cases to trace genuine microhistories. To this end, Francesco Sansovino's famous guide—one of the most well-informed and authoritative sources from the early modern period—offers a useful point of departure. This account, while often generic in its descriptions, is peppered with the occasional juicy detail, clearly demonstrating that Venice was home

50 Fonte, *Il merito delle donne*, 14-15: 'Piacque infinitamente alle saggie Donne il bel sonetto recitato loro dalla generosa donzella sì per l'invention, che a tutte loro era grata, come per la facilità, & dignità dello stile; & ne la commendarono assai; & fu tanto l'applauso, che tutte poi ne volsero haver copia; ma sopra tutte piacque a Verginia; la qual pregò tanto Corinna, che fu contenta di cantarlo in arpicordo; il che fu a tutte di grandissima satisfactione; e dopo questo ve ne cantarono degli altri ...'; translation in Cox, *The Worth of Women*, 50.

51 I allude here to Marcellino's *Diamerone*, mentioned above, and to Antonfrancesco Doni's *Dialogo della musica* published by Girolamo Scotto in 1544. On Doni's dialogue and related bibliography see Feldman, *City Culture*, 19-22.

52 Fonte and her husband Filippo di Zorzi were involved in patron-client relationships with the doctor/scholar/musicophile Orazio Guarguante and Andrea Dolfín, Procuratore de Supra of San Marco, both of whom are mentioned several times in Cox, *The Worth of Women* (cf. I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Paternian, Battesimi, reg. 1, c. 60/82, nota no. 37, 4 July 1585 and c. 225/181, nota no. 19, 9 May 1584).

to 'various musical studios', all well-equipped, and to 'various *ridotti*' frequented by every sort of virtuoso:

And in addition to that, we have various musical studios with instruments and many excellent books, including the noteworthy studio of the gentleman Sanuto, son of Gian Francesco, in the quarter of San Giovanni Decollato, and the studio of the aforementioned Catarin Zeno, where, among other things, there is an organ which belonged to Matthias, King of Hungary, so harmonious and perfect and costly that in their will its owners have stipulated it must never leave the family. And similarly, there is the most noble studio of Luigi Balbi, a lawyer resident in the district of Santa Maria Zobenigo. Not only does this studio have musical instruments of all types, these instruments are so perfect and are so numerous that they are deemed to be of great value. And that of Agostino Amadi is exceptional in that it has not only modern instruments but also many from Greece and from Antiquity. And in addition to these aforementioned places, there are also various *ridotti* around the city that are frequented by virtuosi in this profession, who perform exceptional concerts regularly. It is thus a clear and true thing that music finds its true abode in this city.⁵³

And yet, while Sansovino lingers on the abundant and luxurious nature of certain studios' possessions (those of Sanudo, Catarin Zeno, Agustin Amadi, and above all, Alvise Balbi, on whom more later), he does not offer any details regarding the 'various *ridotti*' active in the city. Instead, the reader is left to intuit the scale of the phenomenon from the paragraph's final sentence: 'It is

53 Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare* (Venice: Domenico Farri, 1581), fols. 138^r-139: 'Et oltre a ciò ci habbiamo diversi studi di Musica, con stromenti, & libri di molta eccellenza de quali è notando lo studio del cavalier Sanuto, figliuolo già di Gian Francesco, a san Giovanni Decollato, & lo studio del predetto Catarin Zeno nel quale, fra l'altre cose, si vede un organo, che fu di Matthias Rè di Ungaria, tanto harmonico, & perfetto, & di tanto prezzo, che i suoi lo conditionarono per testamento, che non uscisse giamai di quella famiglia. E similmente nobilissimo [è] quello di Luigi Balbi causidico a santa Maria Zebenigo. Perché oltre a gli stromenti musicali che vi sono in qual si voglia maniera, sono perfetti, & in si fatta quantità, che sono stimati di molta valuta. Et quello di Agostino Amadi è singolare, conciosia che vi sono stromenti non pure alla moderna, ma alla Greca & all'antica in numero assai grande. Et oltre a predetti luoghi, ve ne sono diversi altri per la città, con diversi ridotti. Dove concorrendo i virtuosi in questa professione, si fanno concerti singolari in ogni tempo, essendo chiarissima & vera cosa che la Musica ha la sua propria sede in questa città.'

thus a clear and true thing that music finds its true abode in this city'. Given the phenomenon's ephemeral nature and the dearth of relevant sources, it is difficult to offer precise information on the situation at this point, but it appears that just under one fifth (34 out of 181) of the patrons listed in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 hosted *ridotti*. This provisional estimate is certainly a low one, destined to grow slowly as research brings new elements to light. For reasons of space, here we can only examine in detail two of the 34 *ridotti* identified in the tables (which are with the siglum R [= *ridotto*] appended to certain names listed in the first column). The *ridotti* discussed below have been selected because they are representative of a period, spanning from the middle of the 1570s to the end of the century, that is understudied in the field of musicology (Feldman's study does not go beyond the end of the 1550s) and also because they illustrate well certain mechanisms typical of Venice's system of private patronage.

In the *Portego* of Silvano Capello

Precise and direct evidence (for example, specific or unequivocal reference in a dedicatory letter prefacing a musical publication or in some other form of literary source) sometimes attests to the existence of a particular *ridotto*. However, *ridotti* can also be identified through an accumulation of implicit evidence, which in the absence of explicit confirmation can bolster the more tenuous of the references just mentioned. The first of the two *ridotti* we shall explore here—that organized by the patrician Silvano Capello—is an example of one identified through these latter means. It is therefore particularly interesting from a methodological and heuristic perspective. Belonging to the original branch of the Capello family, that from 'Santa Maria Mater Domini', Silvano was born on 1 November 1538 to Giovan Battista *quondam* Silvano 'dal banco', a descendent of a once-powerful family of bankers, and Fiorenza Vendramin *quondam* Nicolò.⁵⁴ On 16 December 1564 he took Chiara Priuli di Girolamo, widow of Giulio Contarini, as his second wife.⁵⁵ Silvano began his political career as the *podestà* of Bergamo, continuing on to serve as *capitano* in Brescia and, later, as a member of the Council of Ten, Advisor (to the Doge) and Sage of the *Collegio*.⁵⁶ A typical Venetian patrician who divided his time

54 I-Vas, Avogaria de comun, Nascite, Libro d'oro, Nasc. II, 392. On the 'Capello dal banco' family see Ugo Tucci, 'Cappello (Capello) Antonio', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1975), vol. 18, 743-48.

55 I-Vas, Avogaria de comun, Matrimoni, reg. I, c. 70^v.

56 I-Vas, Marco Barbaro, *L'Arbori de' Patritii veneti*, vol. II/8, c. 250.

equally between service to the Republic and management of his private affairs, Silvano resided in a large *casa da stazio* along the Grand Canal in the district of San Samuele⁵⁷—a musically ‘strategic’ location, given that the district was home to an illustrious group of musicians (Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, Claudio Merulo, Giovan Battista Bell’haver, and Gioseffo and Francesco Guami) as well as to various other artistic and musical workers due to its proximity to San Marco.⁵⁸

Although there are no direct sources that clearly corroborate the existence of Silvano’s *ridotto*, all of his personal relationships evince his interest in music and indicate he was an active benefactor. There are, however, two elements in particular that suggest San Samuele’s ca’ Capello was home to frequent musical gatherings: Nicolò Mosto’s occasional visits and ultimately permanent residence there starting in 1590 (Mosto, brother of the more well-known Giovanni Battista and Francesco Mosto, was a ducal musician and a bassoon virtuoso);⁵⁹ and the unequivocal patron-client relationship Silvano established with Giovanni Gabrieli towards the end of 1580. If these two facts seem to place the activity of ca’ Capello’s musical orbit in the century’s final two decades, other evidence strongly suggests the presence of musical activity prior to this, starting in the middle of the 1560s around the time Silvano married Chiara Priuli. In fact, it is during this period that he developed relationships with figures affiliated with illustrious musical gatherings. These relationships foreshadow the connections he would later establish with Mosto and Gabrieli and raise the possibility that his residence was already a regular gathering spot for virtuosi by that point. Silvano was twice bound in spiritual kinship to the

57 Silvano reported the house in the 1582 *redecima*, or census, (I-Vas, Savi alle decime, *redecima del 1582*, busta 158, condizione 1036) as ‘a *casa da stazo* located on the grand canal’. The house, located in the present-day quarter of San Marco (*civico* 3201), is the structure now known as Palazzo Capello-Malipiero. Betta Capello, one of Silvano’s two daughters, married Catarin Malipiero in 1597 (I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Samuele, Matrimoni, reg. 1, 1565-1610, c. 296, 1 February 1597, [*more veneto* 1596]), and the couple remodelled the palazzo during the first two decades of the seventeenth century.

58 See Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 81-82, 95-99.

59 Resident in San Samuele, in Corte Scarpa, from 1573, Nicolò Mosto was a guest at ca’ Capello as early as 1592 (cfr. I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Samuele, Matrimoni, reg. 1, c. 23, 19 October 1573; I-Vas, Notarile Atti, Francesco de Medici, b. 8365, cc. 197^v-199^r, 10 September 1592; I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Samuele, Pubblicazioni matrimoniali, reg. 1, cc. nn., 19 September 1599). For further information on Mosto and his activity at San Marco, see Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 55, 89-90 ff.

renowned doctor Apollonio Massa (first in 1565 and again in 1571),⁶⁰ Adrian Willaert's testamentary executor.⁶¹ Moreover, at the birth of his first son Zan Battista in 1567, Capello entered a relationship of spiritual kinship with Domenico Paruta, abbot of San Gregorio,⁶² a 'most singular supporter and lover of all virtues and most especially of music' ('singularissimo protettor et amatore delle virtù et spetialmente della musica')⁶³ who was the dedicatee of Orlando di Lasso's second book of *Sacrae cantiones* (1565) and Andrea Gabrieli's *Primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* (1566).⁶⁴

It may well be an audacious fantasy to think that around 1560 an aged Willaert might have wandered through the rooms of Capello's palazzo with Apollonio Massa when Silvano married his first wife, Laura Gritti.⁶⁵ But it is entirely probable that, given his good standing with Paruta, Andrea Gabrieli was a regular visitor in ca' Capello's *portego*. Indeed, when Gabrieli assumed his post at San Marco, he took up residence in the neighbouring quarter of San Maurizio.⁶⁶ And only the existence of an official patron-client relationship between Andrea and Silvano could account for the zeal and rapidity with

60 Doctor, philosopher, and music-aficionado, son of the famous anatomist Nicolò Massa and cousin of the secretary of the Senate, Lorenzo Massa, Apollonio Massa is mentioned at length by the humanist Paolo Manuzio in his commentary *In epistolas M. Tullii Ciceronis quae familiares vocantur* (Venice, 1579), 402 and by one of the interlocutors in Alvise Luisini's *Dialogo della cecità*. Cf. Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima*, 5-6 and Emanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, 6 vols. (Venice, 1824-53), vol. 1, 115. Massa was also ca' Capello's trusted doctor. In 1565 he sponsored the baptism of Fiorenza, Silvano's first-born who died immediately after birth, and in 1571 he sponsored that of Fiorenza Girolama, Silvano's third child (I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Giminian, Battesimi, reg. 1, c. 33, 25 June 1565; *ibid.*, Parrocchia di San Samuele, Battesimi, reg. 1, c. 47, 15 February 1571).

61 Cfr. *Arte e musica all'Ospedaletto. Schede d'archivio sull'attività musicale degli ospedali dei Derelitti e dei Mendicanti di Venezia: mostra* (Venice, 1978), with reference to Willaert's will on pp. 107-8.

62 Paruta sponsored the baptism of 'Zan Battista', Silvano's first-born son (I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Samuele, Battesimi, reg. 1, c. 128, 23 January 1567).

63 Andrea Gabrieli, *Il primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1566), dedicatory letter.

64 Orlando di Lasso, *Quinque et sex vocibus perornate, sacrae cantiones nunc primum omni diligentia in lucem editae, a Iulio Bonagiunta musico ecclesiae divi Marci Venetiarum. Liber secundus* (Venice: Scotto, 1565); Andrea Gabrieli, *Il primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1566).

65 I-Vmc, Ms. Cicogna 2499, Marco Barbaro, *Genealogie e origini di famiglie venete patrizie* (s.d.), vol. 2, c. 157.

66 Martin Morell, 'La biografia di Andrea Gabrieli: nuove acquisizioni e problemi aperti', in *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo. Atti del convegno internazionale (Venezia 16-18 settembre 1985)*, ed. Francesco Degradà (Florence, 1987), 19-41 at 25.

which the Venetian patrician wrote to the administrators of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo in the summer of 1581 to advocate that Giovanni Gabrieli be nominated as the basilica's organist, a post that was vacant at the time (Silvano's words were strengthened, of course, by his status as recent *podestà* of the city).⁶⁷ Although his efforts bore no fruit due to the unexpected return of the basilica's previously appointed organist (Giovanni Battista Morsolino), the fact that Silvano wrote in and of itself seems significant for several reasons, as I have discussed in detail elsewhere.⁶⁸ Capello's display, directed at a civic organization of a different city (albeit one under the Serenissima's rule) like the administration of Santa Maria Maggiore, differs from the usual pressure that a patron, as councillor of a local parish, could place on secular or conventual clergy, or on a confraternity, to hire one of the musicians he supported. And in fact, owing to their ultimate failure, Silvano's efforts, which entailed writing several letters of recommendation, were not without consequence as far as his personal prestige was concerned. Moreover, Capello's noteworthy commitment to supporting Giovanni Gabrieli implies that, in accordance with the parameters of patronage at this time, the musical services performed for him by the two Gabrielis (first, Andrea and, above all, Giovanni, starting in the fall of 1580; services which were probably linked primarily to the regular activity of Silvano's *ridotto*), were commensurate.

Its outcome notwithstanding, this incident thus illustrates well what it meant for a musician to enjoy the protection of an influential patron and how private patronage could interfere with collective decisions. Moreover, it is indicative of how the patriciate's sphere of influence could potentially extend beyond the city's borders, broadening considerably the scope of the benefits their *clientes* received. Returning now to Silvano's relationships, it is worth noting that even those established after the birth of his four children stand out for their rich musical connections: Marco Trivisan di Pietro, 'an excellent professor of music, not only a practitioner but also a theorist' ('della musica buonissimo professore, né solamente nella pratica, ma nella Theorica altresì'), with whom Silvano attended, as witness, the marriage of another member of the Trivisan family in 1575, was the host of a 'most honourable *ridotto*' ('Honoratissimo Ridutto'), as well as the dedicatee of Willaert's first book of

67 Capello served as *podestà* of Bergamo from May 1578 to November 1580 (cfr. I-BGc, Archivio Storico Comunale, Rettori veneti di Bergamo, Atti della cancelleria pretoria, filze 68, 69, 70, 71, and 72).

68 Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 92-94.

motets for six voices;⁶⁹ Zuan Andrea Pisani di Bartolomeo, witness at the marriage of Betta Capello and Catarin Malipiero di Alvise, was Claudio Merulo's patron,⁷⁰ and this very same son-in-law Catarin came from a branch of the Malipiero family that was particularly active in circles of musical patronage;⁷¹ and finally, even Almorò Nani di Zorzi, witness at the marriage of Fiorenza Capello and Antonio Grimani di Zuanne in 1592, was the patron of a certain 'Urban sonador'.⁷² In this context, it is not surprising that a musician of Nicolò Mosto's calibre came to be resident at ca' Capello starting at the end of the 1580s. He was well known to the Gabrielis, and to Giovanni in particular owing to the period during which they served side-by-side at the court of Munich (1578-79)⁷³ and to their constant collaboration on the San Marco organs starting in 1585.⁷⁴ Nicolò Mosto was probably a key participant in the musical 'academies' that were held in Silvano's house during the last two decades of the century. At the moment, it is not possible to elucidate any details about these gatherings (though they undoubtedly took place) beyond the participation of Giovanni Gabrieli and other ducal musicians as well as a select audience composed of noblemen—such as Zuan Andrea Pisani, Marco Trivisan, Catarin Malipiero, Ottaviano Maliperio, and Almorò Nani—and members of the citizen class—such as the doctor Apollonio Massa and the notary Giacomo Gardelin da Bassan.

In the *Ridotto* of the Lawyer Alvise Balbi

Messer Alvise Balbi, being at that time [i.e. in his youth] devoted to the virtuous disciplines, and to the study of oratory, surpassed his peers in those areas as much as now [in adulthood] he easily surpasses those

69 Quotations taken from Adrian Willaert, *Musicorum sex vocum que vulgo Motecta dicuntur, liber primus* (Venice: Gardano, 1542), Antonio Gardano's dedicatory letter.

70 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Samuele, Matrimoni, reg. 1, c. 296, 1 February 1597; *ibid.*, Parrocchia di San Vidal, Battesimi, reg. 2, c. 431, 24 November 1572.

71 Ottaviano and Catarin Malipiero, sons of Michiel and uncles of the above-mentioned Catarin Malipiero di Alvise were, respectively, the dedicatee of an important collection of pastoral madrigals and in a relationship of spiritual kinship with Baldassare Donato (as Table 6.1 illustrates).

72 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Marcuola, Battesimi, reg. 3, cc. nn., lettera I, 21 February 1595.

73 Cfr. Adolf Sandberger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der bayerischen Hofkapelle unter Orlando di Lasso*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1894-95; reprint Wiesbaden, 1973), 102-14.

74 Cfr. Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 563-67.

more mature and older than he is. His manner of speaking is pleasing in presentation, as well as clear, efficacious, and subtle in its arguments (*contentioni*), open in its organization (*dispositione*), ornate in its subject (*discorso*), and elegant and passionate in affect. Not only does his style of oration, [which is] full of sincerity, move the soul, but he is also dignified in appearance and his face the picture of modesty. He is kind to everyone, and his behaviour is refined: in his talent we can see such growth that it would be an injustice to his merit to place more emphasis on the former than on the latter, for both traverse our city with great and honoured steps along rhetoric's straight path.⁷⁵

This portrait of Balbi, in which Bernardino Partenio effectively describes his skill at oratory, is perhaps the most intriguing account of the patron in contemporary literary sources.⁷⁶ It presents a young but already very talented Balbi at a *ridotto* on the island of Murano, intent on engaging in conversation figures as famous as Trifon Gabrieli, Gian Giorgio Trissino, and Paolo Manuzio.⁷⁷ This passage is particularly interesting, for it reveals that Balbi, as Sansovino and Mario Finetti affirm, was an orator and a successful legal advisor and also that he honed his skills at illustrious gatherings. Indeed, that Balbi was no stranger in the circle of Domenico Venier—a fact previously unknown—is key to reconstructing his personality and to understanding the cultural climate of his musical *ridotto*. Author of several unpublished works in Latin and in the

75 Bernardino Partenio, *Della imitatione poetica* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1560), 48: 'Messer Aloigi Balbi, che in quella età sendosi rivolto tutto alle buone discipline, & alli studij dell'eloquenza, tanto in quelli gli suoi eguali avanzava, quanto hora i molto più di lui maturi, et vecchi felicemente trapassa. La maniera del cui dire è soave nell'esperre, & chiara, efficace, & sottile nelle contentioni, aperta nelle dispositioni, ne' discorsi ornata, & vaga, ardente ne gli affetti, non solamente movendo gli animi con la sorte dell'oratione, che è piena di sincerità: ma in quelli signoreggiando con la dignità dell'aspetto, & con la fronte dipinta di modestia, a ciascuno caro, & gratioso si rende: del qual ingegno tali accrescimenti vediamo, che torto si farebbe al suo valore se si ponesse più tosto nel secondo che nel primo di quelli, che per il dritto sentiero dell'eloquenza con grandi & honorati passi caminano nella nostra città.'

76 Other references include the one in Sansovino mentioned above and the less familiar remarks in Fonte, *Il merito delle Donne*, 118 and Mario Finetti, *Ad Aloysium Balbium Oratorem celeberrimum, Carmen* (I-Vnm, s.l., s.d.).

77 Partenio, *Della imitatione poetica*, 8 ff. Partenio's description explains Balbi's precocious appearance at the Accademia della Fama. Cfr. Michele Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols. (Bologna, 1926-30), vol. 5, 442.

vernacular,⁷⁸ Balbi was a passionate bibliophile and a collector of printed and manuscript law books (giving life to the stratospheric collection on which Francesco Ziletti would base his important *Tractatus uniuersi iuris*)⁷⁹ as well as theological, historical, scientific, geographical, and musical texts.⁸⁰

Alongside law and jurisprudence, music was without doubt the most important of the various passions he cultivated, and likely the one in which he invested most of his intellectual and material resources. Patron of several virtuosi and a knowledgeable musicophile, Balbi was also one of the largest collectors of musical instruments in Venice: a fact that did not escape the notice of Sansovino, who commented on the size and value of his collection. The legal profession contributed in some way to the strengthening of his ties with the musical world, for his position as legal counsel to the Procuratoria de Supra (a post he maintained until 1598) offered easy interaction with the musicians of the ducal staff.⁸¹ Moreover, his residence and his *studio di musica* were located in San Maurizio, a small quarter situated in the area of high density of musical activity mentioned above: at the end of the 1560s, the Gabrielis, the Bassano family, and the Bonfanti family—some of Venice's most illustrious musicians and instrumentalists—all lived there.⁸² To judge from the ties he established to Apollonio Massa and other music-aficionados starting in 1571,⁸³ it is likely that Balbi had already begun to receive musicians and gentlemen at his home by around 1570. But the first irrefutable evidence of true activity as patron and collector of musical objects comes from the end of the decade. The most significant piece of evidence is without doubt the dedication in Ippolito

78 Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, vol. 3, 17, reports that Balbi left a book of *Orazioni diverse*, a commentary on Cornelio Tacito, a *Discorso sopra l'eloquenza*, and various other short works all in manuscript form.

79 *Tractatus uniuersi iuris*, *duce, & auspice Gregorio 13. Pontifice Maximo, in unum congesti ... 25. voluminibus comprehendentes* (Venice: Francesco Ziletti, 1584-86).

80 Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima*, 138. Balbi was the dedicatee of an important geographical work published by Paolo Forlani, a testament to the breadth of the lawyer's interests: *Descrittione del ducato di Savoia* (Venice, 1562).

81 Balbi was laid off by the Procurators on 2 August 1598 because of austerity measures they adopted to fund the renovation of Piazza San Marco, a project already underway (I-Vas, Procuratoria de Supra, Terminazioni, reg. 138, cc. 210-211, 2 August 1598).

82 Cf. Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 97.

83 Balbi's close friendship with Massa is attested first by a baptismal note from 1571 (I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Giminiano, Battesimi, reg. 1, c. 91, 8 January 1571); later, by another baptismal note from 1575 (I-Vasp, Parrocchia di Santi Apostoli, Matrimoni, reg. 1, cc. nn., Lettera G, 11 July 1575) and, finally, by an annotation in marriage records from 1586 concerning the marriage of Nicolò Massa, Appolonio's first son (I-Vasp, San Paternian, Matrimoni, reg. 1, 29 April 1586).

Baccusi's *Motectorum cum quinque sex et octo vocibus* published in 1579,⁸⁴ which the Mantuan composer, at the time active in Venice as *maestro di cappella* at the Augustinian convent of Santo Stefano, addressed to Balbi.⁸⁵ Its obsequious tone and polemical statements notwithstanding, the long dedicatory letter offers a useful picture of this multifaceted figure, his activity as patron, and his remarkable *ridotto*. Renown throughout the city and regularly frequented by 'praestantissimi homines', Balbi's *ridotto* was home to 'marvellous concerts' that arose from a 'skilled crowd of expert men and the great number of their most refined musical instruments':⁸⁶

Having become familiar with your benevolence towards all those who are talented, and above all towards those who are dedicated to music, and having observed your laudable interests towards such men, interests that you regularly direct towards men of this type, I was persuaded, or rather, compelled, by this evidence, to dedicate these modest musical works to you, works that I am certain will be more dear than those that deal with amorous subjects, or trivial things of this sort, for they [i.e. the motets dedicated by Bacussi to Balbi] are sacred in nature, above all because I know that you are a man of great piety and someone who will be lifted by this kind of music more intensely than all other disciplines. Perhaps people will wonder how it is possible that the many valiant men who visit your house every day write nothing; only I, who have recently arrived in this province, [have dedicated a work to you], while each of them could more fruitfully and more richly adorn you with well-deserved praises in this regard no less than in others and could offer you their work. To them I wish to respond: in all things I cede the path to [these musicians] and it does not escape my notice that they miss similar occasions or others in which they could express their sentiments towards you and their dedication, while for me this was the one and only chance remaining. And let us acknowledge also that my compositions are not at all worthy to be sung by such noble talents or performed by such a varied and gifted abundance of instruments [as the one] that you yourself assemble with [your]

84 Ippolito Baccusi, *Motectorum cum quinque sex et octo vocibus, liber primus* (Venice: heirs of Francesco Rampazetto, 1579).

85 Baccusi was nominated *maestro di cappella* at the important Augustinian abbey on 14 November 1574. After several years of absence, his appointment was reconfirmed on 2 September 1592. Cf. Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 78-79, 381, and 383.

86 Baccusi, *Motectorum*, undated dedicatory letter addressed to 'Magnifico Domino Aloysio Balbo domino e patrono suo semper observandissimo. F. Hyppolitus Baccusi deditissimus salutem optat'.

magnificent and truly regal investment. Nevertheless, it does not escape my notice that when you confront this endeavour, everyone will take it into consideration and I myself will be extraordinarily happy when I see my efforts heard in that place where all of the most noble people are admitted, who come to see all the marvels of this city, a place of great allure for its marvellous concerts that arise from this skilled crowd of expert men and from the great number of your most refined musical instruments.⁸⁷

Thanks to a document recently discovered at the Archivio di Stato in Florence, we are able to reconstruct the rich array of instruments present at Balbi's *ridotto*, to which Baccusi refers twice in his dedication. An inventory appended to a letter from Giovanni Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinando I de' Medici on 16 July 1588, reveals that Balbi's collection included over eighty pieces:⁸⁸ one organ, two *claviorgani*, twenty-four lutes,

87 'Cum summam tuam benevolentiam in omnes virtute praeditos, et potissimum in eos qui Musicae dediti sunt, cognoverim, et cum viderim egregia tua studia in hoc hominum genus, quae quotidie in hujusmodi homines confers, his persuasus, immo impulsus fui hos exiguos labores musicales tibi dicare, qui cum non abhorreant ab Ecclesia, certe scio tibi eos multo cariores, quam si res amatorias, ac eiusmodi res inanes complecterentur, futuros, cum me potissimum non fugiat, te hominem religiosissimum esse, ac eum, qui vehementius hoc Musicae genere, quam omnibus alijs studiis delectatur. Aliquis mirabitur fortasse, quid sit, quod cum tot praestantissimi homines, qui quotidie domum tuam frequentant, nihil scribant, solus ipse hanc Prouinciam subierim, cum unusquisque eorum uberius, ac luculentius non minus in hac, quam alijs omnibus in rebus te meritis laudibus ornare, ac tibi operam suam praestare possent, quibus sic responsum uolo, me omnibus in rebus ipsi cedere, nec me latet, neque similem neque diuersam occasionem deesse, qua tibi suum in te animum, ac studium declarare possint, mihi uero haec una ratio sola reliqua fuit. & licet haec mea minime digna sint, quae contentur, ac à tot nobilissimis ingeniis, atque à tam uaria praestantique instrumentorum copia, quam sumptu magnifico, vereque Regio penes te habes, celebrentur, tamen me non fugit, quin, cum tu hos labores susceperis, omnes ejus rationem sint habituri, et ipse tunc mirifice laetabor, cum uidebo meos ipsos labores eo loci collocatos, quo nobilissimos quosque, qui se in hanc ciuitatem conferunt, ut admirabilia, quae de ea narrantur, degustent, summae gratiae loco ducunt mirificis concentibus, qui ab hac bene instructa hominum peritorum, excellentissimorumque instrumentorum tuorum Muficalium copia emanant, admitti. Non grauius igitur, hos illa beneuolentia, qua tibi illos trado, ac dedico, accipere. Vale.'

88 I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filza 798, cc. 782^{r-v}. As we learn in a separate letter from Balbi to Ferdinando composed on the same day (*ibid.*, filza 799, c. 264), Grimani wrote at the request of the Venetian lawyer to present the valuable collection of instruments to the Grand Duke and offer it as a gift (so that it would not be disbursed after his death). However, as the Grand Duke's response reveals, the offer was refused, perhaps because

seventeen *viole da gamba*, three '*violoni grandi*', six lires, a violin, ten flutes, eight *traverse*, eight *cornetti*, and two trombones.⁸⁹ It is perhaps even more interesting to learn, though, that Balbi also owned a large number of music books (both printed books and manuscripts) as well as the necessary 'lecterns to hold the books and lights used by the musicians' ('*letturini per sostener i libri, e i lumi ad uso della musica*'), as the last page of the inventory attests. This, along with Baccusi description, confirms that his 'studio di musica', far from being a mere performance venue (or exhibition space for the valuable instruments and books he collected), was a proper *ridotto* furnished with all that was necessary to put on any type of musical performance.⁹⁰

That Balbi cultivated a particular predilection for instrumental music and its related techniques is confirmed by the patronage he bestowed on Giovanni Bassano, celebrated cornetto virtuoso and gifted composer active at San Marco from 1576.⁹¹ It is confirmed, too, by the kind of work Bassano dedicated to Balbi in 1586: a treatise on the art of diminution that together with Dalla Casa's well-known treatise would become one of the 'bibles' of Venetian instrumental technique from the end of the Cinquecento.⁹² These musical 'efforts', wrote Bassano in his dedicatory letter, 'I acknowledge as yours for the direct control you have over me ... recognizing that I could not have written them, if it were not for the infinite favours which you have conferred upon me' ('*per il diretto*

Ferdinando did not wish to feel obligated to reciprocate (*ibid.*, filza 273, c. 139^v). All of this documentation, including the aforementioned inventory, can be found in Pierluigi Ferrari, 'Una collezione di strumenti musicali verso la fine del Cinquecento: lo 'studio di musica' di Luigi Balbi', in *Liuteria musica e cultura* (1993), 15-21.

- 89 The seventeen *viole da gamba* (three consorts: two of six instruments and one of five) were all the work of 'Sicilian', or Antonio Siciliano (Ciciliano), who, along with Francesco di Ventura Linarol, was one of the greatest string instrument builders active in Venice. Meanwhile, some of the flutes are described, more precisely, as that 'new sort of *flauto grosso* made with much spirit, in accordance with the privilege of the most excellent Senate, to imitate the human voice' ('*nuova sorte de flauti grossi con molto spirito fatti, col privilegio dell'eccellentissimo Senato, che imitano la voce humana*'), suggesting they were the new wind instrument invented by Santo Bassano (the father of Giovanni Bassano) in 1582 (cf. Ferrari, 'Una collezione', 20).
- 90 This is clearly evident, too, from the numerous comments regarding the quality of the sound and construction of the instruments listed in the inventory.
- 91 I-Vas, Procuratoria de Supra, Terminazioni, reg. 133, c. 77, 17 May 1576.
- 92 Giovanni Bassano, *Ricercate, passaggi et cadentie, per potersi essercitar nel diminuir terminatamente con ogni sorte d'istrumento* ... (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti and Ricciardo Amadino, 1585). The date of '1 febraro 1585' written below the dedicatory letter likely refers to the Venetian calendar [*more veneto*], meaning the publication of Bassano's work should actually be pushed forward one year to 1586.

dominio che ha di me ... non riconoscendo haverne potuto esser autore, se non per gli infiniti favori, i quali le è piaciuto di conferirmi').⁹³ Twisted syntax aside, this sentence suggests that Balbi's financial support, and his *ridotto* too, served as the creative and generative backdrop for this important treatise.

Also among the numerous illustrious musicians who contributed to the 'marvellous concerts' at Balbi's *ridotto* were Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli. Balbi's relationship with Andrea is documented by a source dating from 1579 (the same year as Baccusi's dedication), which reveals the lawyer represented Gabrieli in a dispute over the restitution of property from the ex-husband of his niece Anzola.⁹⁴ There is good reason to believe, though, that Andrea was introduced Balbi earlier, around the end of the 1560s, by the aforementioned doctor Apollonio Massa. Balbi's connections to Giovanni Gabrieli, on the other hand, are explicitly stated in a baptismal document from 1585, which, in combination with other sources, allows us to better define Balbi's preferred social circle (or at least one of them). The baptism in question is that of the second-born child of Vincenzo Collona, custodian of the organs at San Marco and one of the most respected organ builders in the city:

1585 adì 17 marzo

Battizai io pre' Gabriel Bindoni sottosagrestano in san Marco, un putto al qual fu posto nome Domenico et Zuanne; il padre ms Vincenzo Collona et la madre madona Martha.

Compari il magnifico ms Alvise Balbi avvocato et ms Zuanne di Cabrieli organista in san Marco.⁹⁵

17 March 1585

I, priest Gabriel Bindoni, under-sacristan at San Marco, baptized a child who was given the names Domenico and Zuanne; the father [was] *messer* Vincenzo Collona and the mother, *madonna* Martha.

The godparents [were] the magnificent *messer* Alvise Balbi, lawyer, and *messer* Zuanne di Cabrieli, organist of San Marco.

93 Bassano, *Ricercate passaggi et cadentie*, dedicatory letter addressed to 'My most magnificent, excellent, and attentive master signor Luigi Balbi, a most eloquent orator' ('Molto magnifico et eccellentissimo mio signor osservandissimo il signor Luigi Balbi Orator eloquentissimo').

94 A document from Avogaria di Comun dated 1586 reveals that Balbi represented Andrea Gabrieli in a trial surrounding the troubled marriage of Anzola Gabrieli-Fais, Giovanni's sister, in 1579 (cf. Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 110-13 and 541, document 10).

95 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Marco, Registri canonici diversi, reg. 1, c. 14, 17 March 1585.

Despite its brevity, this document contextualizes perfectly the multiple relationships that could be established between a patron (Balbi), a composer (Gabrieli), and an instrument builder (Colonna), and it stands as implicit evidence of Balbi's interest in organs and organ music. Indeed, Balbi had more than a generic knowledge of this field, as is demonstrated not only by his connection with Colonna but also by the value and unique nature of the organ listed at the top of his collection's inventory—a 'wood organ of incredible sweetness', furnished with a 'chromatic keyboard of all divided semitones' ('tastadura cromatica de semitoni tutti scavezzi sopra tutti i semitoni').⁹⁶

Balbi's interest in organs and organ music, which accords well with the relationships he formed with Andrea and later with Giovanni Gabrieli, is evident in the numerous unusual sources scores collected in his musical library: a library composed not only of 'many, many books of motets, madrigals, canzoni for singing and playing' ('molti, e molti libri de moteti, e di madregali, e canzoni per cantar, e sonar')—its inventory tells us in specific reference to partbooks—but also of 'many books of scores of madrigals, motets, and canzoni copied for an organist to play, with even more copies of dialogues for multiple choirs' ('molti libri de partiture de madrigali, moteti, canzon in gran copia per sonar per l'organista, con più copie de dialoghi a più chori').⁹⁷ This vast repertoire, suitable for execution on the keyboard, would have been impossible to amass without the direct assistance of the two Gabrielis. Furthermore, it raises the possibility that part of the compositional output of Andrea and Giovanni—I am thinking especially of the *ricercars* and *canzoni da sonar*—may have been produced not only to be performed at San Marco, as is generally believed, but also for *bona fide* musical laboratories like that organized by Balbi. And indeed, only a context such as this one, where madrigals, motets, and French chansons were regularly performed on a keyboard instrument (with or without the added support of other voices or instruments), can explain why some of Giovanni's madrigals seem to spring directly from the keys of an organ (the most conspicuous case being that of *Donna leggiadra e bella*).⁹⁸

We thus know of at least five musicians of high and medium calibre (the two Gabrielis, Baccusi, Bassano, and Colonna) who regularly frequented Balbi's studio in San Maurizio. It is likely, however, that many more were involved. In

96 Cf. Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 256-57.

97 Ferrari, 'Una collezione di strumenti musicali', 17. Balbi's expertise is attested, too, by a request that he received (as a specialist) from the Procurators of San Marco to negotiate the purchase of a third organ for the basilica in 1587.

98 Cf. Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 215-18.

addition to Zarlino (whose niece Marta married the organ builder Colonna, Balbi's godfather),⁹⁹ the *ridotto* must have been frequented by a large number of the musicians employed at San Marco and other virtuosi, such as the lutenists Giulio Abondante, Michele Carrara, and Eteroclito Giancarli, whose presence is suggested by the various scores for different genres to be played on the lute collected in Balbi's library. Moreover, from the dense web of relationships of spiritual kinship the lawyer established with citizens and patricians over the course of his life and with the help of other sources, it is possible to identify a decent number of the gentlemen Balbi entertained at his gatherings. This can also aid in expanding the *ridotto*'s body of musicians, for, scanning the list of figures to whom the lawyer was bound in spiritual kinship, one cannot help but concentrate on those who were also patrons of music in some way. Among the patricians of particular significance who definitely passed through Balbi's *ridotto* are, first and foremost, the powerful Procuratori de Supra of San Marco, Andrea da Lezze and Andrea Dolfín.¹⁰⁰ Their presence, it should be said, is not surprising, not only because they cultivated specific musical interests¹⁰¹ but also because Balbi was linked to the two Procurators through material interests—indeed, he was their employee.¹⁰²

In fact, *ridotti* were places where, in addition to collectively enjoying shared passions (music, literature, figurative arts, etc.), one could strengthen pre-existing relationships and form new ones in an environment where various social registers mixed. The chain of relationships between Dolfín, Balbi, and Giovanni Gabrieli is emblematic in this regard. All benefitted in some way: if Dolfín felt honoured by the invitation to participate in the 'marvellous concerts' and attracted by the idea of expanding his sphere of patriarchal influence, Balbi's prestige and professional career benefited from such an illustrious pres-

99 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Marco, Registri canonici diversi, reg. 1, c. 58, 16 April 1582; and I-Vasp, Curia, Sezione Antica, *Legitimitatum*, reg. 2, 79^v-81^r, 14 September 1599.

100 Balbi entered into a relationship of spiritual kinship with da Lezze in 1571 (I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Geminiano, Battesimi, reg. 1, c. 91, 8 January 1571), and he was a witness at the marriage of a daughter of Andrea Dolfín in 1592 (Parrocchia di San Salvador, Matrimoni, reg. 1, 20 February 1593).

101 We know, for example, that da Lezze was 'trained in music from the cradle' and owner of 'an infinite selection of music books': see Jacques Arcadelt, *Il quinto libro di Madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1544), dedicatory letter.

102 Dolfín, in particular, was very close to Balbi, and was the only Procurator who strongly opposed his termination as legal counsel for the Procuratoria in 1598, which the other Procurators insisted upon as part of larger process of budgetary cutbacks. Cf. I-Vas, Procuratoria de Supra, Terminazioni, reg. 138, cc. 210-211, 2 August 1598; c. 215, 9 October 1598; and cc. 218^{r-v}, 22 October 1598.

ence; the musician Giovanni Gabrieli, in turn, could not but benefit from a relationship established between his patron and the Procurator. In fact, when Gabrieli needed to pass an audition in order to confirm his post at the basilica after Merulo's departure in January 1585, as the rules dictated, he found the Procurator Dolfin among the judges. Other wealthy and illustrious figures who likely frequented ca' Balbi include: Leonardo Loredan with his wife Laura Querini,¹⁰³ Andrea Falier di Marco Antonio,¹⁰⁴ who was also patron of several musicians (see Table 6.1), Marc'Antonio Vallaresso, future patron of the organist-composer Giovan Battista Riccio,¹⁰⁵ the Patriarch of Aquileia Giovanni Grimani, a refined patron and owner of the city's most important collection of antiques,¹⁰⁶ and, finally, the well-known music-aficionado Pietro Priuli, nephew of the Procurator de Supra Francesco,¹⁰⁷ whose involvement in Balbi's *ridotto*, as we shall see shortly, inspires further reflection on the type of repertoire performed there.

The varied list of possible attendees from the citizen class is also useful for broadening our understanding of the projects undertaken at Balbi's studio: in addition to the aforementioned Apollonio Massa, this list likely included the doctors Francesco Stabile, Benedetto Flangini and Giovan Battista Peranda,¹⁰⁸ the lawyer Lodovico Usper, patron of the organist Francesco Sponga,¹⁰⁹ Andrea Fasuol (a chancellor of the *Collegio*), patron of the instrumentalist Zuanne Rosso,¹¹⁰ the procuratorial notary Guglielmo Maffei, literati Francesco Bozza and Valerio Marcellino, the bookseller-publishers Francesco Ziletti, Melchiorre Scotto and Bernardo Giunti, and the engraver Girolamo Porro. It is worth commenting in a bit more detail on this cast of characters, which consists largely of illustrious professionals who were renowned and esteemed throughout the city. Guglielmo Maffei, who was also one of Balbi's most trusted relatives and

103 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Vidal, Battesimi, reg. 1, c. 8, 17 October 1577.

104 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Pantalon, Battesimi, reg. 1, cc. nn., 15 October 1578.

105 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di Santa Margherita, Battesimi, reg. 1, c. 10^v, 4 January 1583; reg. 2, c. 59^v, 8 January 1603.

106 Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima*, fol. 138^v. That Grimani knew Balbi well and was perhaps a guest at his *ridotto* can be clearly deduced from the letter discussed above which he sent to Grand Duke Ferdinando I, in which he refers to Balbi as 'my intimate friend' ('mio intrinseco amico').

107 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Giminian, Battesimi, reg. 2, cc. 64-65, 6 June 1590.

108 I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Geremia, Battesimi, reg. 8, c. 4, 27 April 1585; Parrocchia di San Pantalon, reg. 2, cc. nn., 27 January 1581.

109 I-Vasp, San Paternian, Matrimoni, reg. 1, c. 11, 29 April 1586.

110 I-Vasp, Sant'Angelo, Matrimoni, reg. 2, c. 35, 6 July 1594; *ibid.*, Battesimi, reg. 3, lettera P, cc. nn., 21 August 1590.

the executor of his will,¹¹¹ was closely connected to Bassano. Indeed, in a declaration dating from 1603, the composer states he was the long-time music teacher of Maffei's children.¹¹² It is certainly possible that this post as music tutor was one of the 'infinite favours' ('infiniti favori') that Bassano claims to have received from Balbi in his 1585 dedication—a favour that, like many other larger ones, could have arisen from the close interactions the *ridotto* afforded. We do not know how, at only fifteen years of age, Bassano came to perform in the organ lofts at St. Mark eliciting unanimous approval on Christmas of 1575 and, shortly after, to be appointed to the basilica's musical staff. But as the 'shenanigans' surrounding the nomination of Gioseffo Guami at San Marco illustrate (an incident that truly exemplifies how a *ridotto* could serve as a launch pad for institutional employment),¹¹³ some things do not happen by chance. It is therefore possible that Balbi and his *ridotto* played a role in organizing and supporting the young cornettist's entrance into San Marco, for the *ridotto* was without doubt already established by the middle of the 1560s, as were Balbi's relationships with the Procurators da Lezze and Dolfin, who voted for Bassano's nomination in 1576.

Returning to the aforementioned list of citizen attendees, Balbi's connections to Bozza and Valeriano are of particular interest, for they reveal a great deal about his studio's cultural atmosphere.¹¹⁴ The gentleman Francesco Bozza, author of *La Fedra* (1578), is certainly not one of Venice's literary stars, but he did acquire some fame a few years after *La Fedra*'s publication as an author of *poesia per musica*, writing *I diporti della villa*—four songs on the seasons, each set to music by a different composer (a work commissioned by Sanudo).¹¹⁵ More intriguing, and indicative of the illustrious young literary figures who

111 Maffei married Balbi's niece, Marina, daughter of Lidona, his only sister and his heir: I-Vas, Notarile testamenti, Bartolomeo Moro, b. 1202, cedola n. 17, 27 February 1594. Moreover, Maffei seems to have inherited Balbi's valuable library (Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni*, vol. 3, 17).

112 I-Vasp, Curia, Sezione Antica, *Legitimitatum*, reg. 3, c. 47^v, 18 February 1603. It bears noting that one of the children under Bassano's tutelage was Alvise, Maffei's first-born son who was named after Balbi.

113 For details surrounding this incident see Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 121–26.

114 On Balbi's relationship with Bozza (who participated as witness in the signing of Balbi's second will in 1597) see I-Vas, Notarile testamenti, Bartolomeo Moro, b. 1202, cedola 17, 28 February 1597. On his relationship with Marcellino see I-Vasp, Parrocchia di San Marcuola, Matrimoni, reg. 1, cc. nn., 25 April 1581.

115 *I diporti della villa in ogni stagione spiegati in quattro canzoni dall'ill. s. Francesco Bozza Caualiere, et posti in musica da diuersi famosi autori, a cinque voci* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1601).

visited Balbi's studio, is the presence of Valerio Marcellino (1536-1602), the author of the above-mentioned *Il Diamerone* (1564). It is quite likely that philosophy and literature were discussed at Balbi's *ridotto* too and that poetry and the art of text-setting were of as much interest as the music itself. While the *ridotto* at San Maurizio does not seem to have shared the same propensity for the pastoral madrigal developed at Sanudo's *ridotto* and in other circles around the city, it is nevertheless probable that madrigals were central to its activities, even if often performed instrumentally and detached from Sanudo's refined programmatic objectives.

It would, in fact, be a mistake to think that Balbi's predilection for instrumental music stood as an obstacle to vocal music and to the performance of a repertoire that, as the contents of Balbi's library illustrate, was as vast and varied as possible. Indeed, this repertoire ranged from polychoral dialogues, dialogic madrigals for two or more *concertato* choirs with voices and instruments to the performance of 'things' (probably madrigal and motets) intabulated for a solo lute ('fuori concertato') or for one or more voices with lute accompaniment ('in concertato'). In Venice and elsewhere towards the end of the century, this practice began to free itself from the periodicity of the canzonetta, giving way to a more flexible and expressive form of accompanied song.¹¹⁶ Indeed, the relationship of spiritual kinship Balbi established with Pietro Priuli in 1590—who, as we have seen, was one of the most notable and precocious aficionados of the new accompanied monody in Venice—suggests that this new kind of song may have been heard at the lawyer's *ridotto* during its final phases.

The versatility of repertoire and performance practices—that is to say, the custom of performing diverse genres (madrigals, motets, chansons, canzonettas, tempi di danza, canzoni da sonar, ricercars and toccatas for keyboard) in a variety of ways (madrigals and motets, as we have seen, could be sung *a cappella*, but frequently they were performed with voices accompanied by instruments or with instruments alone)—seems to be a trait characteristic not only of Balbi's *ridotto* but of other Venetian *ridotti* as well. In light of this, and in light of the flexibility and openness in taste displayed by Venetian patrons, the hybrid nature of certain secular works by Giovanni Gabrieli begins to make sense. International successes such as *Lieto godea* and *Fuggi pur se sai*, designated by the composer as 'aria per cantar e sonar' and 'aria da sonar' respectively, do not correspond directly to any late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century

¹¹⁶ Symptomatic of this shift are Eteroclitio Giancarli's *Compositioni musicali* (Venice, 1602) and Giovanni Bassano's *Madrigali et canzonette* (Venice, 1602).

genre. They are not, in any strict sense, madrigals, canzonettas, or even canzoni da sonar or ricercars; rather, to some degree they share characteristics with all of these genres.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ For a more detailed analysis of these two works see Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 300-5.

PART 3

Musical Actors



The *Maestri di Cappella**

Francesco Passadore

In sixteenth-century Venice, music played a central role in disseminating the Word of God. Musical performances marshalled enormous forces, both human and economic; and the city designated specific political and administrative authorities to oversee the organization, personnel, and professional quality of its musical ensembles. Music served as a religious, political, and propagandistic instrument not only in Venetian churches, most especially San Marco, but also in the city's confraternities: the musical activities of their wards inspired substantial bequests and donations of both chattel and real estate. Numerous political and civic events required musical celebration, as did an even greater number of religious events that also involved the participation of state officials. Indeed, Francesco Sansovino lists fourteen celebratory anniversaries that entailed a ducal procession (or *andata in trionfo*) during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, three of which were instituted in the sixteenth century—the feast of Santa Marina to celebrate the recapture of Padua in 1509, the feast of Santa Giustina for the victory of Lepanto in 1571, and the feast of the Redeemer giving thanks for the end of the plague of 1576—as well as another twenty-two religious feasts.¹ *Andate in trionfo* involved the procession of the Doge and the Signoria (the two civic and sacred powers of Venice) followed by the Republic's full administration: magistrates, canons, advisors, chancellors, attorneys, senators, and foreign ambassadors, as well as the *scuole grandi*.² These occasions called for substantial contribution from the city's

* The following abbreviations are used: I-Vnm = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana; I-Vas = Venice, Archivio di Stato.

1 See also the chapter 'Music, Ritual, and Festival: The Ceremonial Life of Venice' by Iain Fenlon in the present volume.

2 Francesco Sansovino and Giustiniano Martinioni, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare* (Venice: Stefano Curti, 1663), 492–526; Ellen Rosand, 'Music in the Myth of Venice', in *Renaissance Quarterly* 30 (1977), 511–37 at 516; Denis Arnold, 'Ceremonial Music in Venice at the Time of the Gabriellis', in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 82 (1955–56), 46–59; David Bryant, 'Liturgia e musica liturgica nella fenomenologia del "mito di Venezia"', in *Mitologie, convivenze di musica e mitologia*, ed. Giovanni Morelli (Venice, 1979), 205–14; Ellen Rosand, 'La musica nel mito di Venezia', in *'Renovatio urbis': Venezia nell'età di Andrea Gritti (1523–1538)*, ed. Manfredo Tafuri (Rome, 1984), 167–86, esp. 173; Iain Fenlon, 'Music, Ceremony and Self-Identity

musical establishments, first and foremost the ducal chapel at San Marco, to exalt the power, the authority, and the myth of the Serenissima.³

Venice is without a doubt unique in terms of its production and consumption of music, particularly sacred music. In the 1560s, ecclesiastical fiscal documentation bears witness to the presence of over 90 organs in as many churches—each of which required a salaried organist—as well as at least four active musical chapels in addition to that at San Marco. Moreover, around fifty times per year groups of singers (often organized into double choirs) and instrumentalists performed in various churches around the city.⁴ And during the course of the sixteenth century nearly all of Venice's 200 churches were furnished with an organ and a choir, employed at least for the most important feast days. So too was the case with the *scuole grandi*.⁵

Musical chapels needed to fulfil growing obligations, not only in Venice but elsewhere as well. The liturgy, feasts (sacred and civic), and ceremonies required an increasing number of musical performances.⁶ And as a result, the city and its religious institutions needed to develop regulations to govern the chapels, organize auditions to hire singers and instrumentalists, and estab-

in Renaissance Venice', in *La cappella musicale di San Marco nell'età moderna. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, 5-7 settembre 1994*, ed. Francesco Passadore and Franco Rossi (Venice, 1998), 7-21; Iain Fenlon, 'Noise in the Square: St. Mark's in the Sixteenth Century', in *Sine musica nulla disciplina. Studi in onore di Giulio Cattin*, ed. Franco Bernabei and Antonio Lovato (Padova, 2006), 221-34 at 225-26.

- 3 On the relationship between music, politics, religion, society, and myth in Venetian culture, see Rosand, 'Music in the Myth of Venice'. The *scuole grandi* were also involved in this type of procession, see Jonathan E. Glixon, "'Far una bella procession': Music and Public Ceremony at the Venetian *scuole grandi*", in *Altro Polo. Essays on Italian Music in the Cinquecento*, ed. Richard Charteris (Sydney, 1990), 190-220, reprinted in *Institutions and Patronage in Renaissance Music*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Farnham, 2012), 421-53. Also see Jeffrey Kurtzman and Linda Maria Koldau, 'Trombe, Trombe d'argento, Trombe squarciate, Tromboni, and Pifferi in Venetian Processions and Ceremonies of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 8 (2002), <<http://sscm-jscm.org/v8/no1/kurtzman.html>>.
- 4 David Bryant, 'La musica nelle istituzioni religiose e profane di Venezia', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 4,1: *Dalla controriforma alla fine della repubblica: Il Seicento*, ed. Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Vicenza, 1982), 433-47 at 433-37; Elena Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco. Organizzazione e prassi della musica nelle chiese di Venezia nel Rinascimento* (Florence, 1998), 31.
- 5 Rosand, 'La musica nel mito di Venezia', 172. See also the chapters by Jonathan Glixon and Elena Quaranta in the present volume.
- 6 Of great importance during the second half of the century is the ceremony of Bartolomeo Bonifacio: *Caeremoniale rituum sacrorum ecclesie Sancti Marci Venetiarum* (ms., 1564), I-Vnm, ms. Lat. III, No. 172 (= 2276).

lish differentiated pay scales to reflect the diverse artistic responsibilities of the musicians employed. While financial and political aspects of Venice's musical establishments were entrusted to specific administrative authorities, the ensembles' management and organization was, in contrast, delegated primarily to a single person: the *maestro di cappella*. In institutions of modest size this role could also be assigned to an organist or a choir director, and even occasionally to one of the most experienced choristers; and in certain cases, sacred or lay institutions could turn to stable chapels already existent and operational in the city's largest churches for assistance in integrating music into their own celebrations.⁷ Lacking a true *maestro di cappella*, the organist and the *maestro del coro* were subject to other tasks such as playing the organ, directing the choir, and instructing the clerics.⁸ The importance of a sacred institution within the city's sphere, its religious 'weight,' and its economic resources all influenced the size and professionalism of the chapel and whether it was directed by someone specifically designated as *maestro* or by a musician (organist, singer, *maestro di coro*) who could fill multiple roles. For example, archival records attesting to the earliest musical activity at San Marco in 1318 mention the presence of the organist 'Mistro Zucchetto',⁹ who seems also to have coordinated performances of a choir, albeit one small in size, thus serving essentially as a *maestro di cappella* in the eyes of the ecclesiastical authorities, at least for the principal feasts designated by Venice's liturgical calendar.

Maestri di Cappella in Venice

As Elena Quaranta argues, the frontispieces of various musical editions from the second half of the sixteenth century and the *Condizioni* files¹⁰ both attest

7 Oscar Mischiati, 'Profilo storico della cappella musicale in Italia nei secoli XV-XVIII', in *Musica sacra in Sicilia tra Rinascimento e Barocco. Atti del convegno di Caltagirone 10-12 dicembre 1985*, ed. Daniele Ficola (Palermo, 1988), 23-45 at 36.

8 Pope Eugene IV was responsible for interventions directed at the foundation and the reordering of cathedral and college chapters, which dictated the presence of a *maestro di grammatica*, a *maestro di canto*, and a master of the clerical choir during the first half of the fifteenth century.

9 Francesco Caffi, *Storia della musica sacra nella già cappella ducale di San Marco in Venezia dal 1318 al 1797*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1854; reprint ed. Elvidio Surian [Florence, 1987]), 13; Giacomo Benvenuti, *Andrea e Giovanni Gabrieli e la musica strumentale in San Marco* (Milan, 1931), vol. 1, XIX.

10 *Condizioni* are economic-administrative records in which the expenditures and income of an institution were registered, beyond salaries for regular employees.

to the presence of a *maestro di cappella* at the monasteries of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Santa Maria dei Carmini, Santa Maria della Carità, and Santa Maria dei Servi (with the last dating back as far as the end of the fifteenth century). Thanks to frontispieces we also know the names of several *maestri* who directed the chapel at Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari during the second half of the sixteenth century: Antonio Barges (1550), Lodovico Balbi (1576 and 1578), Orazio Colombani (1587, 1588, and 1590), and Giulio Belli (1595).¹¹

The monasteries of Santo Stefano and Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi, on the other hand, employed a *maestro di canto*, such that Fra Ruffino d'Assisi served as *maestro di cappella* at Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in 1534 and, simultaneously, as *maestro di canto* at the parish church of San Polo, which paid him 28 ducats per year to instruct the *zaghi di chiesa*¹² in singing.¹³ On 26 August 1531 Fra Dionisio was elected *maestro* of the novices at Santi Giovanni e Paolo,¹⁴ and on 7 November 1535 he was nominated *maestro di cappella*,¹⁵ a post that he held until at least the end of April 1550.¹⁶ The names of celebrated musicians appear in various records as well. At Santo Stefano, for example, Ippolito Baccusi was named *maestro di cappella* and subprior on 14 November 1574, 'with the promise to grant him a salary of 24 ducats, or more when he found himself in need, and other comforts':

14 November 1574. It was agreed by the priests of the whole Chapter that it would be a good thing to procure a *maestro di cappella* for our church, and it was suggested that the priest Frate Hypolito be hired, with a promise to grant him a salary of 24 ducats, or more when he found himself in need, and other comforts. All the priests consented unanimously and also proposed he be named subprior, which was accepted in full voice by

11 Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 76-77.

12 *Zaghi* were young boys who were instructed in singing, to perform in church services. Some entered the minor orders and eventually became priests. Others did not pursue ecclesiastic careers, leaving the chapel when their voices changed.

13 David Bryant, 'Musica e musicisti', in *Storia di Venezia: dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, vol. 6: *Dal Rinascimento al Barocco*, ed. Gaetano Cozzi and Paolo Prodi (Rome, 1994), 449-67 at 463; Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 69, 76, 213.

14 'Die 26 augusti 1531 ... Electus fuit frater Dionysius Venetus pro magistro novitiorum qui eos habeat docere cantum cum salario duc. 4 in anno nemine discrepante', Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 347.

15 'Die 7ma novembris 1535. ... Item electus fuit a 14 ex patribus frater Dionisius in magistrum capelle cum elemosina ducatorum sex', Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 348.

16 Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 349-53.

all. He accepted and thanked all the priests for their kindness towards him.¹⁷

While it remains uncertain whether the above reference is in fact to Ippolito Baccusi himself, another reference found in a resolution from 7 September 1592 is irrefutable. The Chapter of Santo Stefano, it seems, was compelled to accept an official act issued by the order's abbot, Andrea da Fivizzano, which shows that Baccusi enjoyed important protections, perhaps thanks in part to his professionalism and his fame:

7 September 1592. *Maestro di cappella*. Father Fra Ippolito Baccusi elected *maestro di cappella*.

Father Fra Ippolito Baccusio was elected *maestro di cappella* of our church by the order of the most reverent abbot *maestro* Andrea da Fivizzano with the following compensation: first, he was granted permission to direct the *cappella*; second, the monastery awarded him a salary of 25 ducats per year; third, living expenses for himself and a companion, also a monk; fourth, he was given a good room, which could not be taken away by anyone other than a *maestro*; and finally, [it was stated that] no prior could alter this decree, nor dismiss the above-mentioned Father without permission from the Capitolo and from the reverent abbot himself.¹⁸

17 Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 79, 381 (I-Vas, Santo Stefano, b. 4, *Liber propositioinum* 1540-1578, fol. 75): 'Alli .14. novembre 1574. Fu ragionato alli padri di tutto 'l Capitolo che seria stato cosa buona a provedere di un maestro di capella per la nostra chiesa, et fu proposto a padri il padre frate Hypolito con patto di dargli una mansionaria de ventiquattro, et anco più ducati, quando la si trovasse di più, et altre agevolezze, onde tutti li padri di comun consenso, nemine discrepante se ne contentorno, et anco essendo proposto per sottopriore, a piena voce di tutti fu accettato, il che lui anco gratamente accettò, et ringratiò tutti li padri de l'amorevolezza loro verso di lui.'

18 Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 79, 383 (I-Vas, Santo Stefano, b. 4, *Liber propositioinum* 1578-1615, fol. 48): 'Adi .ij. 7bre .1592. Maestro di capella. Il padre fra Ippolito Baccusi eletto maestro di capella. Fu eletto per maestro de capella della nostra chiesa di ordine del reverendissimo padre generale maestro Andrea da Fivizzano il padre fra Ippolito Baccusio con gli sottoscritti emolumenti, et p.^a che possi tenere una capella, 2^o. che il monasterio gli dia ducati vinticinque all'anno, 3^o. le spese per lui et un compagno pure che sia frate, 4^o. che gli sia data una buona camera la qual non gli possi essere tolta da alcuno benché fosse maestro, et finalmente che niun priore possi alterare questo decreto, né possi per qualsivoglia causa licentiar il detto padre senza licentia del Capitolo et ancho del padre reverendissimo generale.'

From August 1505, the convent of Santi Giovanni e Paolo employed a *maestro di cappella*, Petrus Castellanus, who was obliged to 'docere pueros biscantum' ('teach two-part counterpoint to the boys') for an annual salary of 18 ducats. His successor, Fra Vincenzo, fulfilled the same duties starting in 1514.¹⁹ Fra Dionisio is mentioned as *maestro di cappella* at Santi Giovanni e Paolo from 1536, while he was also employed as a singer at the Scuola Grande di San Marco. Meanwhile, Francesco Patavino, nominated *maestro di cappella* in June 1528, may also have served as a singer at San Marco from 1524 to 1534. It was not unusual, therefore, for a *maestro di cappella* to also work occasionally as a singer at a different institution. Such was the case with Pietro de Fossis too who, while *maestro* of the ducal chapel (see below), sang at Santi Giovanni e Paolo for the feast of All Saints in 1498 (for which he was paid 2 ducats).²⁰

It is unclear if a true chapel was active at San Pietro di Castello. One document from the Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Misericordia dated 1514 notes that a certain Zuane Antonio Negro was recognized as *maestro degli Zaghi* in 1511 and as *maistro de la cappella di Castello* in the same year. Meanwhile at the end of the century that post was filled by Simone Balsamino (from 1591 to 1596), who is described as 'mastro di cappella nel duomo di Venezia,' on the frontispiece of his *Novellette* for six voices, published in Venice by Amadino in 1594.²¹ It is likely that the chapel at San Pietro was similar to those at many of the city's large cathedrals in which the distribution of roles and responsibilities shifted as economic resources varied, for the choir of clerics and the *zaghi*, the professional or semi-professional *cappella*, the *maestro di canto*, and the *maestro di cappella* were all employed on an intermittent or part-time basis.²² Indeed, Jonathan Glixon has reconstructed the list of organists and singers, though with some lacunae, who served at the cathedral from 1456 to 1511.²³

19 Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 71, 341-43.

20 Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 72, 74, 75.

21 Andrea Chegai, 'La musica a San Pietro di Castello, duomo di Venezia, fra XVI e XVII secolo: notizie da una fonte settecentesca', in *Recercare* 3 (1991), 219-229 at 219; idem, *Le Novellette a sei voci di Simone Balsamino* (Florence, 1993); idem, 'San Marco e San Pietro di Castello: lineamenti di un'antinomia', in *La cappella musicale di San Marco nell'età moderna*, 313-19 at 313-14, 316, 317.

22 Chegai, 'San Marco e San Pietro di Castello', 317; Lorenzo Bianconi and Andrea Chegai, 'Balsamino Simone', in *Grove Music Online* (accessed 16 August 2014).

23 Jonathan Glixon, 'Music at the Venetian "Scuole Grandi", 1440-1540', 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1979; Ann Arbor, MI, 1986), vol. 1, 124-27.

The Chapel Masters at San Marco

The most emblematic example of a Venetian musical *cappella* was undoubtedly the chapel at the Basilica di San Marco, which was not simply a Venetian church, but rather *the* church of Venice (despite the fact that San Pietro di Castello was the city's cathedral, where the Patriarch was in residence). San Marco was a state church in that it housed the private chapel and the musical *cappella* of the Doge until 1807.²⁴ The *cappella* was governed by three Venetian nobles who were members of the Procuratia de Supra, nominated for life. The Procurators, however, were obliged to follow the will of the Doge when hiring musicians and dismissing them, as well as when making modifications, even substantial ones, to the *cappella*'s regulations (see also below). In effect, the figures who bore the weight of the responsibility for the musical activities connected to the ducal liturgy were the *maestro di cappella* and, one level below, the two organists, who also governed the main choir, the choirboys, and the instrumentalists.²⁵ San Marco was equipped with a second organ and took on a second organist on 20 August 1490, a year before Pietro de Fossis was appointed *maestro di cappella*. The basilica began to employ instrumentalists around the middle of the fifteenth century. Over time, the fame of the *cappella*'s instrumentalists came to rival that of its singers, and their positions became progressively more full-time.²⁶

The chapel's musicians were employed full-time and the role of singer carried considerable prestige, as the *cappella* was called upon to participate in the Republic's most important religious²⁷ and political celebrations, which often

24 Giulio Ongaro, 'Sixteenth-Century Patronage at St Mark's, Venice', in *Early Music History* 8 (1988), 81-115 at 82.

25 David Bryant, 'Una cappella musicale di stato: la Basilica di S. Marco', in *La cappella musicale nell'Italia della Controriforma. Convegno internazionale di studi. Cento, 13-15 ottobre 1989*, ed. Oscar Mischiati and Paolo Russo (Florence, 1993), 67-73 at 68. See also Iain Fenlon, 'Music, Liturgy and Identity in Renaissance Venice', in *Revista de musicología* 16 (1993), 603-10.

26 Glixon, 'Music at the Venetian "Scuole Grandi"', vol. 1, 204; idem, 'A Musicians' Union in Sixteenth-Century Venice', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983), 392-421 at 393; Rosand, 'La musica nel mito di Venezia', 169.

27 The role of the chapel in the liturgy of Holy Week was both particularly clear and especially demanding; John Bettley, 'The Office of Holy Week at St. Mark's, Venice, in the Late 16th Century, and the Musical Contributions of Giovanni Croce', in *Early Music* 22 (1994), 45-60.

involved extravagant performances of polychoral music.²⁸ The compositions performed glorified the state, and especially the nobility, from whose ranks Republic's public officials were drawn.²⁹ Membership in the ducal chapel carried with it various perks, not only high social status but also permission to join other institutions, for example the six *scuole grandi*, which were open only to *cittadini*³⁰—the rest of the population, resident members of other parishes and members of certain foreign communities, could participate only in one of the many *scuole piccole* active at the time.³¹ The *scuole grandi* were in fact an opportune resource for the ducal musicians, who were able to augment the modest salaries granted to them by the basilica's administration (which varied between 40 and 60 ducats in the middle of the century) by picking up extra work at these institutions.³² Evidence of the difficult financial situations in which musicians found themselves, and of the importance this added income held for them, is found in a petition sent by the singers to the Procurators in August of 1553:

We the poor singers of St. Mark's, distinguished Procurators, are obliged by need to request intercession for our miserable life: a good number of us find ourselves laden with family, and it is not possible, due to the extremely high cost of all things at this time, to live on the salary given to us by Your Most Illustrious Sirs, which (as you know) is 40, 50, or at most

28 Denis Arnold, "The Significance of "Cori Spezzati", in *Music and Letters* 40 (1959), 4-14; David Bryant, "The "cori spezzati" of St Mark's: Myth and Reality', in *Early Music History* 1 (1981), 165-86; Laura Moretti, 'Architectural Spaces for Music: Jacopo Sansovino and Adrian Willaert at St Mark's', in *Early Music History* 23 (2004), 153-84; Iain Fenlon, 'The Performance of *cori spezzati* in San Marco', in *Architettura e musica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, ed. Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti (Milan, 2006), 79-98.

29 David Bryant, 'Andrea Gabrieli e la "Musica di stato" veneziana', in *Andrea Gabrieli 1585-1985. Catalogo del XLII Festival di Musica Contemporanea* (Venice, 1985), 29-45.

30 The term *cittadini* refers to the so-called 'middle classes': laypeople, businessmen, merchants, and artisans.

31 Jonathan Glixon, 'The Polyphonic Laude of Innocentius Dammonis', in *The Journal of Musicology* 8 (1990), 19-53 at 42; also see idem, 'Far il buon concerto: Music at the Venetian Scuole Piccole in the Seventeenth Century', in *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 1 (1995), <<http://sscm-jscm.org/v1/n01/glixon.html>>; idem, "Con canti et organo": Music at the Venetian Scuole Piccole in the Renaissance', in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony Cummings (Warren, MI, 1997), 123-40. Regarding the musical activity of the *scuole*, see Glixon, *Honoring God and the City. Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260-1807* (New York, 2003) and his chapter in the present volume.

32 Glixon, 'A Musicians' Union', 393.

60 ducats for each of us—a very low sum to cover rent, living expenses, and clothing. And it is all the more minimal, given that many of us are not clerics and thus do not have access to salaries, but rather are married and have children and grandchildren. And certainly, if it were not of some utility for us to sing at the *scuole* and at various other churches, we would not appear before Your Most Excellent Sirs beseeching you to offer us a raise, so that we are able to attend to our lives. But given the utility we offer the *scuole*, per the resolution of the Most Excellent Council of Ten, we have agreed, constrained by need, to come before Your Most Distinguished Sirs, beseeching you, for the mercy of our Lord God, to take pity on us and grant us a raise, so that we are able to pay the rent for our houses, our living expenses, and buy our clothes, without which we know our lives are unsustainable. And to Your Most Illustrious Sirs we humbly plead.³³

Authorities took extreme care in hiring a *maestro di cappella*, a figure whose rank—according to the provisions established by dean Francesco Querini in 1554—was immediately inferior to that of the canons and subcanons and superior to that of the deacons and subdeacons. Indeed, selecting a chapel master was always an extremely delicate operation for the ecclesiastical authorities involved, for the *maestro* would be responsible for not only the chapel's artistic activities, but also the image of the institution for which he

33 I-Vas, Consiglio dei Dieci, Parti Comuni, filza 60, n. 73, allegato: 'Vorressimo noi poveri cantadori della vostra Giesia de San Marco, Clarissimi Signori Procuratori, non esser astretti dal bisogno a dimandar suffragio per il miserabil viver nostro; ma ritrovandosse buona parte di noi carichi di famiglia, non è possibile, stante questi tempi così caristiosi di ogni cosa, poter viver con il salario che ne da Vostre Illustrissime Signorie, il qual (come lo sano) sono ducati 40, 50, et fino 60 a cadauno di noi, cosa molto minima, convenendo con quello pagar fitti di casa, viver, et vestirsi. Et tanto più è minima, quanto è ritrovandossi molti di noi non esser clerici, per il che non si pol conseguir mansionarie, ma ben de maridadi con fioli et nepoti. Et certo se non fosse qualche utilità che si ha conseguito con andar a cantando con le Scuole et in diverse chiese fino ad hora, non si sarian restati di esser comparsi davanti Vostre Eccellentissime Signorie supplicandole a volerne agiutare de qualche augumento, acciò mediante quello possiamo intervenire la vita nostra. Ma essendo sta, per deliberation dell'Eccellentissimo Consiglio de x, levatone via l'utilità che pur si conseguiva da esse Scuole, habbiamo convenuto, astretti da necessità, comparer davanti Sue Signorie Clarissime, supplicandole che, per la misericordia di nostro Signor Iddio, le se degnino commiserandone volerne dar qualche augumento acciò mediante quello possiamo pagar li affitti nostri di casa, vivere, et vestirsi, senza il qual cognoscemo non poter sustentar essa vita nostra; et a Vostre Illustrissime Signorie humilmente si raccomandano'. Also in Glixon, 'A Musicians' Union', 419.

worked in the eyes of the city and of the state. Even in cases where the *maestro* was a layperson, he enjoyed semi-ecclesiastical status, and as a result even canons were subject to his direction in matters regarding the successful performance of religious services requiring the participation of the *cappella*. The *maestro di cappella* needed to have extensive experience directing choirs and a strong personality, such that he was able to impose his will on the singers, the instrumentalists, and, occasionally, on the basilica's clergy.³⁴

Unlike organists, singers, and instrumentalists, the *maestro di cappella* was not hired by means of an audition process.³⁵ Rather his appointment was based purely on his fame, so much so that the search for a suitable musician was even conducted via diplomatic channels that involved governmental authorities from mainland cities, ambassadors, and trusted Venetian residents living abroad. The nomination of Cipriano de Rore, for example, was preceded by a letter-writing campaign to Venetian ambassadors at the Council of Trent, the Milanese, French, and Imperial courts, and to residents in Naples and Genoa.³⁶

Over the course of the sixteenth century, the direction of the chapel at San Marco fell to five different musicians, two Italian and three Flemish. The first was Pietro de Fossis,³⁷ appointed on 31 August 1491 and pressed into service the next day.³⁸ His appointment was made at the behest of the Doge Agostino Barbarigo and the Procurators of San Marco: they approved the decision to

34 Oliver Logan, *Venezia, cultura e società, 1470-1790* (Rome, 1980), 367, 372.

35 On the audition process for the post of organist, see Arnaldo Morelli, 'Concorsi organistici a San Marco in area veneta nel Cinquecento', in *La cappella musicale di San Marco nell'età moderna*, 259-78.

36 Bryant, 'Una cappella musicale di stato', 68.

37 Also referred to as Fossis, Fossa, or Da Fossa. De Fossis's predecessor was Alberto da San Marco (Alberto *francese*), whose name appears on a list of singers active at the Scuola Grande di San Marco in 1480; Jonathan Glixon, 'The Musicians of the Cappella and the Scuole: Collaboration or Competition?', in *La cappella musicale di San Marco nell'età moderna*, 301-312 at 303. '1485 mensis octobris die 15 – Assumpsimus ser Albertus Francigenam in Magistrum Puerorum nostrorum et incipit die primo mensis novembris proxime futuri, cui dabimus anno, et ad rationem anni ducatos viginti', I-Vas, Procuratori de Supra, b. 89, proc. 203, fasc. 6; also in Giulio Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St Mark's at the Time of Adrian Willaert (1527-1562): A Documentary Study' (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1986; Ann Arbor, MI, 1987), 390. Alberto is listed as singer in the ducal chapel starting in 1476, and he died in 1491 (Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St Mark's', 497).

38 The appointment reads: '1491 mensis Augusti, die 31 – Assumpsimus in Magistrum Capellae nostrae et puerorum nostrorum ad cantum egregium virum Magistrum Petrum de Fossis, cui dabimus in anno, et ad rationem anni ducatos viginti cum Domo quam habebat Albertus Francigenam ut supra et incipiet die primo mensis proxime futuri 1491'. I-Vas,

entrust de Fossis with the duties of directing the chapel's musical activities, composing, playing the organ, and teaching music and singing to the young clerics. This appointment marks the first time in the history of San Marco that the phrase 'Magistrum Cappellae nostrae et puerorum nostrum' was used, highlighting that one specific responsibility of this institutional figure was to serve as a voice teacher for the choirboys. Starting in 1492, de Fossis's post also involved working as the *maestro di cappella* at the Scuola Grande di San Marco where he performed the vigil and the morning mass for the feast of St. Mark's together with three senior singers,³⁹ as well as the afternoon Vespers and the funeral mass on the following day:

... *maestro* Piero de Fosis, *maestro* of the ducal chapel of San Marco, and his colleagues ... were obligated to come to our *scuola* each year on the Vigil of San Marco to sing Vespers with the usual solemnity, and then to come sing mass for the morning celebration the day after, and after that the Vespers service. Similarly, the following day, out of kindness, they were required to come to our *scuola* in the morning to sing the funeral mass in honour of our Brothers. Our *scuola* paid *maestro* Piero and his colleagues each two ducats, one one-lira candle, and bread each, and each year for the aforementioned feast of San Marco.⁴⁰

In the first decades of the ducal chapel's existence, the *maestro* did not have specific creative duties. In fact, we have no compositions attributable to either the chapel's earliest singers or to its first *maestri* (Alberto *francese* and de Fossis), even though it must often have been necessary for them to write music

Procuratori de Supra, b. 89, proc. 203, fasc. 6; also in Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St Mark's', 391-92.

39 The number of singers at the Scuola Grande di San Marco later grew to 12. Until 1517, they were employed as *cantori solenni*. Glixon, 'Music at the Venetian "Scuole Grandi"', 201.

40 I-Vas, Scuola Grande di San Marco, Reg. 17, Notatorio, fol. 74^r, 24 April 1517: '... maestro Piero de Fosis, maestro dela chapela dela Giexia de misser San Marco, e compagni ... se obligatto hogni ano la vezilia de miser San Marcho vegnir ala Schola nostra et in la sala nostra chantar el vespero con le solenità consuete, e poi el zorno dela festa la matina vegnir a chantar la mesa, et da poi dixnar el vespero. Item, el seguente zorno vuol, per sua zentileza, vegnir la matina ala Schuola e chantar una mesa de morti per le aneme di nostri fradeli. I qual maestro Piero e compagni aver debia fra loro tuti dala Schuola nostra ducati do et una chandela de una lira et di pan zaschaduno de loro, et ogni ano dala dita festa de misser San Marcho ...'. See also Glixon, 'A Musicians' Union', 415 and idem, 'Music at the Venetian "Scuole Grandi"', 200.

for the liturgy to be performed by the chapel choir that they directed.⁴¹ The first list of salaried singers at San Marco, dated 28 April 1486, notes the presence of ten singers, four of whom were of French or Flemish origin: Alberto *francese*, Pietro de Fossis, Joannes Lupus, and Joannes Nens. These ten singers positioned the ducal chapel as one of the most important ensembles in Italy.⁴²

De Fossis, born in Flanders and transplanted to Venice, joined the chapel at San Marco as a singer on 19 September 1485, where he was distinguished for his vocal skill and for his dedication to service. He received seventy ducats annually in compensation: fifty, which he already collected for his service as singer, and twenty for his new appointment as *maestro di cappella*, in addition to free lodging in the rectory near the basilica. Providing lodging for the *maestro di cappella* in the rectory was a practice that continued at San Marco into the following centuries as well. It held important symbolic value, highlighting the musician's complete dedication and his availability, at all times, to serve the musical and political cause of the Serenissima.⁴³

De Fossis served as *maestro di cappella* until October of 1525, when the singer Pietro Luppato (who probably corresponds to the Flemish musician Johannes Lupi) had to step in as interim *maestro* due to de Fossis's poor health.⁴⁴ Luppato was a member of the *cappella piccola*, and on his request the Procurators granted him a post in the *cappella grande* on 10 March 1524, without an increase in salary and on the condition that he could not request one in the future (in penalty for requesting a raise he would have to forfeit his promotion):

Today, in the presence of the undersigned Procurators, signor Pietro Luppato singer of the *cappella minore* at the church of San Marco appeared, asking humbly that, given his well-known suitability in the art of music, the same illustrious Procurators deem him worthy of singing in

41 In later years, particularly during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, printed regulations governing all aspects of the *cappella's* activity stipulated the compositional obligations of *maestri di cappella* and of the organist in minute detail. Francesco Passadore and Franco Rossi, *San Marco: vitalità di una tradizione. Il fondo musicale e la Cappella dal Settecento ad oggi*, 4 vols. (Venice, 1994-96), vol. 1, 389-474.

42 Giulio Ongaro, 'Willaert, Gritti e Luppato: miti e realtà', in *Studi Musicali* 17 (1988), 55-70 at 64-65.

43 Roberto Grisley, 'De Fossis Pietro', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1988), vol. 36, 23-24.

44 Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Johannes Lupi and Lupus Hellinck. A Double Portrait', in *The Musical Quarterly* 59 (1973), 547-83 at 548. On the role of Luppato during the period of transition between de Fossis and Willaert see Ongaro, 'Willaert, Gritti e Luppato'.

the *cappella maggiore* of the aforementioned church, with the highest honour. Therefore, the Procurators accepted his request and admitted him to the *cappella maggiore*, with his current salary of 30 ducats per year. They also declared that the same signor Pietro cannot request an increase in salary as long as he remains in the *cappella maggiore*; if instead, he were to request a raise, he would be demoted back to the *cap-pella minore*. Signor Pietro Luppato consented to this agreement.⁴⁵

On 10 October 1525, the salary of thirty ducats that Luppato collected annually for his work as singer was augmented by another twelve when he stepped in as substitute for de Fossis, taking over the management of the chapel and the singing school, a position he was to hold until the *maestro*'s health improved.⁴⁶ Within a year, however, de Fossis died, leaving the post of *maestro di cappella* vacant. Luppato turned again to the Procurators to stabilize his appointment:

The Magnificent and Illustrious Sirs, at the request of the singer Pietro Luppato regarding the direction of the vocal chapel at the church of San Marco, in the place of signor Pietro de Fossis, conferred and declared that the same *maestro* signor Pietro Luppato, from the day of de Fossis's death up to today, should have a salary of seventy ducats a year, and starting tomorrow he should have a salary of thirty ducats a year, and twelve ducats for the school, as he had before...⁴⁷

45 I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Reg. 123, fol. 71^r: 'Cum hodierna die coram praesentia infrascriptorum Dominorum procuratorum comparverit Dominus Petrus Luppatus cantor cappellae minoris ecclesiae S. Marci humiliter petendo quod atenta eius sufficientia in arte musicae ut est omnibus notum, ipsi clarissimi Domini procuratores dignentur et velint ipsum Dominum Petrum admittere et ponere ad cantandum in cappella maiori dictae ecclesiae cum hoc cedat ad maximum honorem ecclesiae praefatae. Eapropter Clarissimj Domini ... procuratore de supra ... acceptaverunt et admisserunt ipsum Dominum Petrum Lupatum ad cantandum in dicta capella maiori cum suo salario ducatorum triginta in anno quod de praesenti habet. Cum declaratione tamen quod ipse Dominus Petrus non possit aliquo tempore [petere] quod sibi augeatur sallarium quo sit positus in dicta capella maiori, et si hoc petierit illico revertatur ad cantandum in capellae minoris [!]' praedicta ita consentiente ipso Domino Petro Lupato'.

46 The responsibility was bestowed to Luppato 'usque quo ipse magister Petrus sanus factus fuerit et poterit se exercere in ejus officio', I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Reg. 123, fol. 2^r (10 October 1525).

47 I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Reg. 124, fol. 17^r (23 July 1526): 'Magnifici et Carissimi Domini ... audire ser Petro Luppato cantore petente expediri per suas magnificencias circa magisteriatum capellae cantus ecclesiae S. Marci loco quondam Domini magistri Petri de Fossis, terminaverunt, et declaraverunt quod ipse magister Dominus

After a few weeks, the Procurators formulated a decree more favourable for Luppato, granting him an annual salary of sixty ducats and reaffirming his use of the rectory, with the provision that this treatment would last only until a permanent *maestro di cappella* was nominated: 'donec et quosque fuerit facta alia electio dicti magistri capellae in personam dicti Domini Petri Luppatis, sive alterius ad beneplacitum dictorum clarissimorum dominorum procuratorum' ('Until another election of the above-mentioned *maestro di cappella* in the person of signor Pietro Luppato is made, or of another approved by the illustrious Procurators.').⁴⁸ Over the course of a century, the salaries of the ducal *maestri* gradually increased, in part due to progressive economic inflation: from 1491 to 1530 the annual compensation was sixty ducats, around 1535 it was one hundred and twenty ducats, then two hundred in 1536, and two hundred again between 1556 and 1613.

Adrian Willaert was the second Flemish musician to direct the chapel at San Marco,⁴⁹ following the decree issued on 12 December 1527 that awarded him the post previously filled by de Fossis. His nomination was strongly supported by the Doge Andrea Gritti, and the Procurators, despite their reluctance, were unable to oppose it. Willaert was granted the same salary as his predecessor.⁵⁰

Petrus Luppatus a die obitus praefati quondam magistri Petri de Fossis usque in praesentem diem habere debeat de sallario in ratione ducatorum septuaginta in anno prout habebat ipse quondam magister Petrus, et in futurum incipiendo die crastina habeat solum ducatos triginta in anno et ducatos xij pro scholla prout habebat prius, et ita scribi mandaverunt ...'

48 I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Reg. 124, fol. 17^v (11 August 1526).

49 On San Marco during the period immediately preceding Willaert's nomination, see Iain Fenlon 'Music at St. Mark's before Willaert', in *Early Music* 21 (1993), 547-63; idem, 'Strangers in Paradise: Dutchmen at St. Mark's in 1525', in *Trent'anni di ricerca musicologica. Studi in onore di F. Alberto Gallo*, ed. Patrizia Della Vecchia and Donatella Restani (Rome, 1996), 323-37. Also on Willaert at St. Marks see René Bernhard Lenaerts, 'Notes sur Adrien Willaert maître de chapelle de Saint Marc à Venise de 1527 à 1562', in *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 16 (1935), 108-17; idem, 'La chapelle de Saint-Marc à Venise sous Adrien Willaert (1527-1562)', in *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 19 (1938), 205-55; Carlo Campana, 'Adrian Willaert et son école à la Chapelle St-Marc de Venise', in *Musique et société au XVII^e siècle. Actes du XI^e colloque du Puy-en-Velay*, ed. Marie Viallon (Saint-Étienne, 2006), 75-86; Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St Mark's'.

50 See I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Reg. 124, fol. 33^{r-v} (12 December 1527): 'Magnifici et Clarissimi Domini Aloysius Paschalico, Antonius Capello, et Victor Grimani, procuratores de supra ecclesiae S. Marci absentibus alijs collegis suis, intellecta voluntate Serenissimi Principis et Excellentissimi Domini, Domini Andrea Gritti Incliti Venetiarum Ducis, ut suis magnificentijs fuit facta fides ex relatione magnifici Domini Hieronymi Dedo magni cancellarij, assumpserunt et acceptarunt in magistrum capellae cantus

After little more than a year, on 10 March 1529, again according to the Doge's will, his wages were increased by one hundred ducats. Augmented various other times over the years, Willaert's salary reached the remarkable figure of two hundred ducats in 1556: compensation comparable to that granted by the wealthiest chapels in Europe to their best musicians.

Gritti had encountered the young Willaert, along with his teacher Jean Mouton, at a meeting between Pope Leo X and Francis I of France in Bologna.⁵¹ What little we know about Willaert's early instruction we owe primarily to theoretical writings of his student, Gioseffo Zarlino. In his *Dimostrazioni harmoniche*, Zarlino reports that Willaert moved to Paris to study law at the university. Turning his attention to music instead, he studied with Jean Mouton and visited the papal chapel during the papacy of Leo X.⁵² Willaert arrived in Venice after leaving the service of the Este family at the Ferrarese court. His relationship with the family, however, remained undisrupted, such that duke Alfonso, when in Venice for political reasons, visited an aged, invalid Willaert at his sickbed in April of 1562.

When he assumed his duties, Willaert found himself in charge of a staff of considerable proportions, whose skill and size was comparable to that of the most important chapels north of the Alps. His duties also involved teaching voice, both to boys and to adult singers, though it is not certain he was engaged in this activity continuously despite the fact that payment records always cite his role as teacher.⁵³ Among his most famous students is Gioseffo Zarlino,

ecclesiae praedictae Sancti Marci, loco quondam Domini Petri de Fossis olim magistri praefatae capellae circumspectum virum Dominum Adrianum [Willaert] absentem cum eiusdem sallario, onere, et honore prout habebat dictus quondam Dominus Petrus de Fossis. Et haec omnia in praesentia antedicti Magnifici Domini Hieronymi Dedo magni cancellarij' ('The Magnificent and Illustrious Sirs Alvise Pasqualigo, Antonio Cappello, and Vittorio Grimani, Procurators of the church of San Marco, in the absence of other colleagues, knowing the will of the honourable prince and most excellent signor Andrea Gritti, illustrious Doge of Venice, as attested by the magnificent signor Girolamo Diedo, Grand Chancellor, assume and accept as *maestro di cappella* and master of singing of the church of San Marco, the post of signor Pietro de Fossis, signor Adriano [Willaert], in absentia, with the same salary, duties, and honour already assigned to the post').

51 Lewis Lockwood, 'Adrian Willaert and Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este: New Light on Willaert's Early Career in Italy, 1515-1521', in *Early Music History* 5 (1985), 85-112 at 86, 88. Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (Venice: Francesco de Franceschi, 1558), 346.

52 Gioseffo Zarlino, *Dimostrazioni harmoniche* (Venice: Francesco de Franceschi, 1571), 8.

53 It seems he attended to the instruction of the adult singers more so than that of the boys. In fact, in 1542 at his request the Procurators approved that the singer Francesco Violante be paid for teaching music and singing to the clerics. Chegai, 'San Marco e San Pietro di Castello', 317.

who moved to Venice to study with the Flemish *maestro* on 15 December 1541. Others too trained under Willaert and went on to hold important roles in Italian and European musical circles during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Prominent names include Nicola Vicentino, Costanzo Porta, Girolamo Parabosco (who became first organist at San Marco), Jacques Buus, Perissone Cambio, Antonio Barges, Francesco dalla Viola, and Baldassare Donato (who succeeded Zarlino as director of the ducal chapel in 1590). We do not, however, have evidence of a direct didactic relationship with Willaert for all of these figures, though the *maestro* undoubtedly exercised considerable influence over Venetian musical life.

When Willaert was hired, San Marco singers were organized into two groups—the *cappella piccola* and the *cappella grande*—according to their age and expertise. The *cappella piccola* consisted of the young altar boys, whose voices had not yet changed, and adult singers, but no basses. Meanwhile, the *cappella grande* was comprised of adult singers whose voices were fully trained and mature.⁵⁴ This division, established in 1486, was abandoned after Willaert assumed his post and was then later reinstated at the end of 1562, towards the end of his tenure. It was abolished permanently on 21 April 1565, shortly after Gioseffo Zarlino was named *maestro di cappella*.⁵⁵ The presence of two ensembles was not, as is sometimes thought, related to the practice of so-called *cori spezzati*. Indeed, this practice was not a characteristic unique to the ducal chapel but rather was employed first by other chapels in northern Italy before it was taken up at San Marco. Instead, the *cappella piccola* served to train singers for the *cappella grande*.

The two ensembles carried out their duties according to different calendars, singing together only at the mass dedicated to the Virgin Mary on Saturdays. Meanwhile, on Thursdays and Fridays, the *cappella piccola* was responsible for singing the mass and Vespers alone:

In accordance with the decree of the most distinguished Procurators issued on 11 November 1562 all of the singers of the *cappella piccola* are obligated to sing the grand mass and, similarly, Vespers in our church of San Marco every Thursday and Friday, and on Saturdays they must sing the grand mass together with our *cappella grande*. The singers are also required [to perform] every time that the Signoria of Venice comes to the church, and every time the high altar is opened they must come

54 See also the chapter by Paolo Da Col in the present volume.

55 Ongaro, 'Willaert, Gritti e Luppato', 57, 66.

and stand in the choir in obedience with the *maestro* of the *cappella grande* ...⁵⁶

Willaert's sacred music composed during his Venetian period was, for the most part, created for performance at San Marco. Indeed, in 1548 the Procurators charged Baldassare Donato (one of the oldest singers in the choir of altar boys at the time) with copying all of the compositions written by the *maestro* so that they could then be studied and performed by the chapel. The same decree ordered that Donato encourage Willaert to compose and that he inform the Procurators each time a composition was completed, which supports Zarlino's reports that Willaert was slow to compose and to finalize his works. Moreover, in 1552, Willaert requested, and obtained, a choirboy to keep the manuscripts of his music in order, essentially maintaining an archive for the chapel.

Willaert's service at San Marco was continuous, and his absences were rare. In fact, there is record of only two requests for permission to be absent from his post and from Venice: in 1542 and in 1556, when he travelled Flanders to attend to personal affairs. In 1556, Willaert requested permission to be gone from May to November but returned to Venice several months late, detained due to poor health. He later petitioned the Procurators for the salary withheld during his

56 I-Vas, San Marco, Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 129, fol. 150^v (27 July 1564): 'In execution della termination di signori Clarissimi procuratori de dì XI novembrio 1562 intimante a tutti li cantori della capella picciola che la obligation sua è de cantar nella chiesa nostra di S. Marco li giorni de zuoba et de venere una messa granse et similmente li vesperi et li sabati hanno a cantare la messa grande insieme con la capella nostra grande, li quali cantori sono etiam obligati ogni volta che la serenissima signoria vegnirà in chiesa et che s'aprirà la Palla di venir et star in choro stando alla obedientia del maistro della capella grande ...'; Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St Mark's', 367, doc. 271. Bryant, 'Una cappella musicale di stato', 68-69. 'Il Sabato veramente essa capella minor habbi a cantar la messa grande insieme con la cappella grande con uno moteto all'ofertorio' ('On Saturday the *cappella piccola* sang the great mass together with the *cappella grande*, with a motet at the offertory'), I-Vas, San Marco, Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 129, fol. 139^r (11 November 1562); 'la qual capella piccola è etiam tenuta ogni sabato a cantar unitamente con la capella grande la messa' ('the *cappella piccola* is also required to sing together with the *cappella grande* for the mass every Saturday'), *ibid.*, fol. 141^v (30 November 1562). James H. Moore, 'Venezia favorita da Maria: Music for the Madonna Nicopeia and Santa Maria della Salute', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984), 299-355 at 309, n. 35; Ongaro, 'La composizione del coro e dei gruppi strumentali a San Marco dalla fine del Quattrocento al primo Seicento: indicazioni per la prassi esecutiva del repertorio marciano', in *Architettura e musica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, 99-116.

absence and was granted only half the total amount.⁵⁷ The respect Willaert enjoyed from the Procurators permitted, at times, that the official audition process be waived and that certain singers be hired based solely on Willaert's judgment as *maestro di cappella*.

During the final years of his life, Willaert suffered from poor health, many of his ailments stemming from gout. His struggle with the disease is noted in his first will from 1549, in which he is described as being 'rather ill with gout' ('piutosto malato di gotta'), and four subsequent wills (dated 1550, 1552, 1558, and 1559) reference this illness as well. From these documents, we know that none of Willaert's children from his marriage with Susanna (who was from the town of Feltre), survived. Willaert left his wife an inheritance of 1,600 ducats, invested with the Fuggers, with the condition that after her death the money would pass to his nephew Alvisé. Two of the testamentary executors were Marco Antonio Cavazzoni and Gioseffo Zarlino.⁵⁸ An annotation made to his final will affirms that it was published 'viso cadavere' on 8 December 1562, revealing that Willaert died the day before.

Cipriano de Rore's presence at San Marco was, in contrast with that of his predecessor, very brief. He officially succeeded Willaert as *maestro di cappella* at San Marco on 18 October 1563, although he retroactively began to accrue his salary of two hundred ducats per year on the first of May.⁵⁹ In fact, he came from Parma then, where he was in the service of duke Ottavio Farnese: the diplomatic negotiations between the duke of Parma and the Signoria of Venice concluded between April and May of 1563, with his hire as *maestro di cappella* at San Marco. De Rore's tenure was brief and did not have a lasting impact the life or organization of the chapel. He left the post on 12 July 1564 to return to Parma and to service in the court of duke Ottavio Farnese. De Rore himself made note of his reasons for leaving the Venetian chapel in a letter to duke Ottavio written in Venice on 12 July 1564: the duties connected to the administration of the ducal chapel were too numerous and too burdensome, the

57 Rebecca Edwards, 'An Expanded Musical and Social Context for Andrea Gabrieli: New Documents, New Perspectives', in *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo. Atti del convegno internazionale (Venezia 16-18 settembre 1985)*, ed. Francesco Degradà (Florence, 1987), 43-57 at 50, n. 10.

58 On 20 January 1561, Willaert added Zarlino as one of his testamentary executors. Gastone Vio, *Le Scuole Piccole nella Venezia dei Dogi. Note d'archivio per la storia delle confraternite veneziane* (Venice, 2004), 643.

59 Caffi, *Storia della musica sacra*, 95.

confusion created by the division of the chapel into two choirs was too great, and the salary was inadequate.⁶⁰

The names of the famous de Rore and Willaert were celebrated in verse in a collection of poetry published in Padua in 1546, during Willaert's tenure as *maestro di cappella* at the ducal chapel (before de Rore assumed the post). Contained in this poetic miscellany, edited and studied by Remo Giazotto in 1954, are eight sonnets by Girolamo Fenaruolo dedicated to various musicians who up until that date (and after as well) worked in and cultivated relationships with Venice's musical scene. The first of the eight is dedicated to de Rore and presents the musician's first and last name in an acrostic.

Ciò che prima à me piacque hor à me spiace
 Immerso nella nova e placid'onda
 Pur perigliosa à quei di cui s'abonda
 Rozzi nocchieri e ciechi ad ogni face.
 Inclita guida, chi vorrà con pace
 A sé legarti come foglia à fronda
 Nome tuo solo invocherà e gioconda
 Ognor saprà opra sua e non men vivace.
 D'Adria è quell'onda che ha ventura e cui
 Esser pietosa al paragon non cale
 Rotta ai perigli e alle fatiche; e cui
 Ordina al ciel flussi e riflussi, sale,
 Riscende e torna à surgere per nui.
 Emulo d'Adriano a te diam vale.⁶¹

That which first was pleasing to me is now displeasing, immersed [as I am] in the calm, new waves that are nevertheless dangerous to the many rough helmsmen who are blind to the stars. Noble guide, he who wants with peace to tie himself to you like a leaf to a branch, shall invoke your name alone and will know that your work will always be as cheerful as it is vivacious. From the Adriatic sea comes that fortunate wave whose course, to be just to the comparison, is not shaken by dangers or struggle;

60 De Rore began to receive his new salary, paid by the Farnese court, on 1 July 1564 while he was still in Venice. See Jessie Ann Owens, 'Cipriano de Rore a Parma (1560-1565). Nuovi documenti', in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 11 (1976), 5-26 at 8-9.

61 *Nuove rime di diversi eccellenti autori le quali si leggono sparse hora raccolte e scelte con cura e abbondantia* (Padova, 1546), in Remo Giazotto, *Harmonici concenti in aere veneto* (Rome, 1954), 7 (Sonetto I).

and whose ebbing and flowing, which orders the heavens, rises and falls, and returns again to rise for us. Emulator of Adriano, we bid you goodbye.

The fifth poem is dedicated to Willaert:

Unqua si vide più fiorita e amena
 Ghirlanda di concetti in contraponto
 Così che se mi vien di far confronto
 Tra quel ch'è fiore e frutto di mia vena
 E quel ch'è tuo, sento nel cor gran pena
 Salmi rossor nel viso e non son pronto
 In dir con meco, homé [ohimè] quest'è un affronto.
 Spegni, Adrian l'ardire e mi rimena
 Sulla bella riviera cui s'approda
 Avendo senno e honore per nocchieri.
 Giuro, non più miracoli da froda
 Vo far'io, che se tu ridesti ieri
 Vo che diman per me sia grande loda,
 Bell'ascoltare i tuoi pensieri veri.⁶²

Never have I seen such a pleasant, blooming garland of consonances in counterpoint as when I came to compare that which is the flower and fruit of my vein with that which is yours; and I feel in my heart a great pain, I blush, and I am not ready to tell myself: 'Ah me, this is an outrage.' Extinguish, Adriano, [my] impudence and bring me back to the beautiful river where one arrives [only] if one has sense and honour for helmsmen. I swear, I myself don't wish to make more fraudulent miracles: because if you laughed yesterday, I hope tomorrow will bring me great praise. It is beautiful to listen to your true thoughts.

The third, in contrast, references multiple musicians—Girolamo Parabosco, Perissone Cambio, de Rore, Willaert, and Tuttovale Menon:

S'odi in calle o in canale à notte o à giorno
 Del Parabosco il canto o il tenor, vana
 Cosa è annunciar, bada: quest'è puttana
 Quest'è ruffian, 'l sappiamo e tutt'à torno

Dell'acqua nanfa si torrà 'l contorno.
 Ma se vaghezza avrai d'aria più sana,
 Non ti scordar del Cambio, e cortigiana
 Udrai intonar grechette in stil più adorno.
 Del Rore e d'Adriano ai madrigali
 S'ascondan tai parenti e donzelletti
 Tortore e cherchi à loro volgan l'ali,
 Mentre Menon in convento di zibetti
 Fa esempio con honor e con gran strali
 I disiosi amanti fa sospetti.⁶³

If you hear in alleys or in canals, night and day, the cantus or tenor of Parabosco, beware that it is useless to announce: this is the whore, this is the pimp; we know it, and they all sprinkle themselves with perfume [i.e. everyone sees through the obvious guise of this music's surface appeal]. But if you desire a more honest environment [i.e. better music], don't forget [the music] of Cambio, and you will hear courtesans singing *grechette* in a more decorated style. [But] before the madrigals of de Rore and Adriano, one hides these relatives and servants [i.e. Parabosco and Cambio], whose verses turtle doves and barn owls sing; meanwhile Menon, in a gathering of owls, provides examples with honour, and with great arrows he makes desirous lovers suspicious.

Gioseffo Zarlino, born in Chioggia in 1517, arrived in Venice in 1541, where he was the student and friend of Willaert. Indeed, the closeness of their friendship and the extent of Willaert's esteem for his student is evidenced by the fact that the elder *maestro* bequeathed Zarlino a modest inheritance. Zarlino was a member of the Accademia della Fama, founded in 1558 by the patrician Federico Badoer:⁶⁴ he was enrolled in the 'stanza di matematica', a subject of great importance for Zarlino's conception of music. He was appointed *maestro di cappella* at San Marco on 5 July 1565, succeeding Cipriano de Rore. The same year he was also elected chaplain of San Severo, in the *sestiero* of Castello. In connection with this post, he was granted a house near the church, where he resided until his death on 4 February 1590.⁶⁵ Zarlino was selected by the

63 *Nuove rime di diversi eccellenti auttori*, 17 (Sonetto 111). The other sonnets are dedicated to Antonio Gardano, Antonio Barges, Jan Gero, Tuttovale Menon, and Gaspara Stampa.

64 Francesco Caffi, *Della vita e delle opere del prete Gioseffo Zarlino maestro celeberrimo nella cappella ducale di Venezia* (Venice, 1836), 20.

65 I-Vas, Decreti e terminazioni (Actorum), Reg. 130, fols. 88v-89r (Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St Mark's', 368-69). Isabella Palumbo-Fossati, 'La casa veneziana di Gioseffo Zarlino nel

Procurators not only for his talent but also for his prudence and modesty—characteristics essential for effectively leading a chapel whose discipline had relaxed progressively since the final years of the aged Willaert's tenure.⁶⁶ His duties were to teach *canto figurato*, counterpoint, and plainchant to all the *zaghi*.⁶⁷

Zarlino was fully integrated into Venice's musical life and in fact he often served as the city's official musician, called upon to celebrate important civil and political events with his music. He composed, for example, music (now lost) to celebrate Venice's victory in the battle of Lepanto in 1571⁶⁸ during the rule of Doge Luigi Mocenigo, and he provided entertainment for Henry III, King of France, during his visit to Venice in 1574,⁶⁹ an event described by Francesco Sansovino:

Thus the King, walking between Cardinal San Sisto and the Doge, in front of the Dukes of Savoy, of Ferrara, and of Nivers, with the above-mentioned Procurators carrying the [ceremonial] umbrella, entered the church and kneeled on a stool covered with gold cloth, in front of the grand altar, and a *Te Deum* was sung, accompanied by the organs. After there was a banquet, which was truly fit a king, filled with musical compositions and *concerti* never heard before composed by the most gifted men in Europe, who are generally found in great profusion in this city, and by Monsign. Gioseffo Zarlino, *maestro di cappella* and a man of great valour and esteem, who has no equal in theory or in composition.⁷⁰

testamento e nell'inventario dei beni del grande teorico musicale', in *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana* 20 (1986), 633-49 at 633-34.

66 Logan, *Venezia, cultura e società*, 371-75.

67 Rebecca Edwards, 'Setting the Tone at San Marco: Gioseffo Zarlino amidst Doge, Procuratori and Cappella personnel', in *La cappella musicale di San Marco nell'età moderna*, 389-400 at 393.

68 Iain Fenlon, 'In destructione Turcharum: The Victory of Lepanto in Sixteenth-Century Music and Letters', in *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo. Atti del convegno internazionale (Venezia 16-18 settembre 1985)*, ed. Francesco Degradà (Florence, 1987), 293-317; idem, 'Lepanto: le arti della celebrazione nella Venezia del Rinascimento', in *Crisi e rinnovamenti nell'autunno del Rinascimento a Venezia*, ed. Vittore Branca and Carlo Ossola (Florence, 1991), 389-98.

69 Gregorio Manzini, *Il gloriosissimo apparato fatto dalla Serenissima Repubblica venetiana per la venuta, per la dimora et per la partenza del Christianissimo Enrico* (Venice: Grazioso Percacino, 1574).

70 Sansovino and Martinioni, *Venetia città nobilissima*, 446: 'Così il Re camminando in mezzo del Cardinal San Sisto, & del Doge, andando innanzi i Duchi di Savoia, di Ferrara, & di Nivers, & portando l'ombrella i predetti Procuratori, il Re entrò in Chiesa e inginocchiatosi a uno scabello coperto di panno d'oro, dinanzi all'Altare grande, fu cantato

Moreover, one of Zarlino's masses opened the festivities celebrating the construction of the votive church of the Redeemer, designed by Andrea Palladio, on 21 July 1577. This celebration, following on the heels of a plague outbreak that decimated the city's population in 1575-76, was attended by the Doge Sebastiano Venier.⁷¹

Zarlino stands out as a particularly unique figure among the Venetian *maestri di cappella* for his diverse talents—he was, in fact, also an engraver, skilled in the technique of polygraphy. In 1579, he completed a wood engraving of a Madonna della Navicella, a subject popular in his home town of Chioggia, which recalls the Ferrarese school in style. That Zarlino would be influenced by this style is not surprising, for he had close connections to the Este court.⁷² He was a friend of Francesco dalla Viola, the court chapel master, and also wrote for Eleonora d'Este. Indeed, Zarlino dedicated his treatise *Della patientia* to the noblewoman, a work through which he urged Eleonora to bear the death of her mother with Christian resignation;⁷³ and it was at the request of the same Eleonora that Zarlino wrote his *Sopplimenti musicali* (1588).⁷⁴

Baldassare Donato, who succeeded Zarlino as ducal chapel master, served as substitute *maestro di cappella* starting in October 1588 and ingratiated himself with the Procurators in what was a difficult time through his enthusiasm and professionalism. Donato, who spent his entire career at San Marco, was involved in the ducal chapel at all levels over the years. He entered as an altar boy, studying under Willaert, later served as singer starting in 1546, and taught singing to the *zaghi* and directed the *cappella piccola* from 1562-65 (during de Rore's tenure). Donato also taught music at the Ducal Seminary where clerics were educated in music, among other subjects, and on various occasions he

musicalmente con gli organi il Te Deum, & dopo s'andò al Convito, il quale fu veramente da Re, essendosi fatte tuttavia musiche & concerti inauditi, da i più valenti huomini d'Europa, de quali ordinariamente è gran copia in questa Città, & da Monsign. Gioseppo Zarlino [...], Maestro di Cappella, & persona di molto valore & bontà, il quale nella theorica, & nelle compositioni è senza pari'.

71 Caffi, *Della vita e delle opere del prete Gioseffo Zarlino*, 24-25; Palumbo-Fossati, 'La casa veneziana di Gioseffo Zarlino', 635.

72 Katelijne Schiltz, 'Gioseffo Zarlino and the *Miserere* Tradition: A Ferrarese Connection?', in *Early Music History* 27 (2008), 181-215.

73 Gioseffo Zarlino, *Utilissimo trattato della patientia, a tutti quelli che desiderano vivere christianamente* (Venice: Francesco Sanese, 1561); reprinted with corrections by Francesco de' Franceschi in 1583 and with a frontispiece declaring Zarlino 'maestro di cappella della sereniss. sig. di Venezia'.

74 Gioseffo Zarlino, *Sopplimenti musicali* (Venice: Francesco de Franceschi, 1588), 288; Caffi, *Della vita e delle opere del prete Gioseffo Zarlino*, 20; Caffi, *Storia della musica sacra*, 102.

coordinated musical performances at Venice's *scuole grandi*. Moreover, he served as deputy *maestro di cappella* before succeeding Zarlino as chapel master on 9 March 1590, on a five-year contract that required him to 'teach *canto figurato*, counterpoint, and plainchant to all the clerics at the seminary' ('insegnar canto figurato, contrappunto et canto fermo alli clerici del seminario'). His duties also involved hiring other singers for the reorganization of the choir, which was fairly small at the time of his appointment (two sopranos, four altos, three tenors, and four basses). Donato's contract was ultimately renewed, enabling him to hold the post until his death (likely in June 1603).⁷⁵

The succession of sixteenth-century ducal chapel masters concludes with Giovanni Croce. Interestingly, his appointment was not unproblematic. As a matter of fact, the Procuratori de Supra displayed a strikingly resolute attitude towards the Doge Marino Grimani in 1603, when he sought to replace Baldassare Donato with a Venetian musician. A memorandum from Procurator Federico Contarini urging that a careful search for a talented musician (even extending beyond Venetian territory) be conducted came to nothing:

The illustrious Procurators have guaranteed to always obtain the most honoured and famous men, taught by leaders in the profession of high reputation not only to be excellently skilled at music, but also knowledgeable in theory, as was *maestro* Adriano [Willaert], and after him *maestro* Cipriano [de Rore], and after him the most learned Zarlino, such a scientific musician that he composed fundamental works in theory. It is true that men such as these cannot simply be found just anywhere here, and those who have need of them would do well to search in places where their valour and their virtue is displayed. There they shall be found.⁷⁶

75 Caffi, *Della vita e delle opere del prete Gioseffo Zarlino*, 27; Augusto Cecilia, 'Donato Baldassare', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1992), vol. 41, 78-80; Edwards, 'Setting the Tone at San Marco', 399; Anu Ahola, 'Donato Baldassare', in *Grove Music Online* (accessed 16 August 2014).

76 I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, b. 90, proc. 204, vol. 1, fol. 8^r (13 July 1613): 'L'illustrissimi signori Procuratori hanno atteso a procurare sempre huomini honoratissimi ... insignati tra i più principali nella professione de molta riputazione, per essere non solo peritissimi nella musica, ma fondati nella teoria, famosissimi, come fu mastro Adriano [Willaert], et dopo lui mastro Cipriano [de Rore] et dopo lui il dottissimo Zarlino, così scientifico in questa professione che ha composto opere profundissime nelle teorie; vera cosa è che questi tal huomini siccome non si trovano qui in piazza così, meritano che siano ricercati là dove dal valor et in virtù loro sono manifestadi a chi ne ha bisogno di essi, in qual luogo si trovano'. Caffi, *Storia della musica sacra*, 154-55; Benvenuti, *Andrea e Giovanni Gabrieli*, vol. 1 (Milan, 1931), LVII; Rosand, 'La musica nel mito di Venezia', 170.

Croce, originally from Chioggia (Zarlino's birthplace), served as priest at the church of Santa Maria Formosa. He joined the ducal chapel in 1565 at age 18 and rose through its ranks: from singer he became singing teacher for the boys at the Ducal Seminary, then vice *maestro* under Donato, and finally *maestro di cappella* on 13 July 1603, a post which he held until his death on 15 May 1609.⁷⁷



As this panorama illustrates, in the sixteenth century a musician could gain entry to the post of *maestro di cappella* at one of Venice's sacred institutions primarily through two channels. The first was via pure fame, or by holding a prestigious post at another church, convent, or court chapel, and, of course, by publishing collections that demonstrated a high degree of compositional skill. The second was to rise, internally, through the chapel's musical hierarchy, as singer or organist, demonstrating along the way continuous institutional loyalty and devotion as well as increasing professionalism and trustworthiness, and excelling at the practical trials connected with the audition process through which musicians gained entry to the chapel's lower ranks. A *maestro* might also be appointed due to the sponsorship of a particular ecclesiastical or civic authority. For example, at San Marco, Willaert, de Rore, and Zarlino were all nominated largely thanks to their noteworthy fame and their publications. In contrast, de Fossis owed his appointment to the second model, as did Donato, who, at the time of his appointment had published only three books of secular vocal music and a handful of motets in sacred anthologies. Croce, too, rose through the ranks of the ducal chapel, though his publications of both secular and sacred music were much more extensive.⁷⁸

77 In 1585, Croce dedicated his first musical publication to one of the Procurators of San Marco, Giovanni Battista Morosini: *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1585). Piero Caraba, 'Croce Giovanni', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, 1985), vol. 31, 210.

78 His sacred œuvre includes music for Compline and Vespers, masses, motets, lamentations for Holy Week, and psalms.

Silent Voices: Professional Singers in Venice

Paolo Da Col*

Very little of the vast and varied soundscape of sixteenth-century Venice is captured by the written music that has come down to us today. Various sources bear witness to the myriad of sonorous and musical events that peppered daily life in this vivacious city, which boasted the second largest population in the Italian peninsula, surpassed in size only by Naples.¹ When the plague struck Venice in 1576, one chronicler observed that ‘sounds, singing, and other delightful amusements could no longer be heard along the streets and canals’, once signs of normalcy.² These ‘songs’ arose from a series of ephemeral and extemporaneous events, often commercial in nature, conducted *en plein air*: theatrical performances *all'improvviso* and the sale of cheap texts, images, and printed books, miraculous substances and other articles, always adorned with singing. Recent research has tried to reconstruct the nature of these events and their principal actors, who included *cantimpanca*, *zanni*, blind singers, *cerretani* or swindlers, and storytellers—over whom civic magistrates exhibited a certain control, regulating the hours and locales of their activity.³ But Venice

* This essay presents some findings from a larger project, pertaining to the professional training, careers, living conditions, and performance practices of singers active in the territories under the rule of the Republic of Venice during second half of the fifteenth century and the sixteenth century, which I am conducting at the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance (Université François-Rabelais de Tours) under prof. Philippe Vendrix. This research would not have been possible without the enlightening guidance of Anna Pizzati at the Archivio di Stato di Venezia and without the kind and invaluable suggestions of Renzo Bez, Rodolfo Baroncini, Iain Fenlon, Armando Fiabane, David Fiala, and Lorenzo Nassimbeni.

- 1 Daniele Beltrami, *Storia della popolazione di Venezia dalla fine del secolo XVI alla caduta della Repubblica* (Padua, 1954).
- 2 *Novi avvisi di Venetia, ne' quali si contengono tutti i casi miserabili, che in quella, al tempo della peste sono occorsi* (Urbino-Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1577), [3], chronicle of Rocco Benedetti, in the form of a letter addressed to Cavalier Giacomo Foscari on 28 June 1577: ‘non s'udivano più suoni, né canti, né altri dilettevoli intrattenimenti per le strade e canali’.
- 3 The Provveditori alla Sanità, for example, oversaw activities in the Piazza San Marco, the city's most representative civic space. In 1543, they prohibited the use of the *piazzetta* between the bell tower and the Grand Canal and later granted permission for moveable platforms to be set up in the rest of the Piazza only after the feast of Corpus Christi. See Laura Carnelos, ‘*Con libri alla mano*’. *L'editoria di larga diffusione a Venezia tra Sei e Settecento* (Milan, 2012), 225 and

was also a land of opportunity for professional vocalists, men paid to lend their voices to private and public musical performances or to teach their art, and who supported themselves in this manner: 'salaried singers' who 'need to earn their daily bread in this way' ('cantori stipendiati ... [che] hanno di bisogno per questa via di guadagnarsi il pane'), as Lodovico Zacconi calls them.⁴

The dominance of sources connected to the Basilica di San Marco, or rather the wealth of documentation surrounding the seat of the Serenissima's civic and religious power, has in the past attracted particular attention to the activity of the ducal chapel, which was without doubt one of the most prestigious institutions on the entire Italian peninsula. Over the last decade, however, some scholars have turned their attention to the vast sweep of historical accounts, more scattered and more difficult to access, that bear witness to a widespread diffusion of polyphonic performance and thus to the active presence of singers at various types of devotional and ecclesiastic institutions⁵—in churches and in processions, for religious and civic events (which in Venice often coincided)—as well as in private contexts—in the *camere* of the 'noble societies called *ridotti*' ('nobili compagnie chiamate ridotti').⁶ By virtue of this vast range of opportunities, Venice attracted singers from other territories on the peninsula during the sixteenth century, as well as from France, Flanders, and Spain, although the majority of professional vocalists came from and were trained in the Serenissima's territories. Moreover, the names of many ducal singers, who towards the middle of the century were even accused of having formed a 'despicable clique and faction' ('obrobriosa conventicula et scetta'⁷)

passim. Also see Rosa Salzberg, *Ephemeral City. Cheap Print and Urban Culture in Renaissance Venice* (Manchester, 2014) and Luca Degl'Innocenti, *Al suon di questa cetra. Ricerche sulla poesia orale del Rinascimento* (Firenze, 2016).

- 4 Lodovico Zacconi, *Prattica di musica* (Venice: Bartolomeo Carampello, 1596), fols. 52^v-53.
- 5 The stimulus behind this new attention to the 'modes of production, circulation, and consumption of sacred music' in a circumscribed area (rather than the musical activity of the 'grand and stable chapels of courts and primary ecclesiastical institutions') can be attributed to Elena Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco. Organizzazione e prassi della musica nelle chiese di Venezia nel Rinascimento* (Florence, 1998). From this 'social history' of music, a rich and complex web of connections between ecclesiastical institutions of differing profiles in the city of Venice emerges, the vitality of which is revealed through comparative methods. Over the past decade, Jonathan Glixon has traced the panorama of musical activities at the Venetian *scuole* through an extensive series of studies and publications, including his dissertation 'Music at the Venetian "Scuole Grandi", 1440-1540' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1979) and *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260-1807* (New York, 2003).
- 6 Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia, città nobilissima et singolare* (Venice: Giacomo Sansovino, 1581), 169. See also the chapter by Rodolfo Baroncini in this volume.
- 7 I-Vas, Consiglio dei Dieci, Parti Comuni, filza 59, n. 68, allegato 1, 26 March 1553.

aimed at monopolizing the musical activities in the city's ecclesiastical sphere, recur throughout sources pertaining to parochial and conventual churches, the *scuole grandi* and the *scuole piccole* (professional confraternities and devotional organizations) as well as private contexts.⁸ Traces in documents hint at the activity of musical chapels in conventual communities, maintained by prestigious musicians and made up of singers who were, for the most part, also members of the order, although some were outsiders. For example, in a web of symbiotic exchanges, the Dominican monks of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, the Franciscans of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, and the Augustinians of Santo Stefano sang *musica figurata* in their churches and received permission to sing elsewhere as well. At the same time, these institutions also hired musicians from outside, from San Marco and from other sacred and secular institutions around the city.⁹

The *Compagnie* of Singers

Polyphony is a collective musical expression that, during the Cinquecento, required at least four evenly distributed voices in its most basic form (as the musical repertoire and theoretical sources illustrate). This period saw the rise of *compagnie* (groups of persons bound together by mutual pacts of collaboration in order to attain specific goals), which were generally composed of *cori*, or to use the more generic Venetian term, *mude* or *man*¹⁰ of *cantadori*: choirs *a voce piena*, usually made up of one soprano (or *sorano*), one alto, one tenor (or

8 On the churches and the confraternities, see also the chapters by Jonathan Glixon and Elena Quaranta in the present volume.

9 Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 59–83.

10 *Muta* and *mano* (in Venetian language, *muda* and *man*) are generic terms for a group of people (or objects) suitable for a particular function. The first derives from a maritime expression, predominantly used to refer to a convoy of ships sailing in the same direction. The expression 'muda de cantadori' appears in documents related to musical interventions for the feast of the patron saint of the Scuola di San Giuseppe in 1500 and 1510 (Gastone Vio, *Le Scuole Piccole nella Venezia dei Dogi. Note d'archivio per la storia delle confraternite veneziane* (Venice, 2004), 682). The second refers to the nucleus of approximately eight singers or instrumentalists to which the *scuole* were obliged to limit their salaried musicians in accordance with a 1589 order issued by the Council of Ten (Jonathan Glixon, "'Standing al in a Rowe': Polychoral Music at Confraternities and Convents', in *Architettura e musica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, ed. Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti (Milan, 2006), 277–95 at 283). A similar combination of terms was also used in the area around Verona: 'doi man de sonadorri' (Verona, Biblioteca Civica, *Miscellanea di notizie spettanti a Venetia et a Verona*, ms. 914, 50, 17 March 1533).

tenorista) and one bass (or *contrabasso*); or choirs *a voce mutata*, in which, as Gioseffo Zarlino specifies, the highest voice was normally an alto, who was joined by various combinations of lower voices. Other combinations of low voices were also possible (groups composed of only tenors and basses), which Zarlino terms *a voci pari* and which in common use is synonymous with *voci mutate*.¹¹ Ducal singers, such as Alvise dalle Villotte—who was the leader of a *compagnia a doi chori* (presumably eight voices) in 1533 for a festival at the Scuola di Sant'Antonio Abate—often served as the heads of these *compagnie*. So too did 'freelance' singers, such as the priest and *maestro di canto* Marco Moscatello, who, along with his *compagnia*, was paid in the same year by the same *scuola*.¹² The *guardiani* and other figures appointed to govern the *scuole*

11 Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1558), 338. But in the publication of Jacques Arcadelt, *Il terzo Libro dei madrigali novissimi ... a quattro voci insieme con alchuni di Constantio Festa, et altri dieci [recte 11] bellissimi a voci mudate* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1539), these madrigals, described in their title-page and at the top of each madrigal as 'a voci mudate', are labeled 'a voce pari' in the table of contents. The *Cantus* is written in tenor clef and, in two instances, in alto clef; see Frank Carey, 'Composition for Equal Voices in the Sixteenth Century', in *The Journal of Musicology* 9 (1991), 300-42. More controversial is the expression 'soprano a voce mutata', used in relation to the hire of Nicoletto Romano at San Marco in 1590, which contradictorily identifies as a high voice—normally that of a falsettist (up until the arrival of the first Spanish castrati in 1567, and after as well)—one known to be low (I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Decreti e terminazioni, 138, fol. 21^v). The expression could reflect a use of the term soprano in its etymological sense, meaning a voice that sings higher than the others (as has been hypothesized by Giulio M. Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St. Mark's at the Time of Adrian Willaert (1527-1562): A Documentary Study' [Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1986], 105) and could thus refer to the highest voice in a choir *a voci mutate*, rather than to a voice associated with the soprano clef. It could, however, also reflect a different usage, where *mutata* refers to the use of head voice as opposed to chest voice (*piena*). In this sense, it could indicate someone who sang in the soprano range after his voice changed, as opposed to the natural soprano voice of a young boy. In this sense, it could be analogous to the French expression *dessus mué* used in the 1570s at the Chapelle Royale (I thank David Fiala for bringing this to my attention).

12 Vio, *Le Scuole Piccole*, 709. Moscatello, parish priest at the church of San Silvestro from 1562-73, was familiar with the singers at San Marco and taught singing. See I-Vas, Procuratori de Supra, Chiesa, busta 78, fasc. 2, 77-78, 5 June 1563: 'Presbiter Marcus Muscatellus, titulus Sancti Sylvestri' declared: 'just the other day I came to San Marco to meet our *compagnia* of singers, and Bortholetto Bozza was there ... Bortholetto was familiar with me, and it is more than 18 years that I have taught him singing' ('non heri l'altro essendo venuto a San Marco per trovar la nostra compagnia de i cantori, li era Bortholetto Bozza ... Bortholetto ha domesteghezza con mi, za più de 18 anni che li ho insegnato a cantar'). On Marco Moscatello see also Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 177-78.

were worried about organizing a group of singers suitable for the festival and composed of the four well-distributed voices required for polyphony. In 1492, the Scuola Grande di San Marco requested a return to the usual '8 singers of *canto figurato* to celebrate the masses and Vespers services for feasts and other festivals at our *scuola*, of these 8 at the present we have only 4'.¹³ Eight singers were described as one of the fundamental 'ornaments' that needed to match the solemnity of the feast at hand ('for such solemnity, such singers'),¹⁴ and the full number was re-established thanks to *maestro di cappella* Pietro de Fossis's contribution of three ducal singers. The following year, the Scuola di Santa Maria della Carità lamented that the eight singers often abandoned their duties, 'such that when the tenors come the sopranos are missing, and when these two are present, the altos are missing, so that their singing is never in order, and there is great confusion'.¹⁵ A well-known document listing the make-up of a *compagnia* of ducal singers dating from 1553 indicates how frequently two choirs participated in civic festivals and how extremely 'rare' it was for only one choir to be present; for this reason 'four choirs, one *a voce piena* [with five voices] and three *a voce mutata* [with four]' were established, 'such that everyone knew who his fellow-singers were'.¹⁶

13 Quoted from Glixon, *Honoring God and the City*, 96-97, 306: '8 chantadori de chanto figurado per onorar le messe et vespori de feste et altri solenità de questa nostra schuola, dal qual 8 al presente se ne trova solum 4'.

14 'a simile solenità simel chantadori'.

15 I-Vas, Scuola di Santa Maria della Carità, Atti, reg. 253, fol. 18^v, 16 June 1493: 'in modo che quando el vien ... i ttenori el manca i sovrani, e quando ne son questi due el manca i contra, per modo che mai sono in ordine, ttal suo chantti grandissima confuxion'. Also transcribed and discussed in Glixon, *Honoring God and the City*, 98, 306.

16 I-Vas, Consiglio dei Dieci, Parti Comuni, filza 59, n. 68, allegato III: '4 cori, uno a voce piena et tre a voce mutata ... acciò che ogni uno sappia quali siano li suoi compagni'. The document and the correspondence provoked by its contents are discussed in detail in Jonathan Glixon, 'A Musicians' Union in Sixteenth-Century Venice', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983), 392-421. Most of the documents are also transcribed in *Laudario Giustiniano*, ed. Francesco Luisi, vol. 1 (Venice, 1983), doc. VII, 21-27. Giulio Ongaro deduces the choirs' composition from other documents that specify the qualifications of the singers named in the source: one SATB choir (*a voce piena*) plus one unidentified voice and three AATB choirs (*a voce mutata*; one of which could also be ATTB). See Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St. Mark's, 105-106, note 73.

Charitas and Public Celebrations at the scuole

The varying levels of solemnity of the different annual celebrations of the Venetian *scuole*, along with the particular economic resources of each institution, were reflected in the cost of the singers hired, and, one assumes, in their level of skill. Documentary sources divide these singers into three categories based on their differing profiles—*cantadori de morti* (or *cantadori vecchi*, *cantadori di corpi*), poor brethren appointed to sing at the funerals of their fellow brothers; *cantadori nuovi* (or *cantadori de laude*), employed to sing in processions and at mass and Vespers on the first Sunday of every month; and *cantadori solenni*. This latter category was employed only at the Scuola Grande di San Marco, which hired prestigious members from the chapel at San Marco or from the chapels of the city's major convents, starting at the end of the sixteenth century.¹⁷ Relations between the *scuole* and singers were often troubled: wearisome negotiations over compensation, summons and reprimands related to missed engagements, disputes between the guardians themselves or between the guardians and the magistrates over whether they should spend money to 'adorn' ceremonies with music or leave such activities to philanthropists instead. These disputes, though concrete and worldly, reflect the needs of a spiritual climate that had to deal, on the one hand, with a new devotional sensibility that accommodated the demands of the *devotio moderna* and reaffirmed the value of *charitas* as a Christian duty; and, on the other hand, with the increased splendour of the events, which was justified as a means of attracting worshipers and, paradoxically, as an expression of a 'glorification of *charitas*' that was also manifested through the grandeur of the *scuole grandi*'s buildings.¹⁸ A sequence of events from 1553 is exemplary in this regard: the Scuola Grande di San Rocco moved to appoint a committee of reformers to control the school's 'excessive spending ... which is supposed to benefit the poor and instead goes on worldly pomp.'¹⁹ The same year, the Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità requested that the Council of Ten make 'le pompe mondane' subordinate to 'charity for the poor', by avoiding the use of *cantadori*

17 Glixon, "Standing al in a Rowe", 280.

18 On this subject see Manfredo Tafuri, *Venezia e il Rinascimento* (Turin, 1985), 112–22, which offers a comparison of texts by cardinal Gasparo Contarini found in the *De Officio Episcopi* (1516), Erasmian in vein, and texts by the humanist Alberto Pio da Carpi that extol the 'majesty of holy rituals, singing, buildings and furnishings' ('maestosità dei riti, del canto, dell'edilizia e delle suppellettili sacre') as 'means of ascent' ('mezzi di ascesa') directed towards the 'contemplation of divine mysteries' ('contemplazione dei misteri divini').

19 Quoted from Tafuri, *Venezia e il Rinascimento*, 141: 'tante eccessive spese ... che dovendosi dispor in poveri si consumano in pompe humane'.

novi—that is, ducal singers to whom the school paid 20-25 ducats per year (later augmented to 80-100 upon their greedy demands) ‘snatched against the will of God from the mouths of our poor.’²⁰ The request, received and expanded to the city’s other *scuole* by the Council of Ten, provoked the reaction of a few guardians, who penned a letter filled with theological justifications: passages from Scripture (Psalms 97 and 150, Matthew 26:8-9) supported the thesis that ‘spending pertinent to the divine cult, like waxwork and other things ... must be put before even the poor.’ In fact, they affirmed, the economic resources of the *scuole* had grown ‘thanks to the involvement of people who attended them through the music and other adornments of the ceremonies.’²¹

In reality, the polemic, which found its impetus in a constitution of one of the ‘corporate’ societies of ducal singers, was also stoked by the singers’ lack of fidelity to their professional obligations, thanks to an accumulation of scheduled musical performances that sometimes conflicted.

In fact, the salary received by the ducal singers, ‘some with wives, some without, and some priests,’²² hovered around fifty ducats per year during the first half of the century, or slightly below for singers of lesser skill, those young in age, and those who already received benefices. The sum increased slightly during the second half of the century, reaching as high as 100 ducats in 1587 for the bass Giovanni Antonio Settelino of the order of the Crociferi (*Crosachieri* in old Venetian language)²³ and in 1597 for the low bass Pietro Peren and for the castrato Zuanne Grisard, whom the ambassador Pietro Duodo proudly

20 I-Vas, Consiglio dei Dieci, Parti Comuni, filza 59, n. 68, allegato I, 26 March 1553: ‘tolti de bocca delli poveri nostri contro la volontà d’Iddio’. The Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità had already lamented the money wasted on the *compagnia di cantadori novi* in 1540, and in particular ‘its poor mode of singing, devoid of harmony or sweetness’ (‘il suo mal modo di cantar et senza alcuna armonia e dolceza de cantar’). See Jonathan Glixon, “‘Far una bella procession’: Music and Public Ceremony at the Venetian *scuole grandi*”, in *Altro Polo. Essays on Italian Music in the Cinquecento*, ed. Richard Charteris (Sydney, 1990), 190-220 at 198, 212.

21 I-Vas, Consiglio dei Dieci, Parti Comuni, filza 59, n. 68, allegato I, after 28 March 1553: ‘spese pertinente al culto divino, come sono cere ed altro ... dié esser anteposto anche ali poveri’. The income had grown ‘per il concorso dele persone che quelle frequentano mediante le musiche et altre cerimonie exterior’.

22 Girolamo Parabosco, *La seconda parte delle rime* (Venice: Francesco and Pietro Rocca, 1555), *Capitolo* dedicated to the Bolognese patrician Alberto Lambertini, in which the ducal singers are quoted saying: ‘Venite adunque, ché staremo lieti / seco, e con questi soi gentil cantori, / *parte con moglie e senza, e parte preti*. / Venite a udir questi dolci rumori, / che lor fanno in San Marco in dì di festa, / hor tutti insieme, et hor spartiti in doi chori’.

23 I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco di San Marco de Supra, Terminazioni (1584-89), reg. 137, fol. 93^v.

claimed to have 'stolen' from the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris.²⁴ The salary of fifty ducats that the theorist Lodovico Zacconi declared he topped in Venice in 1577 'for singing, writing and playing' was the same amount as earned by a *marangon* (carpenter) at Venice's Arsenale, that is, a specialised labourer, and around ten ducats higher than that earned by a simple *murèr* (bricklayer).²⁵ It has been estimated that this sum was barely sufficient to support a family of four around the middle of the century.²⁶ But even the priest-singers at San Marco, though they had no families and performed outside the basilica, could not grow rich on their salaries: in his will the above-mentioned Alvise dalle Villotte—a singer who, being quite active in town, was paid fifty ducats—left his small patrimony to a 'lady of the house for the good company with which she has always provided me, who certainly deserves much more than the little I have.'²⁷

Singing Schools

'Go to the Rialto, where there are an infinite number of singing schools,' said the servant Viluppo jokingly to an old man, in a comedy by the musician-literato Girolamo Parabosco.²⁸ As early as the fifteenth century, several private schools of singing, dance, and fencing were situated in the Rialto district, the buzzing and noisy heart of the city, and 'also in the Rialto's colonnades and in enclosed barbershops.'²⁹ The Council of Ten sought to impose a certain discipline on these schools, limiting their hours and obliging them to teach in broad

24 I-Vas, Procuratori de Supra, Chiesa, busta 91, fasc. 'Cariche di Musici, Cantori, e Suonatori di Capella', 39, 43. The hike in salary can be deduced from direct sources, listed in the appendix of Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St. Mark's' for the years 1517-62 and in appendix III-A in Rodolfo Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli* (Palermo, 2012), 575 for the last fifteen years of the century.

25 Luciano Pezzolo, *Loro dello Stato. Società, finanza e fisco nella Repubblica veneta del secondo '500* (Treviso-Venice, 1990), 155.

26 Paola Pavanini, 'Abitazioni popolari e borghesi nella Venezia cinquecentesca', in *Studi Veneziani* 5 (1981), 63-112.

27 I-Vas, Notarile, Testamenti, b. 846, n. 48, notary Francesco Renio, 31 July 1572: 'Voglio et ordino che doppoi la mia morte tutto quello che si attoverà de mia raggione sia et esser debbia d'Oliva Padoana mia massara per la buona compagnia che sempre la mi ha fatto et fa, che certo la meriteria molto più di questo pocho che mi attrovo'.

28 Girolamo Parabosco, *Il Viluppo comedia* (Venice: Antonio Bonibelli, 1596), fol. 32^v: 'Vanne in Rialto, che ci sono infinite scuole di canto'.

29 I-Vas, Consiglio dei Dieci, reg. 19, c. 69. This description is transcribed in *Laudario Giustiniano*, 508: 'in volti etiam Rivoalti et secretis loci apothecarum barberiorum'.

daylight, 'around the piazzas of San Marco and the Rialto,' in a 'room or portico where everyone can be taught in public'.³⁰ The Council of Ten's moralizing prescriptions were probably intended to strengthen the already-vigilant supervision, which extended to apprenticeships related to the training of comic musical theatre troupes too, operating in private locations that were difficult to police.³¹ Despite being only semi-professionals, renowned exponents of this art received such training: as is the case with the well-known merchant, actor, poet, and musician Antonio Molino also known as 'il Burchiella', who 'from childhood practised dancing, jumping, playing, and singing all the time'.³² For others, this type of multifaceted training and activity undermined the rigour of instruction in music and singing provided elsewhere in favour of eclecticism and the art of improvisation. Ducal *maestro di cappella* Gioseffo Zarlino warned his singers not to resort to the pandering of comic actors, imitating their modes of expression, because 'these imitations belong more to the orator than to the musician' and because 'when a singer uses such modes, he could be seen as a play-actor or a jester, more so than as a singer'.³³ He warned singers never to imitate in music what *improvvisatori* did with poetry, for 'now one cannot find a *cantinbanco* or a charlatan (as I call them) who is not in the habit of singing improvised stanzas, so too are there very few singers and other musicians who are not in the habit of performing miracles of improvising in their singing'.³⁴ In the Serenissima's mainland territories, such fears produced bona fide laws like those found in the 1561 *Capitoli* of bishop Girolamo Trevisani regarding Verona's cathedral school, the *scuola accolitale*, where he dictated

30 *Laudario Giustiniano*, 508: 'circumcirca plateas Sancti Marci et Rivoalti'; 'Que schole ... non possint habere aliquam cameram seu secretum locum, ... sed sallam seu porticum ubi omnes publice doceantur'.

31 *Laudario Giustiniano*, 414.

32 Antonio Molino, *I fatti e le prodezze di Manoli Blessi Strathioto* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito, 1561): 'da fanciullo si esercitò sempre ... in ballare, in saltare, sonare, cantare' (Andrea Calmo, 'Al magnifico e valorosissimo Signore Giacomo Contarini').

33 Gioseffo Zarlino, *Sopplimenti musicali* (Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi, 1588), 317: 'queste imitationi più tosto appartengono all'oratore, che al musico ...; quando il cantore usasse cotali termini, più tosto se gli potrebbe dire histrione o buffone, che cantore'.

34 Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le dimostrazioni harmoniche* (Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi, 1571), 210: 'come hora non si trova canta in banco o cerettano (dirò così) che non faccia professione di cantar stanze all'improvisa, così pochissimi sono quelli cantori et altri professori di musica che non faciano professione di far miracoli improvvisamente nel lor cantare'.

that young students must avoid '*compagnie* and scandalous places, like walking for a long time in piazzas and listening to charlatans or comedians.'³⁵

Zarlino spoke not only as the chapel master but also as the teacher of the clergy at San Marco, a role he assumed in 1565 along with that of *maestro di cappella*, as did his predecessors Pietro de Fossis and Adrian Willaert (but not Cipriano de Rore during his brief tenure) as well as his successor Baldassare Donato, although these *maestri* tended to leave the teaching to an assistant or a *vice maestro*. The post involved teaching '*canto figurato*, counterpoint, and plainchant to all the *zaghi*³⁶ who would be able to succeed in music' and who would be 'promoted to choirboys to supply the soprano voices for the chapel when needed'.³⁷ According to ducal orders from 1530, *zaghi* could be paid only after two years of service without compensation.³⁸ Their musical instruction needed to be balanced with instruction in grammar and religion, following the principle of complementarity on which the training of young clerics was based.³⁹ The concern with guaranteeing musical training for the clerics and future singers that was commensurate with the elaborate decorum required of the church in which the Republic celebrated its splendour dates back as far as 1404. Already by this time stipulations were made to fund the training of 'eight

35 Antonio Spagnolo, *Le Scuole Accolitali in Verona* (Verona, 1904), 58, 234: 'le compagnie e i luoghi scandalosi, come fermarsi lungamente in piazza a passeggiare o ad udir ciarlatani o comedie'.

36 A term widely used in the Veneto to refer to young clerics (*zago* < *diaconus*).

37 I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, reg. 35, fol. 88^v, 5 July 1565: 'sia obligatto a insegnare canto figurato, contraponto et canto fermo a tutti li zaghi della chiesa che saranno atti a riuscir nella musica et perché essi ... procuratori desiderano che siano allevati delli puti che supplicano per soprani al bisogno della capella'. Also see I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, b. 89, fasc. 200, 'Carica di maestro di canto', where there are various copies of acts of appointment for this position.

38 Here, I cite I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, busta 90, fasc. 2, fols. 96^v-97: 'Ordo Serenissimi Principis [Andrea] Gritti tamquam patronus ecclesie sancti Marci', 26 March 1530: 'Item che dopoi servito in detta chiesa per anni doi continui gratis ut supra, vostre magnificentie [Procuratori] non debbano tuor alcuno de detti zaghi a salario, se quelli haveranno havuti prima il parere et giudicio con giuramento sì del maestro di grammatica, come de canto per poter farsi meglio elettione de persone più disposte et fruttuose alla chiesa, con honor el culto divino'.

39 The *maestro di canto* needed to 'coordinate with the *maestro di grammatica* and between them they needed to determine the time that would be spent on the study of letters and the time that would be dedicated to practising music' ('accordarsi col maestro de grammatica et tra di loro terminar il tempo che s'haverà da spendere nello studio delle lettere et quello che si haverà a dare all'essercitio della musica') (I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, reg. 35, fol. 88^v, 5 July 1565).

young deacons of Venetian origin, who need to learn to sing well,⁴⁰ anticipating and probably inspiring the systematic instructional work of the *scuole accolitali* established by Pope Eugene IV (1431-47), the Venetian Gabriele Condulmer.⁴¹ The ducal seminary and the *scuole eugeniane* also came to fill an important social function, being free and open to young boys of humble origin who came largely from Venetian territories, and who, in some cases, were not necessarily destined for ecclesiastical life.

Three miscellanies and three incunables containing historical texts that bear the ownership mark of Pietro de Fossis, now scattered among three libraries, offer evidence of the classical learning (oriented, with a glance to the past, towards a balanced study of all the *artes liberales*) and of the theoretical knowledge that was needed for the education of the young singers. The arts of the *quadrivium* are represented by musical treatises, anonymous and attributed (by Thomas Aquinas, Marchetto da Padova, Johannes de Muris, and a text on the division of the monochord and on plainchant by Giacomo da Chieti, *alias* Jacobus Theatinus), as well as treatises on arithmetic, geometry (Robertus Anglicus), and astronomy (Johannes de Sacrobosco); the *artes dicendi* of the *trivium* by texts on grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic (Gilbert de la Porrée, *alias* Gilbertus Porretanus). 'Practical' music, meanwhile, is represented by essays on the lauda repertoire.⁴² If a solid and quasi-antiquarian cultural background

40 Here I cite the decree copied in document number 18 June 1404 in I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, busta 91, fasc. 'Cariche di Musici, Cantori, e Suonatori di Capella', 1: 'Quia cedit ad honorem et famam nostri Dominii, quod in ecclesia nostra Sancti Marci sint boni cantores ..., determinatum fuit ... quod debeant assumi octo pueri veneti originarii diaconi, qui debeant adiscere bene canere'.

41 Eugene IV established in Italy fifteen *scuole accolitali*, which were aptly termed 'pre-seminaries' or *scuole eugeniane*, in which instruction in grammar was integrated equally into the study of singing and performance of church services. Only the school in Florence actually carried the name *Collegio Eugenio*, while the term *preseminario* comes from Luigi Pesce, *Ludovico Barbo vescovo di Treviso (1437-1443)* (Padova, 1969), 120-31. But already as early as 1555, regulations pertaining to Verona's cathedral school described that institution, which was founded by Eugene IV, as 'almost like a seminary to train priests' ('quasi come un seminario da cavarne i preti'). See Spagnolo, *Le Scuole Accolitali in Verona*, 50. Also see Osvaldo Gambassi, *'Pueri cantores' nelle cattedrali d'Italia tra Medioevo e Età moderna*, *Historiae Musicae Cultores Bibliotheca* 80 (Florence, 1997).

42 These are the codices Aldini 361 (which bears inscription 'M.[agistri] Petri Musica' on its spine and contains music too—that is, a dozen laude) and Aldini 450 (that bears the inscription 'Iste liber est monasterii Sancti Salvatoris de Venetiis quem reliquit dominus Petrus de Fossis' on fol. 1) housed at the Biblioteca Universitaria di Pavia; and the codex Canon. Misc. 114 (olim Canon. Ital. 157) at Oxford's Bodleian Library (that bears the [cancelled] inscription 'dominus Petrus de Fossis' on f. 16). See Luigi De Marchi and Giovanni

is not surprising in a chapel master, singing teacher, and composer, the description of the library of Pietro Piombino (an alto in the ducal chapel) is striking for the similar breadth of culture and interests it displays—a breadth unexpected in a mere singer. An inventory copied in Pietro's house on the day of his death, the first of May 1535, in the presence of Marco Antonio Cavazzoni (a fellow section member), describes ecclesiastical, theological, philosophical, and literary texts (Plato, Aristotle, Virgil, Cicero, Terence, Lactantius, John Chrysostom, Macrobius, Boethius, Al-Ghazali, Averroes, Michael Scot, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura da Bagnoregio, Marsilio Ficino) and two more recent music theoretical texts: a treatise by Franchinus Gaffurius and a manuscript by Johannes Tinctoris.⁴³ An interest in the practical side of music is evident, too, in the presence of manuscripts with musical notation and of a 'lute with its case'.

The art of teaching singing was practised in other institutional and ecclesiastic locations as well—parishes, convents, schools, orphanages and, in keeping with council regulations, newly founded seminaries. Singing teachers hired to work with the *zaghi* are documented around the middle of the 1560s in the parishes of San Fantin, San Pantalon (along with a *maestro di grammatica*), and San Pietro, and to work with the *fratini* or *novitii* in the Dominican abbey of Santi Giovanni e Paolo (along with a *maestro di grammatica*) and in the conventual churches of Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi and Santo Stefano degli Eremitani (where a *maestro di costumi e di canto* was also on

Bertolani, *Inventario dei manoscritti della R. Biblioteca di Pavia* (Milan, 1894), vol. 1, 200–202, 258–59 and Falconer Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford, 1897), vol. 4. On the musical works contained in Ms. Aldini 361 see Giulio Cattin, 'Le composizioni musicali del ms. Pavia Aldini 361', in *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento. Convegno di studio 1961–1967*, ed. Franco Alberto Gallo (Certaldo, 1968), 1–21. The treatise *Ars musice*, attributed to Thomas Aquinas, is available in a modern edition based on the reading in Aldini 450: Thomas Aquinas, *Ars musice. Trattato inedito*, ed. Mario di Martino (Naples, 1933). Three incunables containing historical texts—that bear de Fossis's note of possession, which the *maestro* donated to the Monastero delle Vergini (*de Virginibus in Hierusalem*) and which were then acquired in Venice by the English consul Joseph Smith during the first decade of the eighteenth century—are now preserved at the British Library. See Lotte Hellinga, 'Il console Joseph Smith collezionista a Venezia per il mercato inglese', in *La Bibliofilia* 102 (2000), 109–21.

43 I-Vas, Cancelleria inferiore, Miscellanea notai diversi, b. 36, n. 16, 1 May 1535: 'Inventarium bonorum omnium repertorum in domo quondam domini Petri Plombino cantoris ecclesiae Sancti Marci hodie defuncti facti [sic] ad instantiam domini Marci Antonii Cavazono et domini Brigide relicte quondam ser Omniboni'. I thank Iain Fenlon for kindly bringing this document to my attention.

salary).⁴⁴ Moreover, a singing teacher, hired to instruct the clerics in the practice of polyphony, was active at the Gregorian seminary at San Marco and at the city's patriarchal seminary starting in 1580. At the seminary of San Marco, the Procurators sought to fill this role with the best ducal musicians from the very beginning: future chapel masters Baldassare Donato (nominated in August of the same year) and Giovanni Croce (who assisted Donato and ultimately succeeded him), and the future *capo de' concerti delli organi* Giovanni Bassano. Meanwhile, Antonio Mogavero served as music teacher for the clerics at Venice's patriarchal seminary from the end of the century until 1604.⁴⁵ Recent research on the precocious musical vitality of the Venetian *ospedali*, more renowned for their activity during the eighteenth century, has shed new light on Donato's involvement in that sphere (he was called to instruct the girls at the Derelitti) along with that of Giovanni Croce (who probably held a similar post at the Pietà).⁴⁶

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Adriano Banchieri would disapprove of the numerous singers who 'out of greed for four *soldi* maintain a

44 This information is taken from Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 21-47 at 36, which brought to light the so-called *condizioni di decima*, or the 'original policies regarding the compilation of a general census of Venetian clergy in 1564' (le 'polizze originali relative alla compilazione di un catastico generale del clero veneto ordinata nel 1564').

45 See I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, b. 89, fasc. 200 'Carica di maestro di canto', cc. 6^v and n.n. and following; Rodolfo Baroncini, 'Gli ospedali, la nuova *pietas* e la committenza musicale cittadina a Venezia (1590-1620): the cases of Bartolomeo Bontempelli dal Calice and Camillo Rubini', in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra*, ed. Antonio Addamiano and Francesco Luisi (Città del Vaticano, 2013), 569-85. Bassano, nominated *maestro di canto del seminario* in 1596 (I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Terminazioni (1589-99), reg. 138, c. 153, 16 March 1596), bears the title of *maestro di musica del Seminario di San Marco* in his *Motetti per concerti ecclesiastici a 5, 6, 7, 8 e 12 voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1598), where his dedication to the Procurators cites the 'concert of voices' ('concerto delle voci') and that 'of the customs and good life established for the youth at your Seminary' ('de' costumi et della bene instituita vita dei giovani del suo Seminario'). On Mogavero, see Rodolfo Baroncini, 'Mogavero, Antonio', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 2011), vol. 75, *ad vocem*. For further information on the musical and cultural training of the clerics at the two seminaries and in the school for *zaghi* at San Marco, see Rodolfo Baroncini and Steven Saunders, 'The Composer', in Alessandro Grandi, *Il quarto libro de motetti a due, tre, quattro, et sette voci*, ed. Denis Collins and Robert Kendrick, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 112 (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology, 2015), vol. 5, XI-XXXIV, forthcoming.

46 Baroncini, *Gli ospedali*. Also see Jane L. Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice: Musical Foundations, 1525-1855* (Oxford, 1996).

school of *canto figurato*.⁴⁷ In Venice, private lessons given in homes, documented by literary and epistolary sources, served as a widely available financial resource for singers. Such lessons were often geared towards gentlemen and wealthy citizens who wanted to learn the art of singing and of counterpoint. Arriving in Venice in 1577, Lodovico Zacconi referred to having augmented his income via such students, and in particular to having made a young descendant of the Grimani family able to 'sing all types of difficult songs and to sing them well' in only six months.⁴⁸

The practice of *canto al liuto* boasted excellent exponents in Venice, some of whom appear in a long list of singers compiled to prove Italy's excellence in the vocal arts by the theorist Pietro Aaron in 1545,⁴⁹ and it was held in particular regard in circles of patricians and citizen. Accompanied solo singing, which was practised alongside polyphonic singing and indeed was intimately intertwined with this throughout the century, retained its improvisatory and volatile nature, and was useful for the sung recitation of poetic texts in Venice's *ridotti* and academic societies.⁵⁰ The author Orazio Toscanella offers a mocking portrait of the 'gentleman without an education, who wanted to seem cultured' and who 'diligently sent his son to school' to learn to play 'two or three *calate* on the lute' out of tune and to sing 'eight stanzas by Baldassare Olimpo from memory—a poet distinguished from all others by a crown of nettles.'⁵¹ In reality, though, the Venice region was filled with highly skilled singer-lutenists who taught their art in aristocratic circles, often to noblewomen and with excellent results, judging from the numerous female singers celebrated in literary sources. Among them were Franceschina Bellamano, cel-

47 Adriano Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1614), 10: 'per avidità di quattro soldi si levano scola di canto figurato'.

48 Lodovico Zacconi, *Vita con le cose avvenute al Padre Baccelliere Lodovico Zacconi da Pesaro dell'Ordine Eremitano di Sant'Agostino ... 1625*, Pesaro, Biblioteca Comunale Oliveriana, ms. 569/IX; *Vita*, ed. Ferdinando Sulpizi (San Venanzo, [2005]), 74: 'nel veder che in 6 mesi io le facea cantar ogni sorta di canto difficile e cantarlo bene'.

49 Pietro Aaron, *Lucidario in musica* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1545), fol. 31^v: the list includes at least six Venetians among the twelve male singers listed and two among the eleven female singers.

50 See also the chapter by Rodolfo Baroncini in the present volume.

51 Orazio Toscanella, *Motti, facetie, argutie, burle, e altre piacevolezze* (Venice: Bernardino Fasani, 1561), fol. 54^v: 'Un gentilhuomo senza dottrina, ma desideroso di lettere faceva andare a scola un suo figliuolo sollecitamente, et havendo imparato quel suo figliuolo due o tre calate di liuto et a mente otto stanze di Baldassare Olimpo, poeta fra tutti gli altri degno d'una corona d'ortiche ... con un liuto non molto bene accordato'. Baldassare Olimpo degli Alessandri da Sassoferrato (c.1486-after 1539) evidently represented the prototypical mediocre poet, given his inclination for poetic genres that were popular in nature.

ebreated by Aretino and Domenico Venier,⁵² Polissena Pecorina, and Alessandra Lardi, mourned by Luigi Groto. Polissena and Alessandra sang music by Adrian Willaert. The first sang a work directed by Willaert, with violas and voices, accompanying herself; the second performed one of his Petrarchan madrigals as a solo, accompanying her own 'sweetly quivering voice' on one of the many instruments she played (that is, harpsichord, cithara, lire, and lute):

What can I add about the sweet sound created by her very own exquisite hands, that had more science than fingers, and about the very sweet song formed in her learned mouth ... never before had I envied Petrarch, who wrote the words and Adrian, who coupled them with notes worthy to be pronounced and sung by such an excellent *maestra*.⁵³

It is significant that Bartolomeo Tromboncino, whose career lasted all the way up to the end of the 1520s and who was in the service of Isabella d'Este in Mantua and Lucrezia Borgia in Ferrara, abandoned his life at court to go to republican Venice, guaranteeing his own subsistence and that of his family through teaching young patrician ladies. In July of 1518, Bartolomeo sent a courteous refusal to Lucrezia Borgia, who requested his return via the Ferrarese ambassador, attempting to lure him with financial incentives. He had 'rented a house and already begun to teach noblewomen', and leaving he 'would lose everything he had begun'.⁵⁴

52 See in particular the adulatory letter DLXVI addressed to Franceschina in May of 1548 by Pietro Aretino, *Il quarto libro de le lettere* (Paris: Appresso Matio il Mastro, 1608), fol. 242-242^v and Domenico Venier's poem 'Nél bianco augel', in *De le rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani raccolte da m. Dionigi Atanagi, libro primo* (Venice: Lodovico Avanzo, 1565), 11.

53 Luigi Groto, *Le orationi volgari* (Venice, apud Fabium et Augustinum Zopinos fratres, 1586): 'Hora ch'aggiungerò del soave suono formato da quelle sue medesime pregiate mani, che tenevano più scienze che dita, e del soavissimo canto temprato in quella sua dotta bocca ... Ma più se non all'hora, non hebbi invidia al Petrarca, che seppe compor parole e ad Adriano, che seppe accoppiarvi note degne di esser pronunciate e cantate da sì eccellente maestra'. This passage (cited here from the next edition: published by the brothers Fabio and Agostino Zoppini in 1589) is contained in the *Oratione funebre ... nella morte della Signora Alessandra Lardi recitata da lui in Hadria nell'anno 1568 il dì 24 d'aprile*, 42-43. The letter regarding Polissena's performance in the home of the Florentine Neri Capponi is found in Antonfrancesco Doni, *Dialogo della musica*, ed. Gian Francesco Malipiero and Virginio Fagotto (Milan, 1965), 5. It is also reprinted in Martha Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley etc., 1995), 32 and Katelijne Schiltz, *Vulgari orecchie, purgate orecchie: de relatie tussen publiek en muziek in het Venetiaanse motet-oeuvre van Adriaan Willaert* (Leuven, 2003), 50.

54 Modena, Archivio di Stato, Cancelleria ducale, Estero, Ambasciatori, Venezia, b. 14, letter from Giacomo de' Tebaldi to Lucrezia Borgia, Venezia 19 July 1518: 'ha tolto qui casa ad

Musicians and Singers

The binary of *musico speculativo* / *musico pratico* recurs constantly in the theoretical works of Zarlino, who forcefully affirms the superiority of theory even while hoping to find in the *perfetto musico* a perfect and complete synthesis between the act of composition and the practice of singing. Although he considers composers to be *prattici*, together with singers and instrumentalists, the theoretical structure of his treatises is based on the integration of speculative theory with the art of composition, for without the latter 'such speculation, if good, would not be useless, but would nevertheless seem fruitless.'⁵⁵ Indeed, in so far as the concrete application of these principles is concerned, the composer / chapel master came to be a musician, as opposed to a singer by name and by nature. Zarlino never missed an opportunity to highlight the limitations and vices of singers, particularly in reference to his daily interactions with the members of the chapel in his role as director. Telling, in regard to the opposition between *musicus* and *cantor*, is a story from his *Sopplimenti musicali*:

... in the year of our health 1541, the first in which I came to live in Venice, and on the fifth day of December, in the temple of San Giovanni Elemosinario in the Rialto [district]. On that day, all of those Singers needed to sing a solemn Vespers for the feast of San Nicolò at a confraternity of the *Cimatori di panni*^[56] were not yet assembled. One who was already present, wished to hear one of his own rather long-winded compositions, in two parts for five voices, and beseeched some of the singers already assembled to oblige him. And so they kindly did, even repeating it a second time. Now, being fully satisfied, he turned to Parabosco (who was present) with a happy face, and he said: tell me, honestly, Messer Girolamo: how much time would it have taken Messer Adriano to compose a similar song? Parabosco replied: truly, Messer Alberto (which was

affitto et già ha cominciato ad insegnare a gentildonne, quando hora lui si absentasse de qui per sei né octo giorni, il perderia ogni suo principio che ha facto ...; in pochi giorni il spera de potere respirare et potere andare per la moglie et famiglia sua' (transcribed in William F. Prizer, 'Games of Venus: Secular Vocal Music in the Late Quattrocento and Early Cinquecento', in *The Journal of Musicology* 9 (1991), 3-56 at 8, 54-55).

55 Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, 20: 'tale speculatione se bene ella non fusse vana, parebbe nondimeno senza frutto'.

56 The feast referred to is in fact the main feast at the school of San Nicolò, where the guild of *cimatori* (cloth shearers) celebrated at the altar of San Nicolò, with Vespers and a solemn mass (Vio, *Le Scuole Piccole*, 703-704).

the composer's name), writing a song of that length would take no less than two months. The composer then laughed, and said: is it possible that he would take so long? Do you know that last night I sat down and did not get up until I was finished? Messer Alberto, Parabosco said immediately, certainly I believe you and I am amazed that in so much time you did not write ten works of this sort. And it will not surprise you when I tell you that when he composes, Messer Adriano applies all his study and all his industriousness, and he thinks and carefully examines that which he needs to do before completing his compositions and sending them out into the world. And it is precisely for this reason that he is known as the best of our times.⁵⁷

This account compares the vanity of singers to the wise ponderousness (*studio* and *industria*) of the *maestro*, whose compositional effort is also attested to by Filippo Capponi, a noble Florentine.⁵⁸ But Zarlino reserves even more

57 Zarlino, *Sopplimenti musicali*, 326. The incident is also commented on in Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St. Mark's', 88-89: '... nell'anno di nostra salute 1541, il primo ch'io venni ad habitar a Venetia, et nel quinto giorno di dicembre, nel tempio di S. Giovanni Elemosinario in Rialto. Nel qual giorno, dovendosi cantare un vespero solenne per la festa di S. Nicolò ad una Fraterna de Cimat[o]ri da panni non erano ancora ridotti tutti quei Cantori che faceano di bisogno a cotale opera. Laonde uno de quelli che si trovavano presenti, volendo udire una sua compositione assai ben prolissa, fatta in due parti a cinque voci, pregò una parte de quei Cantori ch'erano presenti, che fussero contenti di compiacerlo. Il che fecero gratiosamente, replicandolo anco una fiata. Hora essendosi compiaciuto pienamente, voltatosi con volto allegro verso il Parabosco, ch'era presente, gli disse: ditemi, di gratia, M. Girolamo: quanto tempo sarebbe stato M. Adriano a comporre un canto simile? Rispose il Parabosco: veramente M. Alberto (che così havea nome il compositore) che a fare un canto di tanta lunghezza non sarebbe stato men di due mesi. Rise allora il compositore, e disse: è possibile ch'ei stesse tanto? Sapete che herisera mi posi a sedere e non mi levai ch'io gli hebbi dato fine. A fé M. Alberto, disse subito il Parabosco, ch'io ve lo credo e mi maraviglio che in tanto tempo non ne habbiate fatto dieci di questa sorte. Et non vi maravigliate perch'io parli in questo modo, percioché M. Adriano, quando egli compone, mette ogni suo studio e ogni sua industria e pensa e studia molto bene quello ch'abbia da fare avanti che dia fine e mandi in luce una sua compositione. Il perché non per altro, che per questo è riputato il primo de nostri tempi'.

58 Filippo de Niccolò Capponi, *Libro intitolato Facile est inventis addere, nel quale si trattano molte cose utili agli huomini nelle lor operationi et moti* (Venice: Domenico de' Farri, 1556), 4-5: 'Prima dimando il musicho se alcune volte si trova che vorrebbe cantare e non li pare trovarsi in quella dispositione che si ricercherebbe in tale opera ..., in tale difficoltà per la fatica vi ha non tanto nel cantare, quanto nel comporre' ('[what] if sometimes one finds oneself in a situation that calls for singing, but one does not find oneself disposed to the required action,' to which Adrian responded that 'one encounters such difficulty and

damning criticisms and nicknames for singers: those who produce sound with too much force do so 'a guisa di bestia' ('in the guise of beasts');⁵⁹ and those who attempt to imitate the expressive gestures and vocal inflections of *Zanni* and other actors who recite comedies and tragedies have 'più della bestia che dell'uomo' ('more of beast than man [in them]').⁶⁰ This comparison stems from the classical tradition, in which the concepts of *humanitas* and *feritas* (education and animal-like vulgarity, instruction and ignorance) are placed in opposition to one another.⁶¹

In reality, though, in addition to the cultivated figures cited by Pietro Piombino, the ducal choir included numerous composers over the course of the Cinquecento. And many published their works, in a city where the music publishing industry was launched at the end of the previous century. Indeed, Andrea Calmo remarks on this, summarizing the ideal professional career of a singer with his usual levity:

exhaustion not so much in singing but in composing'). The identity of the '*musico eccellente*' being interrogated is revealed in what follows, on f. 126^v. Filippo Capponi, son of Niccolò, 'vir multarum litterarum peritia excultus', is cited in Michele Poccianti, *Catalogus scriptorum Florentinorum omnis generis, quorum et memoria extat* (Florence: apud Philip-pum lunctam, 1599), 152. His presence in Venice is probably linked to that of Neri Capponi, who hosted musical academies, and the city's community of exiled Florentine aristocrats (see the chapter 'Florentines in Venice and the Madrigal at Home', in Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal*, 24-46).

59 Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, 204.

60 Zarlino, *Sopplimenti musicali*, 317. The term *bestia* recalls a celebrated didactic work in verse attributed to Guido d'Arezzo that places *musicus* and *cantor* in opposition (a work itself derived from a conception of music going back to Boethius), describing the *cantor* who sings incomprehensibly as an animal (*diffinitur bestia*). Guido d'Arezzo's didactic work in verse *Regulae rhythmicae in antiphonarii sui prologum prolatae*, the *incipit* of which is well known ('Musicorum et cantorum magna est distantia'), is found in *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, 3 vols., ed. Martin Gerbert (Sankt Blasien, Typis San-Blasianis, 1784; reprinted Hildesheim, 1963), vol. 2, 25-34 at 25. Boethius, *De institutione musica*, I, 34, 'Quid sit musicus', cited from the edition edited by Gottfried Friedlein (Leipzig, 1867), 224: 'Quanto igitur praeclarior est scientia musicae in cognitione rationis quam in opere efficiendi atque actu'. Zarlino adopts and nearly directly translates this quotation: 'nella scienza della musica è più degna la cognitione della ragione, che l'operare' (Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, 20).

61 Regarding the definition of these categories in relation to artistic spheres see Elisabetta Di Stefano, 'Tra cielo e terra. La figura dell'artista nel Rinascimento', in *Feritas, humanitas e divinitas come aspetti del vivere nel Rinascimento. Atti del XXII Convegno Internazionale (Chianciano Terme-Pienza 19-22 luglio 2010)*, ed. Luisa Secchi Tarugi (Florence, 2012), 623-34.

If good fate grants them a perfect voice, singers can learn the rules of music continuing to make their virtue known to the world, and they are appointed *maestri* and *cantori di cappella*, and they publish their works, having obtained official permission.⁶²

We have evidence of singers' compositional activity starting with the *oltremontano* Pietro de Fossis (employed as singer in 1485, and director of the chapel from 1491-1525), although only the poetic text of a single composition by the *maestro* has come down to us.⁶³ Published compositions by the alto Marco Antonio Cavazzoni (1517-69, with various interruptions and posts as substitute *maestro di cappella*), the tenor Daniele Grisonio (1543-74), Baldassare Donato (employed in the chapel from 1546, and later given various posts including ultimately that of *maestro di cappella*), the Flemish alto Perissone Cambio (1548-58), the Cretan alto Francesco Londariti also known as 'il Greco' (Franghiskos Leontaritis, 1549-57), the alto Giulio Bonagiunta (1562-68), and Lodovico Balbi (1570-78) have survived as well. To this list, we can also add the soprano Francesco Violante (1513-65, substitute *maestro di cappella* after the death of Willaert), composer of a *frottola*, and the alto Alvise dalle Villotte (also known as Alvise dei Santi Apostoli), salaried singer for 57 years at San Marco (1520-76),⁶⁴ if he can be linked to the name 'Aluise Castellino chiamato il Varoter veneziano', author of a collection published in Venice in 1541 by Antonio Gardano and dedicated to Ercole II, Duke of Ferrara.⁶⁵ Of these figures, only Balbi, newly appointed to San Marco, is given the title 'cantor della Illustrissima Signoria di Venetia in S. Marco' on the title-page of his first publication.⁶⁶ But it seems significant that Giulio Bonagiunta, a composer as well as

62 Andrea Calmo, *Delle lettere ... Libro primo* (Venice: Fabio e Agostino Zoppini, 1584), fols. 14^v-15: 'I cantori, si la so bona sorte gha fatto haver perfettissima vose, imparando può la riegola musical continuando render odor de le vertue al mondo, e vien fatti maestri, e capellanti, e stampai con el privilegio'.

63 Cited in Angelo Gabriele, *Libellus hospitalis munificentiae venetorum in excipienda Anna regina Hungariae* (Venice: Bernardino Vitali, 1502).

64 Alvise dalle Villotte was declared 'unfit' due to old age in 1576 (Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St. Mark's', 498), but already by 31 July 1572, when he dictated the last of his three extant wills, he was said to be 'old, lying in bed in my home in the quarter of San Zuane in Bragora' ('vechio, giacendo in letto in casa della mia habitation in contra de San Zuane in Bragora'; I-Vas, *Notarile, Testamenti*, b. 846, n. 48, notary Francesco Renio).

65 *Il Primo Libro delle Villote di Aluise Castellino chiamato il Varoter Venetiano*. The hypothesis is put forward by Luisi, *Laudario Giustiniano*, 446. On Francesco Violante 'da Treviso' see Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St. Mark's'. His *frottola* ('Forza d'amor da lo superno clime') is edited in *Apografo Miscellaneo Marciano*, ed. Francesco Luisi (Venice, 1979), 41-43.

66 Lodovico Balbi, *Il Primo Libro de madrigali a quatro voci* (Venice: Figliuoli di Antonio Gardano, 1570).

an editor and promoter of numerous printed musical anthologies, defined himself as '*musico della Illustrissima Signoria*', not as *cantore*,⁶⁷ and that Baldassare Donato combines the titles of '*musico* and *cantor in santo Marco*'.⁶⁸

The descriptions given by the basilica's Procurators of the *cappella*'s members at the time of Donato's death (1603) reveal that it was difficult to find someone who was able to govern an organization as multifaceted and problematic as the ducal chapel was, for various reasons, around the turn of the seventeenth century, and who at the same time also reflected the 'cultural' profile of the whole choir. On the one hand, the Procurators lament, older singers pose a problem, because 'due to [their] age, deep musical knowledge, and strong sonorous voice[s]', they are often 'not accustomed to giving respect and reverence to others who, according to their integrity, merit it'. On the other hand, the Procurators accuse younger musicians of lacking the respectability and moral integrity required of a *maestro di cappella*. Many young singers, they complain, are

accustomed to hiring themselves out among the *compagnie* to sing their parts in churches and schools and other public places at parties, banquets, and other private gatherings; and [they] often go to drink from the fountains with glasses of wine in hand singing canzonette, mixing with those vile acts the act of drinking from the glasses they hold in their hands ... it could never happen that someone ... appointed to this role [of *maestro di cappella*], should ever have displayed this fault and contrary virtue or would have served as a hireling in a *compagnie* of singers at parties and festivals for private churches, *scuole* and *scholette* with other singers of all levels, even soprano *zaghetti*.⁶⁹

67 The title appears in eleven collections edited by Bonagiunta and published in Venice between 1565 and 1568. On Giulio Bonagiunta and his activities in the production of anthologies for the publisher Scotto, see Giulio Ongaro, 'Venetian Printed Anthologies of Music in the 1560s and the Role of the Editor', in *The Dissemination of Music: Studies in the History of Publishing*, ed. Hans Lenneberg (Lausanne, 1994), 43-69 at 47-51 and Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)* (New York-Oxford, 1998), 143-44.

68 Baldassare Donato, *Le napollitane et alcuni madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1550).

69 'se ne trovano di quelli che, per età et per molta intelligenza della musica et voce sonora et principale, non così facilmente si sogliono accomodare a prestar obsequio et riverenza ad altre persone che a quelli che per la propria loro consienza stimano di meritarla; Et massime se s'incontrassero in dover riverire, come maestro et capo, soggetti giovani, usi d'andar fra le compagnie come mercenarii a cantar la sua parte per le chiese et scole et ad'altri luoghi publici nelli tripudii, banchetti et altri ridutti de particolari; et spesso con li

The picture the Procurators offer, while moralizing, captures the variety found in ducal singers in age, education, trustworthiness, vocal quality and (as we shall see better shortly) 'confidence'.⁷⁰ Age is a key aspect of vocal production; indeed, singers who were too *zoveni* (young) and did not yet have (stable) voices were excluded from the payroll. Also, singers, whose voices were 'weakened by old age', 'would do well to leave'.⁷¹ However, in such cases age offers the advantages of experience and wisdom acquired through maturity, because for singers 'in this profession seniority and knowledge cover all defects'.⁷²

The 'irregular' and uncontrollable side of some ducal singers shines through in the normative and judiciary regulations formulated by the authorities at San Marco. As far as rules and regulations are concerned, the hierarchical relationship between the singers and the *maestro di cappella*, and the authority of the latter, whose tasks could not be usurped by the singers, are clearly defined (1554):

bichieri di vino in mano cantando canzonette d'andar a bere alle fontane, frapponendosi in quelle bassezze il bere delli bichieri che tengono in mano. ... non si trovò mai, che alcuno di quelli ... assunti a questa dignità [di maestro di cappella], habbino mai havuto questa tara et oppositione o haver servito mercenariamente fra le compagnie per le feste et chiese particolari, scuole et scuollette con li altri cantori d'ogni qualità, sino a zaghetti soranetti', I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, b. 90, fol. 8-8v: 'Copia tratta dal libro Actorum n. 16 carte 89', 13 July 1603.

70 Antonfrancesco Doni formulates a similar opinion of singers in his *Dialogo della musica* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1544), fol. 16v, in which he distinguishes 'singers who know neither facts nor words: for them it is enough to bray "sol mi fa re"; they remain satisfied with this and don't look beyond it' ('i cantori che non sanno più di fatti, che di parole: a lor basta a ragghiare "sol mi fa re", restano sodisfatti a questo et non cercano più là') from 'men of considerable intellect' ('homini d'ingegno').

71 The former are remarks made by the *maestro di cappella* Baldassare Donato: 'quanto alla voce del prete ditto Colin, dice che ha honesta voce et è zovene, ma la voce non è fermata ancora' (I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, busta 91, fasc. 'Cariche di Musici, Cantori, e Suonatori di Capella', 34, 13 December 1598); 'Zuanne Ans fiamengo [tenore]: è stato sempre di buona voce et bel cantante, ma per la vechiezza convien declinar' (56, c. 1590). The latter remarks are found in a document from 29 October 1595 in reference to the French soprano Guglielmo ('Vielmo'), cited in Giulio M. Ongaro, 'La composizione del coro e dei gruppi strumentali a San Marco dalla fine del Quattrocento al primo Seicento: indicazioni per la prassi esecutiva del repertorio marciano', in *Architettura e musica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, ed. Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti (Milan, 2006), 99-116 at 106.

72 Zacconi, *Prattica di musica*, 54: 'L'aspetto venerabile et la dottrina che hanno in questa professione ogni difetto cuopre'.

none of the singers, for any reason, are allowed to scold or correct anyone who makes a mistake in the chapel, or to call on anyone to sing who is not in their group, or to judge anything they must sing, or to give the intonation, or the tempo, or in any matter to oppose or contradict the *maestro di cappella*, whose job it is to command and dictate that which the others must do.⁷³

Moral concerns are evident too, provoked by behaviour, on the part of both lay and religious members, seen as sacrilegious, such as an incident (c. 1603) in which a window was opened in the basilica's chapel of San Pietro to let light into the dark space where 'sometimes singers and priests retire to speak with women'.⁷⁴ Moreover, in all liturgical settings separation was maintained between the canons, for whom part of the choir was reserved, and the singers: 'it would be good to command that in the morning the canons stand in the choir in their appointed posts, as is done in other offices, and they must not go over and coquet with the singers.'⁷⁵ It seems significant that an author of 'practical' treatises like Zacconi does not describe vocal traits when he discusses 'who, and what a singer must be,' nor does he address 'the particular characteristics of singers'.⁷⁶ Rather, he limits himself to providing moral precepts: a singer 'must be young, clean, well-dressed, not ignorant, neither impeded in his words nor saucy in his speech', he must shun 'obvious vices, mocking his colleagues and acting like a buffoon'.⁷⁷ Analogous references are found in the regulations formulated by the Vicar in 1602, which requested that the singers

73 I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, b. 90, fasc. 2, fol. 64^v, *Constitutiones Ecclesiae Sancti Marci*, 13 March 1554, capitolo xv. *De cantoribus*: 'nullus ex cantoribus ullo pacto praesumat in capella reprehendere, aut corrigere aliquem errantem nec aliquem qui non sit de eorum numero vocare ad cantandum, nec invenire quod cantandum sit, nec dare vocem, vel mensuram, nec in aliquo repugnare, aut contradicere magistro capellae, cuius officium cum sit imperare et imponere quae ceteri exequi debeant'.

74 Venice, Archivio Patriarcale, Capitolo di San Marco, Scritture Capitolari antiche, 8, fasc. 'Memorie disciplinari' [c. 1603], 27: 'si ritirano alle volte dei cantori e preti a parlar con donne'.

75 Venice, Archivio Patriarcale, Capitolo di San Marco, Scritture Capitolari antiche, 8, fasc. 'Memorie disciplinari' [c. 1603], 39: 'seria bene ordinar che al mattutino li canonici stessero in choro in luochi loro, come si fa alli altri offitii, e non che alcuno si tirasse sù li cantori a zivettar'.

76 Zacconi, *Prattica di musica*, chapters LXI and LXII.

77 Zacconi, *Prattica di musica*, 53: 'deve essere giovine, pullito, ben vestito, non al tutto ignorante, non di favella impedito, né men mordace nel parlare ... né meno di notabil vizio macchiato; perché i vizi notabili, il burlar li compagni e l'esser buffone causano il disprezzo della persona'.

abstain from 'all conversation, whether joking or relevant to their duties, and from all and any pranks and joking gestures, in public and in private'.⁷⁸ Moreover, moral conduct was considered a relevant qualification for the selection of ducal singers. For example, the Procurators vigorously sought to bring two singers with this quality back to the chapel after they transferred to Rome and Capodistria (respectively) for ecclesiastical reasons: the priest Angelo de Piissimi (soprano), necessary not only for his voice but as 'a man of highest morals and most honourable life' (1559), and the tenor Daniele Grisonio (1562), 'a person highly esteemed both for his voice and for his behaviour'.⁷⁹

Regarding the legal realm, the chapel's singers and instrumentalists were subject to the jurisdictional authority of the *Primicerio* (though not exclusively), who was subordinate only to the Doge in matters related to the governance of the church. Documents of the *Cancelleria inferiore*⁸⁰ attest that such jurisdiction pertained both to civil law (in particular to the contraction of debt, rather common among the singers) and to penal law. Interventions sometimes regulated the *compagnie* of singers or their professional participation in civic festivals at Venice's confraternities and parishes. Matters that most frequently required intervention from the *Primicerio* or the Vicar were unpaid debts, fights, and allocation of money earned for singing engagements around the city. Punishments consisted of reprimands, repossession, suspension *a divinis* for singers who were also priests, and eviction. From such disciplinary measures, the immoderate characters and financial woes of figures like Alvise dalle Villotte emerge: in 1538, Willaert considered the alto one of the 'least suited, and one of the least useful' singers in the chapel.⁸¹ Over the course of his long contentious career at San Marco, Alvise contracted debts and requested

78 I-Vas, Cancelleria inferiore, Archivio del Doge, 195, reg. 15, 138: 'ogni ragionamento così in burla, come da dovero e d'ogni e qualunque burlare e motteggiare de fatti così in publico come in privato'. The regulation from 12 June 1602, also prohibited singers from carrying 'any sort of bag, or purse; instead they must set them down and avoid using them, or otherwise carry them covered and under their robes' ('alcuna sorte de taschi, o taschini, ma del tutto deponerli, lassando l'uso loro, overo portarli di maniera coperti e sotto li habiti'). The index specifies that 'playing amongst themselves with these burses is also prohibited' ('se le proibisce anco il giuocare tra di loro con essi taschini').

79 I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, busta 90, fasc. 4, fol. 98^v (4 August 1559) and 101^v (26 June 1562).

80 See especially the documents in I-Vas, Cancelleria inferiore, Archivio del Doge, busta 194 and busta 195, registro 17; Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, busta 90, fasc. 2 ['Sommario di Privilegii et di diversi atti straordinarii et di sentenze civili et criminali'].

81 I-Vas, Procuratori de Supra, Chiesa, busta 91, fasc. 'Cariche di Musici, Cantori, e Suonatori di Capella', 5, 8 August 1538: 'mancho a proposito, et mancho utile'.

loans (1520-22), was delinquent in paying rent to a canon (1522), used his lute as collateral to obtain a lease (1524), was denounced ‘per graves contumelias’ (‘for grave insults’) by the priest Nicolò Marcello, reproached for being a ‘lenonem sive vulgo ruffianum’ (‘panderer, or more coarsely, a pimp’) and then, when summoned, he did not deny the offences but instead affirmed them (1539), and was summoned by the *Primicerio* or the Vicar for other less-well-specified infractions (1528, 1531, 1537-39, 1550).⁸² Among other accusations are those levelled at a group of clerk-singers who misused the title of the sub-deaconate ‘or that of another office’ so as ‘to collect two salaries, a very dishonest thing’;⁸³ and those levelled at singers accused of theft or involved in homicides.⁸⁴

‘Sufficient’ Singers

Fare la prova (auditioning) was the obligatory rite of passage by which one gained entry to the chapel at San Marco.⁸⁵ When a position opened up, an announcement was sent around the Serenissima’s territories via the deans of

82 I-Vas, Cancelleria inferiore, Archivio del Doge, 194, fols. 36^v, 37, 40^v, 41, 41^v, 54, 103, 103^v, 147^v and I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, busta 90, fasc. 2, fols. 3, 20, 21^v, 22^v, 23, 24^v.

83 ‘tirar dui salarii, cosa invero molto dishonesta’, I-Vas, Cancelleria inferiore, Archivio del Doge, 194, fols. 225^v-226, 12 September 1530.

84 I-Vas, Cancelleria inferiore, Archivio del Doge, 194, fol. 35, 18 July 1521: Girolamo, son of the *puntatore* Ambrosio, singer at San Marco, received an order to present himself at the prisons of San Marco because of certain homicides, and the *Primicerio* confirmed the verdict. The event is also reported in summary as ‘Inibizione ai Signori di notte per un cantore laico chiamato per homicidio’ (I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, busta 90, fasc. 2, fol. 2^v). On disciplinary problems related to the ducal singers see also Ongaro, ‘The Chapel of St. Mark’s’, 84-86.

85 In reality, there were exceptions to the norm, so much so that it was reiterated in the basilica’s Constitutions of 1530: ‘Furthermore, no one can be accepted to sing in the cappella with a salary without having undergone an audition as is customary for singers; and if anyone happened to have been accepted to this position without having taken the audition, or if the audition had not yet been given, it is understood that the aforementioned would lose that position.’ (‘Item che non se possi accetar ad cantar alcuno in capella cum sallario se prima non sarà stà fatta prova di esso come si suol far delli cantori, et essendo stà accetato alcuno da poi ditta ultima ordinatione del qual non sia stà fatta prova over se’l non fosse stà conduto, se intendi esser privo di essa’) (I-Vas, Cancelleria inferiore, Archivio del Doge, 194, 224, *Constitutiones Serenissimi Principis et Ducis Domini Andree Gritti*, 7 May 1535).

the mainland and of the Domains *da mar* (overseas). Auditions for a tenor and a bass in 1543 as well as those for a 'basso che profondi bene' ('bass who has great ease in the lowest register') and 'alcun soprano' were announced in 1559 in Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Treviso, Udine, and Zara.⁸⁶ The Procurators of San Marco enlisted the assistance of the *maestro di cappella* in making their selection, and sometimes of the *vice maestro* and of experienced singers.⁸⁷ Auditions were held in the basilica's choir and some accounts describe their proceedings.⁸⁸ The characteristics of individual voices and the singers' ability to perform polyphonically, as well as *a duo*, were evaluated via the performance of *bicinia*, which offered a means of testing both skills.⁸⁹ A singer could audition for one or more of the four regular sections (CATB), but in at least one case (1597) a 'baritone, who sings three voices' was admitted: a singer who must have possessed a wide range, evidently capable of singing not only bass but also tenor and alto as well.⁹⁰ Traces of the opinions expressed regarding a singer's suitability or lack thereof to cover a given role in the chapel can be found in the Procurators' papers. These allow us to begin to assemble a lexicon that in some cases reflects a 'specialized' terminology and in others reflects translations of technical vocal qualities rendered comprehensible by the *maestro di cappella* for the authorities who had jurisdiction over his singers. One significant and well-known account is a complete list of singers in the ducal chapel, coupled with an assessment of their vocal characteristics, drafted by Baldassare Donato in 1590, the first year of his appointment.⁹¹

86 Glixon, 'Music at the Venetian "Scuole Grandi"', doc. A 21, 4 August 1543 and I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, busta 90, fasc. 4, [fol. 99^v], 25 October 1559.

87 Baroncini (*Giovanni Gabrieli*, 36) highlights the comparative competence of certain Procurators who participated in these decisions, and who sometimes disagreed with more authoritative opinions.

88 They happened to be 'separatamente et con li cantori et capella tutta, uniti et separati' ('one by one with all the singers and the whole chapel, both together and separately'): see I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Terminazioni (1584-89), reg. 137, fol. 93^v, 3 May 1587, in reference to the audition of the bass Giovanni Antonio Settelino. I thank Rodolfo Baroncini for bringing this document to my attention.

89 I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Terminazioni, reg. 136, fol. 47^v: '... first messer Filippo della Croce, Spanish soprano, was made to audition with the chapel, or with the choir either with the full choir or in pairs, with various singers ...' ('... fatta fare prima la prova in capella over choro sì a choro pieno, come a duo et con diversi cantori a ser Filippo della Croce spagnuolo cantor soprano ...').

90 I-Vas, Procuratori de Supra, Chiesa, busta 91, fasc. 'Cariche di Musici, Cantori, e Suonatori di Capella', c. 44, 15 January 1597: 'il padre Bressano tolto ultimamente che può servir per bariton, cioè che canta 3 voci'.

91 1590 is the date hypothesized in Ongaro, 'La composizione del coro', 108.

Soprani

Antonio Spagnol [Ribera]: bella et buona voce, ma non troppo sicuro
 Guielmo francese: sicuro et franco cantor, ma non così delicata voce

Contralti

pre Zuanne Chiozotto [Croce]: sufficientissimo cantor, e dove manca la
 delicatezza della voce, supplisse co'l bel cantar
 fra Hieronimo di Carmeni: non è di molta voce
 fra Bernardo di frari: non è la sua voce di cattivo metale ma non l'ha
 saputa mai accomodare
 Battista da San Pantalon: ha gran voce et honestamente sicuro

Tenori

Zuanne Ans fiamengo: è stato sempre di buona voce et bel cantante, ma
 per la vechiezza convien declinar
 fra Agustin Fasuol: buona voce et buon cantor
 Paulo Roman: non ha cattivo metal di voce, et canta honestamente

Bassi

fra Fabritio di Frari: buona voce
 fra Giacomo Antonio di Crosechieri: buona voce
 fra Sigismondo da S. Zanepolo: honesta voce
 fra Agustin di Frari: honesta voce, ma canta polito⁹²

Donato's epithets characterize both vocal production and the singer himself, and they can be considered to be those qualities that render a singer *sufficiente*, in the sense of one of the two meanings offered in the *Vocabolario della Crusca* (1612): 'apt' (*atto*), and thus suitable (in Latin *aptus*, *idoneus*, *peritus*), and not *bastevole* (that which is enough).⁹³ Voices are assigned generic qualities such as *bella*, *buona*, and *onesta* (*convenevole*, or *conforme al dovere* according to the *Vocabolario della Crusca*); but this last seems near to being a judgement of suitability, for the same Donato, six years later, excluded three singers from the

92 I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, busta 91, fasc. 'Cariche di Musici, Cantori, e Suonatori di Capella', 56. This document is reproduced in Ongaro, 'La composizione del coro', 109 and in Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 262.

93 *Vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca* (Venice: Giovanni Alberti, 1612), *ad vocem*. Zacconi, *Prattica di musica*, 77 uses the two terms interchangeably, where he explains who regulated the tempo in the absence of a *maestro di cappella*: 'the *tactus* must be given by the most apt and sufficient [singer]' ('il tatto debbe essere sumministrato dal più atto, e sufficiente [cantore]').

group of candidates for admission to the ducal chapel, although they were equipped with 'honest voices' (*honesta voce*).⁹⁴ Other sought-after characteristics also emerge from this list: above all *delicatezza* of the voice, which, to offer appropriate synonyms, can be associated with refined clarity or purity of timbre. These, Donato seems to suggest, are natural talents (elsewhere summarised by the Latin expression *dispositio vocis*)⁹⁵, which, if lacking can be compensated *col' bel cantar*, that is, through the qualities that can be acquired through control of the voice and its production, and through confidence—characteristics associated with a singer's training and dedication. Such characteristics allowed soprano Guglielmo *francese* to win a post in the chapel and also rendered Giovanni Croce *sufficientissimo*. Indeed, Croce succeeded Donato as *maestro di cappella* precisely because of the authority given him by his experience as a singer and his skill as a composer. In the case of the young Franciscan Agustin dei Frari, too, beautiful singing emerged from the normal gift of an 'honest' (*onesta*) voice. The descriptions *non è di molta voce* and *ha gran voce* evidently have to do with volume. Adrian Willaert, meanwhile, assigned an analogous descriptor (*pocha voce*) to the alto Giorgio Carpenello in 1538.⁹⁶ Good tone quality was a required characteristic, as Gioseffo Zarlino highlights in connection with a consideration of performance spaces (and consequently of the repertoire suited to each type of location):

Singers should also observe this warning—that is, that one must sing one way in churches and another way in public chapels, and another way still in private rooms; such that in the former one sings in full voice ... and in [private] rooms one sings with a more subdued and sweet voice, without making any clamour.⁹⁷

94 I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, busta 91, fasc. 'Cariche di Musici, Cantori, e Suonatori di Capella', 34: 'Quanto alla voce del prete ditto Colin, dice che ha honesta voce et è zovene, ma la voce non è fermata ancora. Quanto alla voce delli dui altri preti hanno voce honesta ma non da metter con li sopradetti'.

95 See the decree related to the hiring of the ducal singer Giorgio Carpenello di Bologna on 23 October 1536, where his 'sufficiencia, ac dispositione vocis, et modo cantandi' are considered (Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St. Mark's', 103-4, 313).

96 I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, busta 91, fasc. 'Cariche di Musici, Cantori, e Suonatori di Capella', 5.

97 Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, 204: 'Averanno eziandio li cantori questo avertimento, che ad altro modo si canta nelle chiese, e nelle capelle publiche, e ad altro modo nelle private camere; imperoché ivi si canta a piena voce ... e nelle camere si canta con voce più sommessa e soave, senza fare alcun strepito'.

‘Full voice’, observes Zarlino, does not, however, mean ‘to send out [one’s] voice with force and with fury like a beast’;⁹⁸ *cantare con strepito* would become a special effect in the following era, when the *stile concertato* called for the accentuation of chiaroscuro-like contrasts (*pian et forte*), as is prescribed in this notice written by *maestro di cappella* Giovanni Croce in 1610: ‘Warning where the voices should not sing very loud (*esser molto strepitoso*), except in the parts indicated as TUTTI, where they should sing *con strepito* (with clamour) because it is beautiful to hear’.⁹⁹

Il Metallo di Voce

More uncertain is the meaning of the expression *metallo di voce* (which appears in Donato’s assessment of Paolo Romano), although it is possible to glimpse clues in other sources. The Venetian document seems to refer to a timbral component of the voice: Roman’s *non cattivo metale*, a characteristic that is largely innate. In that sense, it seems to go along with a singer’s particular talents, rendering him, on the one hand, capable of singing *honestamente* but, on the other, incapable of cleaning up (*accomodare*) his voice, or, as we would say today, of improving the technical aspects of one’s vocal production.

Starting in the Renaissance, this expression was used widely in the Catalan-speaking regions of the Iberian peninsula in analogous contexts, that is, in evaluations of singers by cathedral singing teachers based on the *metal de la voz*.¹⁰⁰ In Italy, the expression is documented in dictionaries only during the nineteenth century, where it is defined as a ‘special classification of *tempera*

98 Zarlino, *Le institutioni harmoniche*, 204: ‘mandar fuori la voce con impeto e con furore a guisa di bestia’. The passage is adapted from Giovanni Maria Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica* (Brescia: Lodovico Britannico, 1533), 112: ‘... non mandar fuori la voce con molto furore, per non assomigliarsi ad alcune bestie.’

99 Giovanni Croce, *Sacre Cantilene concertate a tre, a cinque et sei voci, con i suoi ripieni a quattro voci et il basso per l'organo* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1610): ‘Avvertendo ove canta le voci non esser molto strepitoso, se non in quella parte ove è segnato TUTTI, la quale si deve cantare con strepito, perché fa bellissimo sentire.’

100 Josep Maria Gregori, ‘Falsetistas y evirados: reflexiones sobre la tradición tímbrica hispánica y las partes de cantus y altus en el tránsito del Renacimiento al Barroco’, in *Revista de Musicología* 16 (1993), 2770–81 at 2771. Gregori applies the expression only to the soprano register, which is contradicted by later studies that have extended the term to other vocal registers as well: ‘A partir del siglo xvi hallamos diversas referencias de cómo los maestros de canto de las catedrales hispano-catalanas acostumbraban a calibrar la calidad y la prestación sonora de los nuevos tiples en base a su “metal de voz”.’

[meaning 'quality of sound'] of the human voice' (according to Nicolò Tommaseo's definition, 1861).¹⁰¹ However, there are earlier literary references in music theory treatises. Lodovico Zacconi, in describing a voice of one Spanish castrato in the service of duke Wilhelm v of Bavaria, singles it out in the phrase *delicatezza del metallo* (c. 1625);¹⁰² the Florentine Giovanni Battista Doni (1635) praises the voice of one bass as 'rather sweet and of *buon metallo* like that of Sig. Bartolomeo Nicolini, which is excessively deep.'¹⁰³ The celebrated bass (who performed the spiritual drama *Sant'Alessio*, written by Stefano Landi to a libretto by Giulio Rospigliosi, in 1632) is remembered elsewhere too for the depth of his extension, as well as for his 'most incredible and loud voice'.¹⁰⁴ These contexts thus confirm the link between the term *metallo* and vocal timbre.

Returning to Baldassare Donato's harsh judgments, the term *metallo* seems to recall both qualitative and quantitative components: a timbral color that is pleasing but marked and loud, that allows the voice to 'run' and to be clearly heard in the large spaces of the Basilica di San Marco. It is difficult to say if this is what the chapel's *vicemaestro*, Giovanni Croce, meant when he remarked to the Procurators about don Pietro Alessandrino's *scorer della voce* in 1597, or if he instead intended to comment on Alessandrino's vocal agility: 'he sings alto and has a voice that is able to run (*scorer*), but is not useful for the needs of the chapel.'¹⁰⁵ During the second half of the century, numerous documents refer to agility, a large range extending both low and high and the power of the emerging solo style required by contemporary musical compositions and by the practice of *cantar in organo*: Zacconi's reference to the '*cantar di gorgia con*

101 Nicolò Tommaseo and Bernardo Bellini, *Dizionario della lingua italiana* (Turin, 1861), *ad vocem*.

102 Zacconi, *Vita*, 100.

103 Giovanni Battista Doni, *Compendio del trattato de' generi e de' modi della musica* (Rome: Andrea Fei, 1635), 119: 'più tosto dolce e di buon metallo come l'ha il Sig. Bartolomeo Nicolini, che di soverchia profondità'.

104 Ippolito Falcone, *Narciso al fonte cioè l'uomo che si specchia nella propria miseria* (Venice: Hertz, 1675), 82: 'Bartolomeo Nicolini is admired, for at the roar of his voice the air trembled many times and the organs were put to shame, seeing their contrabass [notes] surpassed four tones lower by his most incredible and loud voice' ('s'ammiri Bartolomeo Nicolini, al rimbombo della cui voce ha tremato più volte l'aria e si sono vergognati gli organi, vedendo superati i loro contrabassi per quattro tuoni più bassi dalla di lui terribilissima e sonora voce').

105 'canta il contr'alto et ha voce che può scorer, ma non è secondo il bisogno della capella', I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, busta 91, fasc. 'Cariche di Musici, Cantori, e Suonatori di Capella', 44, 15 January 1597.

apuntati accenti, as many singers sing in Venice';¹⁰⁶ the search for a bass who could 'go very low, which the choir needs' (1600);¹⁰⁷ the discovery in Paris's Notre-Dame cathedral of a bass who 'amazes in how low he can sing and has a voice so big that it makes this whole church, which must be four times as big as San Marco, ring' (1597)¹⁰⁸ and the arrival of Spanish castrati, one of whom 'filled the whole church with screeches' (1595)¹⁰⁹ are signs that the limits of 'pure and simple natural parts' ('pure e semplici parti naturali') were being overrun.¹¹⁰

Counterpoint, 'La Tramontana di Boni Musici'

Another characteristic associated to varying degrees with several singers is confidence, or lack thereof (*non troppo sicuro, honestamente sicuro, sicuro et franco* etc.). Here we are talking about knowledge of music theory, good sight reading, and practical experience. The Florentine theorist Pietro Aaron singles out these skills—in relation to the application of *musica ficta*—in 'learned and pragmatic singers' gifted with 'intellect' and with 'a good ear ... in order to continually practice the act of singing'.¹¹¹ According to Lodovico Zacconi, above all a singer needed to know the fundamentals of music theory: 'the musical symbols and their functions, the rules that regulate *canti ternari* and *canti perfetti*, the proportions that govern the inequality of figures and those that govern the

106 Zacconi, *Vita*, 77. The practice of *cantare in organo* is already documented in 1537: the singer Pietro Gaetano received a salary supplement to sing to the organ on solemn days ('cantare in organo diebus solemnibus'). See Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St. Mark's', 108 and document 121.

107 Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 36.

108 I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, busta 91, fasc. 'Cariche di Musici, Cantori, e Suonatori di Capella', 39, 30 August 1597: 'è un stupore che vadi tanto profondo come va, et ha una voce tanto grande che fa rissonar tutta questa chiesa, che dev'esser 4 volte più granda che san Marco'.

109 'empiva di strido tutta la chiesa', Rebecca Edwards, 'An Expanded Musical and Social Context for Andrea Gabrieli: New Documents, New Perspectives', in *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Venezia 16-18 settembre 1985)*, ed. Francesco Degradà (Florence, 1987), 43-57 at 53.

110 Lodovico Zacconi, *Prattica di musica, seconda parte* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1622), 55.

111 Pietro Aaron, *Thoscanello de la musica* (Venice: Bernardino and Matteo de Vitali, 1529), 'Aggiunta del Toscanello': 'la figura diesis non si ricerca appresso gli dotti et pratici cantori, imperò che il dotto et pratico cantore facilissimamente cognoscerà, con l'intelletto et ottimo suo orecchio un certo procedere a dovere cadere propriamente a quella nota sospesa o non sospesa, ... per essere stato continuo ne lo esercitio cantabile'.

inequality of the *tactus* and of figures', and intervals. In this way, he 'is able to move confidently among singers, and in regards to the knowledge of singing, he will always be recognized by all as a confident and good singer.'¹¹²

But on other occasions in which the Venetian chapel master was asked to give his opinion of his singers, he highlighted their knowledge of and ability to perform *contrapunto*. This term refers both to the 'speculative' side touched on above as well as to the 'practical' side, which singers auditioning for the ducal chapel need to navigate well. *Sapere il contraponto* is a skill that Adrian Willaert requested of the alto Giorgio Carpenello in vain in 1538:

Messer Adriano told him over and over to come and study, and he never did his duty to go to maestro Adriano to learn counterpoint, which is necessary in the chapel and which he needed to know.¹¹³

At the beginning of 1597, Baldassare Donato expresses an analogous idea using a maritime metaphor (appropriately given the location) in reference to a castrated soprano who sang in Venice for the *Crociferi*. The soprano was sought after for his natural talents and also for his training in the theory and practice of counterpoint, an ideal for all singers:

a eunuch who [sings] with the *Crociferi* would be good because of a beautiful voice and because he is in good stead to improve it given that he is learning counterpoint, which is the *tramontana* of good musicians, for if

112 Zacconi, *Prattica di musica*, fol. 82-82^v: 'gli segni musicali, et che forza habbiano nelle figure, le regioni delle cantilene ternarie e perfette, quali sieno proportioni d'inequalità di figure et quali sieno quelle di inequalità di tatto et di figure ... potrà andar sicuro tra i cantanti et in quanto al saper cantare da tutti serà sempre riconosciuto per sicuro et buon cantore'. This idea is reiterated later by Adriano Banchieri, who insists on knowledge of the so-called Guidonian hand and of hexachordal 'mutations', since singers who 'have not learned such mutations well (beyond not being definable as confident singers) always hesitate, and grope around like the blind': see Banchieri, *Cartella musicale*, 10: 'non avendo aprese bene tali mutazioni (oltre che non si devono chiamar sicuri cantori) sempre temono, e caminano a brancolone come tanti ciechi'.

113 I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, busta 91, fasc. 'Cariche di Musici, Cantori, e Suonatori di Capella', 5: 'li è sta deto più et più volte che'l vegni ad imparar il contraponto da esso messer Adriano et tamai [giammai] non fa il debito in andar da esso maestro Adriano ad imparar contraponto, il qual è necessario in la capella et bisognaria che lui el sapesse'. This document is cited in René Bernard Lenaerts, 'La Chapelle de Saint-Marc à Venise sous Adriaen Willaert (1527-1562)', in *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 19 (1938), 205-55 at 228, in Glixon, 'Music at the Venetian "Scuole Grandi"', 120, and in Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St. Mark's', document 343 (with ample commentary, 107-11).

singers of the chapel or the majority of them knew counterpoint, it would make an even more beautiful effect.¹¹⁴

Tramontana refers to the north or pole star and thus to the guiding light of good musicians, both 'speculative' and 'practical'.¹¹⁵ For Zacconi, counterpoint is, in the realm of composition, the capacity to compose over 'a simple, pure and straightforward *cantus firmus*' ('il mero puro e schietto canto fermo'), an art that he had the privilege of studying with Andrea Gabrieli in Venice.¹¹⁶ However, as other theorists do, Zacconi also devotes space to *contrappunto alla mente*, which he sees as a mandatory skill for singers to master. Indeed, when attempting to gain entrance to the ducal chapel in 1583, he himself was concerned with executing this practice, considering it a necessary skill:

Now, if I must sing and serve as singer and [if] they [the Augustinian brothers in Pavia] consider me to be so good and excellent, I wish to learn to perform *contrapunto alla mente* and to seek entrance into the chapel of San Marco in Venice.¹¹⁷

114 I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Chiesa, busta 91, fasc. 'Cariche di Musici, Cantori, e Suonatori di Capella', fol. 44^v, 15 January 1597: 'l'eunuco che sta con li padri Crosachieri sarà buono per haver bella voce et in statto di farla migliore, con dispositione poichè attende a imparar contraponto, che è la tramontana di boni musici, che se li cantori di capella sapessero tutti contraponto, o la maggior parte, farebbe ancora più bel sentir'.

115 An analogous use of the term is found in examples written during the sixteenth century quoted in Tommaseo and Bellini, *Dizionario della lingua italiana, ad vocem*: 'The *tramontane*, which is used by our sailors, is that star which is the last in the tail of Ursa Minor' ('La tramontana, della quale si servono i nostri marinari, è quella stella che è l'ultima nella coda dell'Orsa minore').

116 Zacconi, *Vita*, 76-77: '... stando quivi in Venezia, non conto del canto che mi serviva abastanza, che volsi anco impararvi di contrapunto et andai alla scuola del Sign. Andrea Gabrieli, havendolo io anco per gran favore che mi insegnasse, cosa che non havea voluto far a molt'altri' ('...being here in Venice, not contented with my singing, which served me well enough, I also turned myself to studying counterpoint, and I went to the school of Sign. Andrea Gabrieli, where I also had the privilege of being taught by him, a thing that he was not willing to do for many others'). On the term *contrappunto* in reference to a particular characteristic and quality of musical composition see James Haar, 'A Sixteenth-Century Attempt at Music Criticism', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983), 191-209 at 205.

117 Zacconi, *Vita*, 78: 'Or s'io ho da cantare e servir per cantore e costoro mi tengano per sì buono ed eccellente, io voglio imparar di far contrapunto alla mente e procurare d'entrar in capella di S. Marco di Venezia'. In this regard, it seems significant that the singer Marco Fiorentino entered the chapel with the classification of 'contralto et contrapontista' in 1586 (I-Vas, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Terminazioni [1584-89], reg. 137, c. 73, 11 August 1586).

To this end, Zacconi sought out another *maestro*, the brother Ippolito Baccusi, who had studied with Giaches de Wert in Venice and was, at that time, *maestro di cappella* at the Duomo in Mantua.¹¹⁸ Zacconi describes the training he received under Baccusi's teaching and also provides an example of a typical improvisation. The *maestro* performed the *cantus firmus*, in notes of equal value (semibreves), while the student sang above in thirds, fifths, sixths, and octaves in notes of various values (semibreves, minims, and semiminims).

This practice is defined by Vicentino as 'improvised singing over a *cantus firmus* [as is done] in churches' ('cantar alla mente sopra il canto fermo nelle chiese') and by Orazio Tigrini (1588) as 'improvised counterpoint over a *cantus firmus*, as is done in chapels'.¹¹⁹ Its persistent diffusion in liturgical circles is noted by Adriano Banchieri in the following century:

In Rome in the chapel of N. S., in the S. Casa di Loreto and in many other chapels, while improvised counterpoint is sung over the bass, no one knows what his colleagues needs to sing, but everyone, with certain rules agreed upon between them, creates a very pleasing sound ...¹²⁰

Improvisation was also practised in San Marco, as one eyewitness account and one regulation illustrate. The first, a travel diary of a trip to the Holy Land written by the Dutch pilgrim Arent Willemsz from Delft, particularly mentions its use in San Marco for a solemn ceremony in 1525 by a group of singers and two groups of priests singing psalmody, who sung respectively on two different sides of the choir that which he terms *simpelsank* (presumably *cantus planus*) and *contrapunt* or *fabridon*—in other words, improvised polyphony.¹²¹ The second, a ceremonial manual from 1564, mentions the practice of singing psalms for solemn feasts responsorially with a *capella parva* of singers and a group of singers *qui ex pratica cantant*, and thus presumably from memory.¹²²

¹¹⁸ Zacconi, *Vita*, 12.

¹¹⁹ Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome: Antonio Barré, 1555), 83; Orazio Tigrini, *Il compendio della musica* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1588), 115: 'contrapunto alla mente sopra il canto fermo, come si costuma nelle capelle'.

¹²⁰ Banchieri, *Cartella musicale*, 230: 'In Roma nella Capella di N. S., nella S. Casa di Loreto et altre infinite capelle, mentre cantano il contrapunto alla mente sopra il basso, niuno sa quello che cantar deve il compagno, ma tutti, con certe osservationi tra di loro conferite, rendono un udito gustosissimo'.

¹²¹ Iain Fenlon, 'Strangers in Paradise: Dutchmen in Venice in 1525', in Iain Fenlon, *Music and Culture in Late Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 2002), 24-43.

¹²² We owe David Bryant for first highlighting this reference, along with various other discoveries, in the *Rituum ecclesiasticorum ceremoniale* housed at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (Cod. lat. III, 172 [= 2276]) and other comments relevant to the musico-liturgical

Beyond the undefined nature of these polyphonic practices, always performed without recourse to a written score,¹²³ contemporary sources reveal the close relationship between improvisation and composition, between singing and writing, and between theory and practice.¹²⁴ Both at the time of Willaert's teaching (in whom Andrea Calmo recognized the ability 'de contrapontizar a l'improviso sul canto fermo'),¹²⁵ and at the time of Baldassare Donato's, the term *contraponto* did not imply rigid boundaries between these two facets of music-making.

Quill and Ink, Voice and Hand: Ippolito Tromboncino, *Cantore al Liuto*

Information about singers can be found now and then in the pages of some sixteenth-century literary sources. Such is the case in the gallery of excellent (*eccellenti*) or noteworthy (*segnalati*) men drawn up by Francesco Sansovino in

practices in the basilica during the Cinque and Seicento: David Bryant, 'Liturgia e musica liturgica nella fenomenologia del "mito di Venezia"', in *Mitologie, convivenze di musica e mitologia*, ed. Giovanni Morelli (Venice, 1979), 205-14; 'The "cori spezzati" of St Mark's: Myth and Reality', in *Early Music History* 1 (1981), 165-86; 'Il "suono di San Marco"', in *Andrea Gabrieli, 1585-1985. Catalogo del XLII Festival di Musica Contemporanea* (Venice, 1985), 59-66.

123 There is particular debate surrounding the term *more georgiano*, which the *Cerimoniale* applies to singing *ex pratica*, described there as an archaic practice, and which is from time to time placed alongside *falsobordone* (to which Willemsz's diary refers), and alongside improvised counterpoint or the two-voice vocal genre termed *cantus planus binatim*. See Fenlon, 'Strangers in Paradise', 40-41 and Giulio Cattin and Lucia Moro, 'Il codice 359 del seminario di Padova (anno 1505). Canti liturgici a due voci e laude dei canonici di San Giorgio in Alga', in *Contributi per la storia della musica a Padova*, ed. Giulio Cattin and Antonio Lovato (Padua, 1993), 141-89.

124 Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (Oxford-New York, 1997), 68-69: 'While there are important differences between singing *alla mente* (singing an improvised counterpoint to a given line) and composing *alla mente* (conceiving the entire fabric of a new composition), both reflect a world in which the distinctions between improvised and written music were not great.'

125 I cite from Andrea Calmo, *Le lettere*, ed. Vittorio Rossi (Turin, 1888), 199 (bk. III, 19), where he contrasts the complexity of such counterpoint with the simplicity of 'light' polyphonic genres: 'Now let's deal with this difficulty, which few will be able to confront and resolve, for it is difficult ...: it is entirely another thing than *villotte*, *giorgiane* and *barzellette*' ('Mo vegnimo sun questa difcultae, che puochi la sa resolver, tanto la xe difficile ...: altro che dir vilote, ni zorziane, ni barzelete').

his pamphlet *Delle cose notabili che sono in Venetia* (1561). Here, the author dedicates significant space to musicians, creating a list that was subsequently updated slowly over the course of the work's several reprintings (which continued into the late Seicento). From the celebratory perspective of a *laus civitatis* that exalts the ducal basilica, the decorum of its functions and the quality of its religious and lay personnel, Sansovino patently places ducal singers among the most renowned musicians in the city: the soprano (*recte alto*) *senza paro* (without compare) Perissone Cambio, the basses Pietro da Salò, pre Francesco Zefiro and Don Galeazzo da Pesaro (*gentilissimo spirito*), and the altos Angelo de Piissimi and Marco Antonio Cavazzoni.¹²⁶ But some of these names, and others too, appear in accounts of events that took place outside of the basilica's walls, in *ridotti* and in the most respected academic societies. Perissone's name is beloved by men of letters: Antonfrancesco Doni praises his 'good voice, and perfect singing',¹²⁷ Orazio Toscanella cites him among the attendees of Antonio Zantani's *ridotto* (along with his colleagues 'Baldassare Donato, [and] Francesco Londarit detto il Greco')¹²⁸, and for Ortensio Lando he is a 'a most refined musician' and 'he lives, sings, and plays in the motherland of Venice'.¹²⁹ There are also plenty of playful literary references in which a cricket (Lando, 1548) or a lady (Andrea Calmo, 1566) are praised. In comparison with these, we are told, Perissone and along with him the entire imagined brigade of musicians such as

126 Sansovino, *Venetia, città nobilissima*, fol. 22^v. In the reprint of 1583 (Venice: eredi di Luigi Valvassori e Giovanni Domenico Micheli, 79). Sansovino mentions Baldassare Donato, the Flemish tenor Giovanni Ans, pre Vincenzo, and the Spanish sopranos Antonio and another 'newly arrived, whose name I don't remember'. The names of 'Adriano [Willaert] and the other Greek [Londariti] who sing in San Marco, [and] another priest called don'Angelo [de Piissimi]' are three Venetian singers group of thirty 'who were asked if when they sing they find themselves disposed to sing more on one day than on another and more one hour than another' ('essaminati se in loro quando e cantano si trovano più disposti al cantare un dì che un altro e un'hora più ch'un'altra') in the context of the unique survey conducted by the noble Florentine Filippo Capponi on the astral and physiological causes of human behaviour: Capponi, *Libro intitolato Facile est inventis addere*, 126-27.

127 Doni, *Dialogo della musica*, fol. 42^v: 'la buona voce, e il perfetto cantare'.

128 Orazio Toscanella, *I nomi antichi et moderni delle provincie, regioni, città dell'Europa, Africa et Asia* (Venice: Francesco Franceschini, 1567), dedicatory letter to Antonio Zantani.

129 Ortensio Lando, *Sette libri de cathaloghi a' varie cose appartenenti, non solo antiche, ma anche moderne* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1552), 51: 'gentilissimo musico ... vive, canta et suona nell'alma patria di Vinegia'.

Josquin, Verdelot, Parabosco, Arcadelt, Cipriano de Rore, and Willaert, would have hidden in shame.¹³⁰

But another famous singer who remained outside ducal circle appears in Sansovino's list: Ippolito Tromboncino. As Lando notes, Ippolito lived in Venice and was 'much loved for his virtue' ('habita in Vinegia et è per la sua virtù molto amato'). David Nutter rescued Ippolito from obscurity in 1989 when he drew attention to the singer's few extant compositions (six works in the so-called 'Libro di canto e liuto' of Cosimo Bottegari) and a few literary references.¹³¹ In his list of Italian singers, Pietro Aaron places the 'Venetian' Cavazzoni among the *cantori a libro* and Ippolito among the *cantori al liuto*.¹³² The distinction between the two categories is also noted in a *terzina* found in Pietro Aretino's *Ternali in gloria de la Reina di Francia* (1550), where the poet distinguishes Willaert's directed polyphony from Ippolito's accompanied monody:

Intanto in musical coro, Adriano,
E voi, soave Ippolito, esponete
Armonizzando il suo valor soprano.¹³³

130 Ortensio Lando, *Sermoni funebri de vari authori nella morte de diversi animali* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1548), 33, [Sermone 'di Monna Chiecca nella morte d'un grillo']: 'O ladies, consider how discontented I feel to have been left by such a dear cricket, by such a delectable thing and by such a perfect singer. Josquin, Verdelot, Jaques, Perissone, and Parabosco should go and hide themselves (in shame), for in comparison with him they would resemble croaking ravens' ('Considerate madonne quanto mal contenta star mi debba derelitta essendo da sì caro grillo, da sì sollazzevol cosa et da sì perfetto cantore. Vadansi pur a nascondere Iusquino, Verdelotto, Jaques et il Parissono et il Parabosco, che presso di lui paruti sarebbono corvi che gracchiassero.') Andrea Calmo, *Residuo de le lettere facete e piacevolissime amorose* (Venice: Domenico Farri, c. 1560), bk. II, fol. 87: 'a singer compared to whom Arcadelt, Verdelot, Cipriano, Perissone and Adrian should go and hide themselves' ('cantaor può vagasse a scondere Arcadelt, Verdelot, Cipriano, Perissone e Adrian.')

131 David Nutter, 'Ippolito Tromboncino, Cantore al Liuto', in *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 3 (1989), 127-74; Cosimo Bottegari, *Il libro di canto e liuto*, Modena, Biblioteca Estense, ms. C 311, facsimile ed. Dinko Fabris and John Griffiths (Bologna, 2006). Pietro Barignano, poet of 'Vostra beltà sì bella' set to music by Ippolito, must be added to the edition's list of authors who penned poetic texts in Bottegari's manuscript. On the madrigal *Io son ferito, ah! lasso* see Martha Feldman, 'The Courtesan's Voice', in *The Courtesan's Arts: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Martha Feldman and Bonnie Gordon (New York-Oxford, 2006), 105-23 at 112-14.

132 Aaron, *Lucidario in musica*, fol. 31^v.

133 See Pietro Aretino, *Lettere sull'arte*, ed. Ettore Camesasca (Milan, 1957), vol. II, 381.

For now in the musical choir, Adriano
 And you, sweet Ippolito, let's perform
 Harmonizing your worthy soprano [voice].

Ippolito was active as a performer in *ridotti* and intellectual societies, and traces of his aristocratic visits can be found in various literary works. Letters he received from Pietro Aretino (1545, 1548, 1555)¹³⁴ and Andrea Calmo (1548)¹³⁵ and references to him by the aforementioned Lando and Lodovico Dolce (1565)¹³⁶ reflect a fame and regard that has faded over the centuries due to the scant number of his extant musical compositions and a dearth of biographical information. But further accounts in poetry and archival sources provide a few chronological benchmarks and give some idea of Ippolito's musical skills. The first is a sonnet in *lingua rustica padovana* ('rustic' Paduan language) dedicated to Ippolito in the first part of the unusual tri-authored *canzoniere* by Magagnò, Menon, and Begotto (that is, Giovanni Battista Maganza, Agostino Rava, and Marco Thiene) published in 1558, among the 'Sonagitti [sonnets] e Canzon de Begotto'.¹³⁷ Marco Thiene (1520-52), a nobleman from Vicenza and close friend of Andrea Palladio,¹³⁸ must have frequented Venetian *ridotti* and thus would have had the opportunity hear Ippolito (in the collection there is also a parody—a *la someggia* (an imitation)—of a sonnet by Domenico Venier).¹³⁹ In the sonnet, Thiene turns to a *messier dal trombone repolio* (polished trombone master), saying that he was driven almost wild listening to the madrigals that Ippolito sang. Indeed, the sonnet is more concerned with the celebration of singing than playing, for it concludes by proclaiming Ippolito the leader in this

134 Pietro Aretino, *Lettere*, III Libro, lettera CCLXXXVIII; IV Libro, lett. DCL-DCLI; V Libro, lettera DXCI.

135 Andrea Calmo, *Il rimanente de le piacevole et ingeniose lettere* (Venice: Comin da Trino, 1548).

136 Lodovico Dolce, *Dialogo nel quale si ragiona della qualità, diversità e proprietà de i colori* (Venice: G. B. and M. Sessa, 1565), 63.

137 *La prima parte de le rime di Magagno, Menon, e Begotto in lingua rustica padovana* (Padova: Grazioso Percacino, 1558).

138 I follow here Fernando Bandini's identification of the author Begotto as the figure Marco Thiene (1520-52). Fernando Bandini, 'La letteratura pavana dopo il Ruzante. Tra manierismo e barocco', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 4,1: *Dalla controriforma alla fine della repubblica: Il Seicento*, ed. Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Vicenza, 1983), 327-61 at 341. On Thiene also see Bernardo Morsolin, 'Un poeta che vive per un sonetto su Venezia', in *Atti del Regio Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti* 6, series VII (1894-95), 839-974.

139 *Non punse, arse o legò stral, fiamma o laccio*, inspired by sonnet CXXXIII in Petrarch's *Canzoniere* ('Amor m'à posto come segno a strale').

art ('staghé sora a tutti i cantarini', or 'he who surpasses all singers'). Echoing this rustic eulogy are three refined sonnets by the Venetian patrician Girolamo Molin, two of which were written in response to Ippolito's death and inserted into the section of obituary works in his *Rime* (1573).¹⁴⁰ Also an attendee of Venier's *ridotto*,¹⁴¹ correspondent of Aretino, musical dilettante, and friend of several musicians (Girolamo Parabosco, Giovanni Del Lago), Molin refers to Ippolito as someone who knew how to display 'del cantar la norma vera' ('the true rule of singing'). Molin's *Rime* were published posthumously, after his death on 26 December 1569. The young Ippolito must thus have passed away sometime between 1565, the year in which he is celebrated by Lodovico Dolce as an excellent lutenist of the time and when Sansovino adds his name to the updated list of musicians in the second edition of his *Dialogo de tutti le cose notabili*, and the end of 1569.¹⁴² Ippolito's death, Molin tells us, was premature (a *morte acerba*), plucking the singer from this earth in the flower of his youth. Mythological allusions inspired by Ippolito's classicism—a modern cithara player in circles drenched in antiquarian interests—recur constantly, even among the diverse expressions used to describe him, rustic and 'irregular' as well as elevated and academic. Ippolito was seen as both a new Orpheus and a new Apollo: his song, self-accompanied on the lute, echoed throughout Venice, where in the Palazzo Grimani, only a few steps from Venier's *ridotto* in Santa Maria Formosa, Francesco Salviati painted stories of Apollo in 1540. In these vignettes, mythological figures were 'set in a serene and colloquial dimension, their characteristics familiar, not at all solemn' ('ambientati in una dimensione serena e colloquiale, descritti in atteggiamenti familiari, niente affatto

140 Girolamo Molin, *Rime* (Venice, 1573), fol. 80^v, 81, 107.

141 See 'Vita del Clarissimo M. Girolamo Molino descritta da Monsignor Giovanni Mario Verdizzotti', note at the beginning of the vol. of the *Rime*: 'But of all these honourable conversations, he attended none more than that of the *clarissimo messer* Domenico Veniero, nobleman of singular valour, whose house is a continuous *ridotto* of virtuous people, and thus of the city's nobles, for they seek out men of letters and practitioners of other rare and excellent professions.' ('Ma di tutte queste honorate conversationi niuna egli più frequentava, che quella del clarissimo messer Domenico Veniero gentilhuomo di valor singolare, la casa del quale è un continuo ridotto di persone virtuose, così di nobili della città, come di qual si voglia altra sorte d'huomini per professione di lettere et d'altro rari et eccellenti'). Molin's reputation as one of the most excellent Italian poets is cited in the context of a gathering of noblemen 'in the house of the *clarissimo messer* Domenico Veniero' by Toscanella, *Motti*, fol. 21-21^v. See also Franco Tomasi, *Molin, Girolamo*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 2011), vol. 75, *ad vocem*.

142 Francesco Sansovino, *Dialogo de tutte le cose notabili che sono in Vinetia* (Venice: Domenico de' Franceschi, 1565), fol. 22^v. The singer Don Galeazzo da Pesaro, named in the edition of 1561 and no longer active in San Marco after 1563, is crossed off the list.

solenni').¹⁴³ For Molin, Ippolito was an Orpheus both among men and in the Underworld.¹⁴⁴ At the end of his first sonnet, the verse 'Per noi dir si può'l mondo et sordo et muto'¹⁴⁵ seems to recall the couplet that concludes another lament, that by Angelo Poliziano on the death of Lorenzo de' Medici (*Quis dabit capiti meo aquam*, 1492), set to music by Heinrich Isaac with a marvellous polyphonic representation—chordal and static—of silence: 'Nunc muta omnia, / Nunc surda omnia'. The third, in contrast, emphasizes Ippolito's capacity to move the emotions, to change each 'tristo affetto' ('sad emotion') to joy, to ban each 'molesta cura' ('tedious care'), drawing again on the myth of Orpheus and on the power of his song to affect the waters and other natural elements¹⁴⁶ through its seductive nocturnal imagery:

Io l'ho udito cantar la notte oscura,
Torbide l'acque et vidi al dolce canto
Farsi sereno il cielo et l'onda pura.

I heard him singing in the dark night,
the waters were turbid, and with the sweet song I saw
the heavens calm and the waters become pure.

A newly discovered document that expands our knowledge of the singer's life confirms Pietro Canal's 1867 hypothesis¹⁴⁷ that Ippolito could be 'the son of a certain Bartolomeo who François-Joseph Fétis reports as [being] Veronese by birth'.¹⁴⁸ On 15 September 1560, Isotta di Lendinara, widow of Bartolomeo

143 Annalisa Bristot, 'Saloni, portici e stanze splendidamente ornati', in *Palazzo Grimani a Santa Maria Formosa. Storia, arte, restauri*, ed. Annalisa Bristot (Venice, 2008), 61-125 at 81.

144 'un novo Orfeo sembrava in terra / Col dolce canto in lui dal ciel piovuto' ('he seemed to be a new Orpheus on earth / with sweet song pouring into him from the heavens'); 'Dimmi Hippolito mio dove n'andasti / Quinci partendo? ai lieti campi? al regno / Di Pluto?' ('Tell me, my Ippolito, where have you gone / departing from here? to the happy fields? to the kingdom / of Pluto?').

145 'For us one can say that the world is deaf and mute'.

146 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, bk. x, 41-63.

147 Pietro Canal, 'Adunanza del giorno 25 novembre 1867 ... Osservazioni ed aggiunte alla Biographie universelle des musiciens par E. [sic] J. Fétis, Paris 1864-66', in *Atti del Reale Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, serie III, tomo XIII (1867-68), 203-23 at 216.

148 I-Vas, Notarile, Testamenti, bb. 89, n. 12 rosso, unpublished will, notary Rocco De Benedetti: will of Isotta q. Paolo da Lendinara, ved. Bartolomeo Tromboncini. I thank my friend Armando Fiabane, who conducted a research project in the Venetian archives for several decades, for the information that allowed me to find this document.

Tromboncino, decided to dictate her will to the notary Rocco Benedetti. She asked to be buried in San Silvestro and that thirty *messe gregoriane* be celebrated,¹⁴⁹ she left her clothing and a sum of 10 ducats to her daughter Isabella (wife of ser Bianchino da Fontanella) and she named her son Ippolito as her universal heir. Justifying this resolution, Isotta stated that she had been cared for by Ippolito, who was also generous towards his sister: 'he deprived himself of goods to see her married and to give her a house'.¹⁵⁰ This document allows us to confirm certain biographical details and to uncover a few new ones: Ippolito's Venetian residence and his family; his finances, which were sufficient enough to support relatives; the identity of Bartolomeo's new wife and of their children after the assassination of his first wife Antonia (1499), and Bartolomeo's homage to his patrons Isabella d'Este, the marchioness of Mantua and her brother, cardinal Ippolito d'Este, via the names given to his two children. Girolamo Molin's sonnets on Ippolito's death also assume further significance, in the light of the friendly relationship that the poet maintained with his father Bartolomeo, to which Bartolomeo alludes in a letter to the music theorist Giovanni Del Lago.¹⁵¹ Biographical information related to the young painter and musician Irene di Spilimbergo, who died in the flower of her youth at eighteen years old (1541-59), documents the pedagogical activity of a *Trommocino*, who had *scolari*. Irene, a student of Bartolomeo Gazza (*cantore al liuto*) learned from one of Tromboncino's pupils this 'manner of singing ... more harmonious and sweet than others'.¹⁵² The description of Tromboncino as

149 Popular devotional practice called for the celebration of thirty masses during the thirty days after death.

150 'si ha spogliato per maridarla et metterla in casa sua'. One of the witnesses was Bartolomeo Sandelli, who can be identified as the Bartolo Sandelli that Aretino pushed to marry Caterina, his *massara* and the mother of his daughter Adria (cf. see the letter from Aretino to Caterina Sandelli, *Il terzo libro delle lettere* [Paris: appresso Matteo il Maestro, 1609], fols. 313^v-314^v, January 1546).

151 In a letter sent from Vicenza on 2 April 1535 to Giovanni Del Lago, Bartholomeo asked the theorist to 'commend me to that kind gentleman, Girolamo Molino, admirer of artists; may God preserve him for a hundred years and more' ('raccomandarmi al magnifico et gentilissimo gentilhomo amator dei virtuosi, Messer Hyeronimo Molino, che Dio cent' e cent'anni in sua gratia lo conservi.') The letter is transcribed and translated in *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky, and Clement A. Miller (Oxford, 1991), 869. It is possible that the subject of the letter, a request for a frottola in complete polyphonic form and not 'to be sung to the lute, that is without alto' ('da cantar nel lauto cioè senza contr'alto'), could have been formulated by Molino by way of Del Lago, as many scholars have suggested.

152 *Rime di diversi nobilissimi et eccellentissimi autori in morte della Signora Irene delle Signore di Spilimbergo. Alle quali si son aggiunti versi Latini di diversi egregii Poeti, in morte della medesima Signora* (Venice: Domenico e Giovanni Battista Guerra fratelli, 1561): 'maniera

'the most excellent musician in our city' ('musicò perfettissimo della nostra città')—expressed in relation to his status as a Venetian celebrity who was apparently still living—more than any other evidence reinforces Nutter's assertion that the Tromboncino in question is not Bartolomeo but rather Ippolito. Indeed, we know Ippolito had at least one other student, Eteroclito Giancarli. As a teacher, Ippolito thus also followed in the footsteps of his father, who abandoned his life at court to 'teach noblewomen' ('insegnare a gentildonne') in Venice. The document firmly situates Ippolito's work between the art of the frottola practiced by his father and the 'proto-monodic' works collected by Cosimo Bottegari (b. 1554), who must have been an adolescent at the time of Ippolito's death (Ippolito was active as a performer between 1545 and his death, 1565-69). Cosimo's 'travel' manuscript unites old and new monody: the old compositions of Ippolito with an aria (*Fere selvage*) that Giulio Caccini would later include in his *Nuove musiche* in 1602, intabulations of polyphonic works with accompaniment that stand as preludes to the realizations with basso continuo of the new century. In the same year of 1602, Ippolito's art was also remembered in the preface his student Giancarli (*maestro di musica* in Venice and a lute teacher of noble ladies as well) appended to a collection of music for solo voice, *Compositioni musicali intavolate per cantare et sonare nel liuto*. The author claims he was prompted to publish by

diverse motivations, especially on the part of those who—still venerating the name of Ippolito Tromboncino, my dear teacher, from whom I received my first instruction in the perfect knowledge of how to accompany the voice on the lute—believe that in the works of this disciple the praises of his tutor may shine.¹⁵³

di cantare ... più armoniosa e soave delle altre'. Gazza appears in the aforementioned list of *cantori al liuto* furnished by Aaron. Also see Ivano Cavallini, 'Irene da Spilimbergo: storia di una biblioteca di famiglia e un caso dubbio di persistenza del repertorio frottolistico', in *Venezia 1501: Petrucci e la stampa musicale (Atti del Convegno internazionale, Venezia, Palazzo Giustinian Lolin, 10-13 ottobre 2001)*, ed. Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (Venice, 2005), 611-22 and Stefano Lorenzetti, *Musica e identità nobiliare nell'Italia del Rinascimento* (Florence, 2003), 140-47.

- 153 Eteroclito Giancarli, *Compositioni musicali intavolate per cantare et sonare nel liuto* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1602), 19 compositions: 'diversi stimoli di coloro spetialmente che havendo in veneratione tuttavia il nome d'Hippolito Tromboncino, già mio carissimo maestro, dalla cui perfetta cognitione d'accompagnar la voce al liuto ho io havuto i primi principii di quest'arte, hanno per avventura opinione che nelle opere del discepolo habbia la lode a risplendere del precettore'. The preface is signed 25 May 1602. Melania G. Mazzucco, *Jacomo Tintoretto & i suoi figli: storia di una famiglia veneziana* (Milan, 2009), 525, suggests that Eteroclito Giancarli, or Zancarli, could be the son of Gigio Artemio Zancarli—the comedy writer who baptized his two daughters with the unusual names

Ippolito's posthumous fame is the result of the popularity Venetian *cantori al liuto* acquired—figures who composed and sung melodies accompanying themselves on the lute, thereby exalting the very soloistic individuality that would find even greater display in the burgeoning repertoire for solo voice towards the end of the century. Even Zarlino could not escape this fascination with solo song: the renowned theoretician of *musica armonica* acknowledges that 'one listens with greater delight to someone who sings along to the sound of an organ, a lyre, a lute, or similar instruments more than listening to many [voices].'¹⁵⁴ Pietro Aretino foreshadows this persistent 'veneration' in 1548 in an affectionate letter to Ippolito, in which he highlights the ideal completeness displayed by the singer-lutenist:

Rinasciamo solo a pensare che mai non moriremo in la ricordanza del mondo, et fa di ciò fede a voi l'arte in cui essercitate non manco la penna et gli inchiostri, che la voce et la mano.

We are reborn only in the sense that we never die in the memories of the world; and you find faith of this in the art that you practice, no less with quill and ink than with your voice and hands.¹⁵⁵

Campaspe and Catonfila—and reports that he gave lute lessons to Elena Zamberti. The work of another comedy writer, Giovanni Francesco Loredano, refers to Giancarli and to the power of his performance on voice and lute—*Lo Incendio, comedia* (Venice: alla Libreria della Speranza, 1597), which bears a dedication from Sebastiano Loredano to Francesco Tiepolo dated 16 January 1596: 'Pante: That which makes you pale will be that which pleases the heavens, let us go to messer Eteroclito and hear a *trimpellaia* [strumming] on the lute' ('Pante: Che accade impallidirsi, sarà quel che piacerà al cielo, andiamo da messer Eteroclito ad udire una trimpellaia di liuto'), (III, 2, fol. 31^v); 'Aglìo: Heteroclito's singing was to me like putting out a fire with oil' ('Aglìo: Il cantare di Heteroclito è stato a me come uno spegnere il fuoco con l'olio' (III, 5, fol. 33^v). In 1589 Giancarli himself witnessed (during a trial) that he was the lute teacher of the young Elena Zamberti (*La verità ovvero il processo contro Isabella Bellocchio* (Venezia, 12 Gennaio-14 ottobre 1589, ed. Marisa Milani [Padua, 1985], vol. 1, 46).

154 Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, 79: 'Con maggiore diletatione si ode cantare alcuno solo al suono di un organo, della lira, del leuto o di altri simili instrumenti, che non si ode da molti'. In Zacconi's opinion, 'exquisiteness [is obtained] when a beautiful voice and a beautiful singer, the other parts being played, sings alone, because in this one has all the things that one might desire: that is, melody, delight, pleasantness, and entire satisfaction' ('l'esquisitezza [si ottiene] quando ch'una bella voce e bel cantante, sonandosi l'altre parti, canta solo, perché in essa si hanno tutte le cose che si possano bramare: cioè melodia, diletto, compiacimento e intera soddisfazione') (Zacconi, *Prattica di musica, seconda parte*, 55).

155 Aretino, *Il quarto libro delle lettere*, letter DCL (June 1548), 287.

Instrumentalists and Instrument Makers before c. 1550

Bonnie J. Blackburn

To judge from the diaries of Marino Sanuto, Venice's great chronicler, the streets, canals, churches, and private houses of the city continually resounded with the noise of 'trombe et pifari', the trombones and shawms that made up a typical wind band. From grand state occasions, religious processions on many feast days, High Masses at San Marco, feasts of the titular saint of churches, patrician weddings, banquets in the palaces of noble families, public plays, parties staged by the young patricians who belonged to the many *Compagnie della Calza* (companies of the hose, their distinctive garment), to the *ridotti*, the intimate gatherings in the salons of the aristocracy, players of musical instruments, loud and soft, were obligatory.¹ Any occasion that required dancing, an event so common that it is not indexed in the modern edition of Sanuto's diaries, needed players of wind, string, and keyboard instruments as a matter of course. Thus we must judge that Venice was teeming with freelance instrumentalists, for we know the names of only a few practitioners in the first half of the sixteenth century—Marco Antonio Cavazzoni, Marco dall'Aquila, Dionisio Memo, Silvestro Ganassi, and Girolamo Parabosco, to name the most famous. Where the accounts have been preserved, we can trace the hiring of musicians by the numerous *scuole* (confraternities) for processions in honour of their patron saint; initially, these typically played lutes, viols, and harps. We know something about the organists who served the many Venetian churches, but rarely more than their names and salary. The only formal group of musicians during this period was the Pifferi del Doge, the band of wind instrument players of the Serenissima; they took part in all the many occasions at which the Doge was present, and more besides.

Where did these musicians acquire their instruments? Scattered sources, from tax records to guild lists, baptismal records, and wills, reveal a thriving industry of instrument making. The German lute makers of the later sixteenth century are well known, but the roots of the trade go back at least to the fifteenth century. Lutes, viols, and keyboard instruments were the main

¹ See also the contribution by Rodolfo Baroncini in the present volume.

instruments made in Venice in the first half of the century; we know hardly anything about makers of wind instruments. Venice also exported musical instruments to other cities in northern Italy, and it was a centre for repairs, as we know from letters from the Mantuan and Ferrarese courts.

It was not only professional musicians who needed instruments. The ability to play the lute was becoming *de rigueur* for gentlemen, some of whom achieved a high degree of expertise on the instrument, and inventories of the estates of Venetians of all classes frequently reveal the presence of a lute and sometimes a keyboard instrument. Music teachers must have been greatly in demand, and not only in patrician households. The title page of Silvestro Ganassi's treatise on playing wind instruments, *Opera intitulata Fontegara* (Venice, 1535) shows what looks very much like a music school, and we know the names of two of his prominent pupils.

Instrumentalists

For many of the documents mentioning 'sonadori' in the first half of the century we cannot be sure what instruments were played. The surviving account books of the *scuole*, large and small, show that singers and instrumentalists were hired, especially for celebrations and processions on the feast day of their patron saint. Churches too, if they did not have their own singers, did the same. The guilds followed suit, deeming singers and instrumentalists necessary for the feast of their patron saint. For example, the guild of the goldsmiths, the *Arte degli Orefici*, celebrated St Antony Abbot on 17 January at San Silvestro. In 1541 they spent 6 lire, 4 soldi for the singers and 5 lire, 4 soldi for the 'sonadori'; in 1545 a separate expense is listed for 'the meal for the *piffari*'.² Since San Silvestro hosted the *scuola* of the wind players, it is not surprising that they received special treatment. The *Arte della Seta*, the silk weavers, had the misfortune to share with the *Serenissima* the patron saint St Mark; they had had an arrangement with the 'sonadori della Serenissima', that is the *Pifferi del Doge*, to play on their feast, but complained in 1537 that they had been served badly, and resolved to provide for their own instrumentalists.³

2 Elena Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco: Organizzazione e prassi della musica nelle chiese di Venezia nel Rinascimento* (Florence, 1998), 316.

3 Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 319.

Players of Wind Instruments

The group forming the Pifferi del Doge is memorably portrayed marching two by two in Matteo Pagan's mid-sixteenth-century engraving of a procession, called the *andata*, in the Piazza San Marco, labelled in Italian and Latin as 'trombe piffari'/'tubae et barbiton' (trombones, shawms, and cornetti).⁴ A separate ensemble was composed of the six ceremonial silver trumpets ('sei trombe di arzento'/'sex tubae argenteae'): these are so long and heavy that a boy is needed to support each one.⁵ Among the members of the Pifferi in the late fifteenth century, which at that time comprised four shawms and two trombones, was 'Zorzi trombetta da Modon', or Zorzi di Nicolò, whose early career was as a trumpeter on board a Venetian galley.⁶ It was his son Alvise, also a member of the Pifferi, who wrote to the Marchese of Mantua in 1495, sending motets by Jacob Obrecht and Antoine Busnoys that he had arranged for five instruments for the dogal ensemble, remarking that 'all Venice doesn't want to hear anything else'. In a letter of 1505 he sent other music arranged for varying combinations of wind instruments.⁷ This reference confirms what we know from sixteenth-century manuscript and printed sources: vocal music could equally well be played on instruments, though some adjustments because of the ranges might be necessary.

4 'Barbiton' is a misnomer; the Greek instrument *barbitos* is a string instrument.

5 For an illustration see Iain Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven-London, 2007), 122-23, fig. 82. On the *andata* itself see pp. 122-27. The most comprehensive article on the ensemble in the sixteenth century is Jeffrey Kurtzman and Linda Maria Koldau, 'Trombe, Trombe d'argento, Trombe squarciate, Tromboni, and Pifferi in Venetian Processions and Ceremonies of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 8 (2002), <www.sscm-jscm.org/v8/no1/kurtzman.html>, section C. They also discuss the vexed question of the 'trombe squarciate', which appear to be trumpets with wide bells.

6 He has left a notebook, written between 1444 and 1449 on board ship, in which he notated some French chansons with extra contratenors. See Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'Il libro di appunti di un suonatore di tromba del quindicesimo secolo', in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 16 (1981), 16-38. Further documents on Zorzi and the Pifferi del Doge have been published by Rodolfo Baroncini in the appendix to his article "'Se canta dalli cantori overo se sona dalli sonadori": Voci e strumenti tra Quattro e Cinquecento', in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 32 (1997), 327-65 at 360-63.

7 See William F. Prizer, 'Instrumental Music/Instrumentally Performed Music ca 1500: The Genres of Paris Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Rés Vm.7 676', in *Le Concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance. Actes du XXXIV^e Colloque International d'Études Humanistes. Tours, Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, 1-11 juillet 1991*, ed. Jean-Michel Vaccaro (Paris, 1995), 179-98 at 185-86. Both letters have been published in a new transcription with commentary in Baroncini, "'Se canta dalli cantori'", 348-58.

The Pifferi appear to have been the only official organization of musicians in Venice; they were hired by the Procurators of San Marco. In 1478 the Scuola Grande di San Rocco admitted the Pifferi to membership in exchange for performing on their feast day;⁸ this was a convenient way of assuring their presence. Freelance associations of musicians, both instrumentalists and singers, begin to appear in Venice and the Veneto towards mid-century. In 1552 the Goldsmiths' feast at San Silvestro had become so elaborate that mass and Vespers were sung in two choirs, and the 'sonadori' are specifically identified as the 'chonpagnia di Fruttarioli chon le sue viole'.⁹ Such companies could be formed of musicians who had regular jobs, say as town wind players, because it is likely that they would not have been occupied full time. Thus we should not suppose that a musician's salary was his only income. Indeed, the other well-known company of instrumentalists, the Fabretti, drew largely on the Pifferi del Doge for its membership.¹⁰ It made sense for musicians to band together: one person could negotiate the fee and the venues. This was a far more satisfactory arrangement than greeting visiting dignitaries at the city gates, hoping for some largesse, although music-loving cardinals could be quite generous.¹¹

Moonlighting in Venice could prove lucrative. Musicians were constantly in demand at banquets, and dancing would not have been possible without instrumental accompaniment. The various Compagnie della Calza, composed of young patricians, hosted what can only be called grand parties, with

8 Jonathan Glixon, *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260-1807* (New York, 2003), 102.

9 Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 317. The singers are listed as 'la chonpagnia di miss. pre Alvise dale Vilotte', also known as 'Alvise di Santi Apostoli', a long-lived singer at San Marco (active 1520-76). On him see Giulio Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St. Mark's at the Time of Adrian Willaert (1527-1562): A Documentary Study' (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1986), index in vol. 2, p. 498. This is the fourth group of singers forming a company discussed in Jonathan Glixon, 'A Musicians' Union in Sixteenth-Century Venice', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983), 392-421 at 401. In the following year the company of singers at San Silvestro was that of Marco Moscatello, who was later the parish priest of the church (Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 317 and 177-78). The instrumentalists again were the Compagnia di Fruttarioli, but this time with cornetts and viols. One of its members, Antonio de Negrone, was interrogated by the Inquisition in 1548 (Quaranta, p. 291).

10 Giulio Ongaro, 'Gli inizi della musica strumentale a San Marco', in *Giovanni Legrenzi e la cappella ducale di San Marco. Atti dei convegni internazionali di studi Venezia, 24-26 maggio 1990, Clusone, 14-16 settembre 1990*, ed. Francesco Passadore and Franco Rossi (Florence, 1994), 215-26 at 219.

11 For Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este, see Mary Hollingsworth, *The Cardinal's Hat: Money, Ambition, and Everyday Life in the Court of a Borgia Prince* (New York, 2006), 71, 84, 195, 257.

banquets, plays, and dancing. The Compagnia di Ortolani, for example, hired 'trombe, pifari, pive et trombe squarzade' and singers for their entertainment during Carnival 1524.¹² Weddings could be particularly profitable: when a daughter of a Chancery secretary got married in 1506, the week-long festivities constantly involved music, some of it provided by the Pifferi del Doge.¹³ These events normally took place at night when the musicians were likely to be free. To mention just two occasions noted by Sanuto: On 21 February 1527 (during Carnival) Tomaso Contarini and the Conte del Zaffo offered a sumptuous banquet to all the knights and doctors, twenty-three in all at table; 'they stayed very late around table, with much instrumental music and songs, and then a comedy by Cherea was performed'.¹⁴ When the Venetian Giovanni Antonio Dandolo became Podestà and Captain of Treviso in 1532, he was treated to a grand banquet with 'trombe piffari e quelli de le viole, Zan Polo et 4 altri buf-foni'. After dinner two famous courtesans came to dance, 'la Carpexana' and 'la Ferrarexe'; then came an acrobat, and after that all the ladies began to dance.¹⁵

Nevertheless there was a limit to moonlighting. In 1511 the patriarch, Antonio Contareno, issued an edict directed to the warden and company and all the members of the 'schola di Piphari et Sonatori'. It had come to his attention that they had, day and night, serenaded nunneries, 'with great offence to the Divine Majesty, the shame of the nunneries, and the scandal of right-thinking people, and our extreme displeasure', and he threatened them with excommunication if they were to play serenades or any other kind of music, either from the street

12 *I diarii di Marino Sanuto (MCCCCXCVI-MDXXXIII) dall'autografo Marciano ital. cl. VII codd. CDXIX-CDLXXVII*, ed. Riccardo Fulin et al., 58 vols. (Venice, 1897-1903), vol. 35, cols. 392-93.

13 Deborah Howard, 'The Role of Music in the Venetian Home in the Cinquecento', in *The Music Room in Early Modern France and Italy: Sound, Space, and Object*, ed. Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti (Oxford, 2012), 95-114 at 97-98. The statutes of the Compagnia dei Sempiterni in 1541 required that 'every *compagno* who gets married is obliged to host two banquets with *trombe e pifari*, one at the house of the bride, the other in his own house'; Lionello Venturi, 'Le Compagnie della Calza (sec. xv-xvi)', in *Nuovo archivio veneto*, NS 9, vol. 16 (1908), 161-221 at 203.

14 Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 44, col. 120. Cherea is the nickname of the actor Francesco de' Nobili, who was much in demand in Venice and Rome.

15 Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 56, col. 263. Zuan Polo from Dalmatia (Gian Paolo Liomparidi) was renowned in Venice for his comedies and performances; Sanuto greatly admired him. See Ivano Cavallini, 'Zuan Polo, il "Canto alla schiavonesca" e lo spettacolo veneziano ai primi del Cinquecento', in *Revista de musicología* 16 (1993), 1423-32. On Sanuto's references to dancing, see Patrizia La Rocca, "'Né altro fu fatto che balar": La danza a Venezia attraverso i Diarii di Marin Sanuto (1496-1533)', in *La danza a Venezia nel Rinascimento*, ed. Alessandro Pontremoli and Patrizia La Rocca (Vicenza, 1993), 27-62.

or the canal, inside or outside the nunnery.¹⁶ In 1529 the patriarch Girolamo Querini took exception to the celebration of the feast in Sant'Apollinare, criticizing the parish priest for allowing 'players with trombones, shawms, and other music and dishonest songs'. The priest excused himself, claiming that the music was entirely at the initiative of the *scuola* of the Nativity of the Virgin in his church, but the warden of the *scuola* responded that he had permission from the patriarch's vicar to celebrate with singing and playing instruments.¹⁷ Since this was completely normal in Venetian churches (though not, one assumes, the dishonest songs), one suspects a personal feud was behind the report.

The fame of Venetian wind players was such that news of them reached Henry VIII when he was seeking musicians with a view towards remarriage. In 1539 the English agent in Venice, Edmund Harvel, arranged for a group of four brothers to travel to London with their instruments, supplying them with 160 gold crowns and letters of credit. The brothers (Alvise, John, Jasper, and Baptista) had requested permission from the Doge to leave, but it was not granted; nevertheless, since one brother was already in England (Anthony), they decided to take the risk. Harvel remarked that they 'are iiii brethern al excellent and estimid above al other in this cite in ther vertu'.¹⁸ Thus began the long career of the Bassano family at the English court, not only as players (initially, of recorders and sackbuts) but also as makers of instruments (see below). By 1545 all five brothers had been granted permanent residence as denizens, together with the three sons and a daughter of Alvise, and one son of Jasper.¹⁹

16 Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 416.

17 Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 417.

18 See Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993), 78-80. The Bassano brothers possibly made a first trip to England in 1528; on the family see David Lasocki with Roger Prior, *The Bassanos: Venetian Musicians and Instrument Makers in England, 1531-1665* (Aldershot, 1995), esp. ch. 1.

19 Payments to the men are listed in Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, vol. 7 (1485-1558) (Aldershot, 1993). In 1515 Alvise Bassano was a member of the Scuola Grande di San Marco, where he is called 'Alvise de Hieronimo da Bassan per sonador'; see Stefano Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers of Venice 1490-1630* (Venice, 2011), 138 n. 208. His daughter Laura married the son of Ambrogio Lupo, belonging to another dynasty of Italian musicians at the English court (p. 136).

Players of Soft Instruments

It may seem counterintuitive, but when the Venetian *scuole* hired musicians to perform in their processions in the open air, they did not engage those who played loud instruments but instead chose lutenists, harpists, and lira or viola players, as shown in Gentile Bellini's famous *Procession in Piazza San Marco*, painted for the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista in 1496 (see Figure 9.1). The reason is that they were accompanying the singers who follow them, and the sound was not meant to carry very far, since there were other groups of musicians in the procession. The musicians, shown prominently in the lower left corner of this enormous painting, which takes in San Marco and the whole Piazza, are those of the *scuola*. The lutenist, 'Maestro Nicolò', was the first to be hired, in 1482.²⁰

Venice was the home of several prominent lutenists, but apart from those who were hired by the *scuole*,²¹ it is difficult to pinpoint how they made their living; at least one, however, was a barber. Marco dall'Aquila applied for a privilege to print a lute tablature in 1505, for the benefit of 'those who delight in playing the lute, a most noble instrument belonging to various gentlemen'.²² Although the privilege was conceded, Marco did not in fact publish what would have been the first printed lute tablature. That honour fell to Francesco Spinacino, a native of Fossombrone, whose two books Ottaviano Petrucci published in 1507. Marco nevertheless achieved the greater fame, being frequently mentioned in literary works; Pietro Aretino called him 'il mio M. Marco da l'Aquila' in a letter of 1537, though whether M. is to be resolved as Messer or Maestro is not clear.²³ In 1524 a heated discussion arose between Marco

20 Glixon, *Honoring God and the City*, 103-4. On the painting see Howard Mayer Brown, 'On Gentile Bellini's *Processione in San Marco* (1496)', in *IMS Report of the Twelfth Congress Berkeley 1977*, ed. Daniel Heartz and Bonnie Wade (Kassel etc., 1981), 649-58, and Rodolfo Baroncini, 'Voci e strumenti nella "processione in piazza San Marco": Considerazioni metodologiche in margine a un celebre dipinto di Gentile Bellini', in *Fonti musicali italiane* 5 (2000), 77-87. On the identification of Maestro Nicolò as Nicolò Sconvelt, a lute maker, see below.

21 Jonathan Glixon, 'Lutenists in Renaissance Venice: Some Notes from the Archives', in *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 16 (1983), 15-26. Further documentation on musicians in Venice, including a biographical dictionary, is in Francesco Luisi, *Laudario Giustiniano*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1983), vol. 1, 413-524.

22 Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, MA, 1965), 11-12.

23 Francesco Zimei has gathered together many references to Marco in his article 'Marco dall'Aquila a Venezia e ritorno', in *Architettura e identità locali II*, ed. Howard Burns and Mauro Mussolin (Florence, 2013), 405-17.



FIGURE 9.1 *Gentile Bellini, Procession in Piazza San Marco, 1496 (detail of musicians), VENICE, GALLERIA DELL'ACCADEMIA. THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY*

Antonio Cavazzoni, Giovanni Spataro, and Pietro Aaron about Adrian Willaert's 'chromatic duo', *Quid non ebrietas*. Cavazzoni praised Willaert's ingenuity, but Spataro pointed out that the duo in fact ended with an augmented octave, as he had explained to Aaron. Aaron responded that he had consulted with 'uno maestro Marco da l'Aquila, sonatore digno de leuto', a man of 'multa intelgentia', who confirmed Spataro's opinion; this gratified Spataro, though he remarked that it seemed strange to him that a 'musico' should seek the light of intelligence from an instrumentalist.²⁴

Lutenists were freelance musicians; judging from Sanuto's diaries, there were plenty of opportunities to earn a living from the constant stream of banquets, plays, and processions. Many lutenists may have been members of the household of patrician families, and in some circles they would have participated in the learned *ridotti*, where literati and musicians gathered. The lutenist in Venice best known nowadays is Vincenzo Capirola, a Brescian gentleman whose beautifully illustrated lute book has been preserved.²⁵ Harpists, who are hardly known except from the records of the *scuole*, would have enjoyed the same opportunities as lutenists.

Viol players performing as groups began to replace the lute, viol, and harp ensemble in the 1530s, when the *scuole* decided to modernize their music. Although the terminology of their instruments is murky—*lironi*, *viole*, and *violoni* are the most common terms—it has been demonstrated that these were actually violins as well as viols, forming ensembles of four to six instruments.²⁶ Like other instrumentalists they too were freelance musicians. In 1550 the players hired by the Scuola Grande di San Rocco were admonished for playing canzoni and other lascivious works and were ordered to play motets and laude.²⁷ Clearly, they were accustomed to playing a secular repertory on other occasions.

24 For Spataro's letter to Cavazzoni of 10 November 1524, see *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky, and Clement A. Miller (Oxford, 1991), 318–21.

25 *Composizione di Meser Vincenzo Capirola. Lute-book (circa 1517)*, ed. Otto Gombosi (Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1955). The manuscript is available online at <ricercar.cesi.univ-tours.fr> (accessed 8 August 2014), where further literature is cited.

26 Rodolfo Baroncini, 'Contributo alla storia del violino nel sedicesimo secolo: I "sonadori di violini" della Scuola Grande di San Rocco a Venezia', in *Recercare* 6 (1994), 61–190. On the terminology, see pp. 78–91.

27 Glixon, *Honoring God and the City*, 133. For the use of stringed instruments in the *scuole*, see pp. 131–38.

Keyboard Players

Since all Venetian churches had an organ, there was no shortage of opportunities for organists in Venice, and we know the names of some of them.²⁸ The Crutched Friar Dionisio Memo occupied the first organ at San Marco from 1507 to 1516, when he went to England, where he was much in favour with Henry VIII until he fell under suspicion of spying in 1525, whereupon he fled to Portugal.²⁹ He was succeeded at San Marco by another Crutched Friar, Giovanni Armonio, known also as a poet and reciter of comedies, who remained in post until 1552, when Annibale Padovano was hired. The post of second organist (on the small organ) began to be held by composers with the appointment of Giulio Segni of Modena in 1530. He was succeeded by Baldassare da Imola, who served until the Flemish master Jacques Buus was appointed in 1541, after a stunning performance in the competition. Buus left in 1550, ostensibly to visit his family, but went instead to the court of Archduke Ferdinand at Vienna and never returned, despite vigorous efforts by the Procurators to retain him. Girolamo Parabosco, poet as well as musician and composer, who had been in Venice since 1541, followed him as organist.

The keyboard player Marco Antonio Cavazzoni, originally from Bologna, arrived in Venice in 1517 after a stint at the court of Urbino, but he also spent time in Rome, where Leo X much appreciated him. He was hired as a singer at San Marco in 1522 and kept that post throughout his long life. His publications, however, are of keyboard music; he applied for a printing privilege as 'maestro Antonio da Bologna', and his volume of *Recerchari, motetti, canzoni ... libro primo* was published in 1523.³⁰ We know that he was associated with the patricians Francesco Cornaro, to whom the book was dedicated, Pietro Bembo, and Lorenzo Bragadin. This may give us a clue to the occupations of other keyboard players: as house musicians, who played when music was wanted, and who could also teach music to the children of their patrons.³¹

28 There is ample documentation of payments to organists in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*; for names, see pp. 35-36. For San Marco, see Francesco Caffi, *Storia della musica sacra nella già cappella ducale di San Marco in Venezia dal 1318 al 1797*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1854), vol. 1, 68-109, though this is quite out of date.

29 Sanuto transmits the reports of the Venetian ambassador in vol. 23, cols. 126, 173, 176; vol. 24, cols. 391-2, 535, 538-39; vol. 25, cols. 136, 327, 386.

30 The most comprehensive article on him is still Oscar Mischiati's in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 23 (1979) (online at <www.treccani.it/biografie/>; accessed 8 August 2014).

31 On the keyboard player Giovanni da Legge, who came to a sad end at the English court, see *A Correspondence*, ed. Blackburn et al., 988-90. Sanuto mentions a Zuan Maria dal

Makers of Instruments

Who made the instruments that all these Venetian players used? Venice was a famous centre for the manufacture of instruments in the sixteenth century.³² The most successful and versatile of the early makers was Lorenzo da Pavia, who made organs, clavichords, lutes, and *viole da mano* (Spanish *viole* or *vihuelas*). His most famous client was Isabella d'Este, who in a correspondence comprising 182 letters detailed exactly what she wanted and when; she also used him as an agent to obtain works of art and books from the Aldine press.³³ Lorenzo was exceptional in several respects: he had no workshop, he built only high-quality instruments for the nobility, and he was adept at making a variety of instruments. Sadly, the only one to survive is an organ, with paper pipes, now in the Museo Correr in Venice.

Lute Makers

Venice was most famed for the manufacture of lutes. In the second half of the sixteenth century the craft was dominated by several families of German origin.³⁴ Information for the first half of the century is scarcer: mostly we know about lute makers from payments to someone designated 'lauter' in the records of the *scuole grandi* and *scuole piccole*, or from membership lists in the *mariegole* of the *scuole*, guild records, or tax records, if they rented houses or workshops.³⁵ A notable exception is Andrea de Bassis (1480-c. 1536). His will is missing, but the inventory of his estate has survived. It includes 97 finished lutes in various sizes and 200 sets of strings, as well as various parts for lutes. Most revealing, there were 50 lutes in the shop awaiting repair.³⁶ Evidently business was very good. Venetian lute makers also exported lute parts for assemblage elsewhere.³⁷

Clavicimbano, 'marito de Hieronima che canta', who was in the service of Leo X in 1519 (*Diarii*, vol. 28, col. 302).

32 The most comprehensive account is Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers of Venice*, which includes colour illustrations of surviving instruments. See also Stefano Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani, 1500-1800: Quattro secoli di liuteria e cembalaria* (Venice, 1987).

33 See Clifford M. Brown with the collaboration of Anna Maria Lorenzoni, *Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia: Documents for the History of Art and Culture in Renaissance Mantua* (Geneva, 1982). For a summary of the correspondence concerning instruments see Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, ch. 8.

34 See Jeffrey Kurtzman's chapter in this volume.

35 The number of individuals is considerable: twenty are listed in Pio's ch. 10, which covers the period 1490-1560, but there are eight others that did not come to his attention.

36 Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, ch. 11, with a complete transcription.

37 Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, ch. 9.

In 1526 the agent of the duke of Ferrara, Alfonso I d'Este, wrote to his master from Venice reporting that 'Il magnifico Sigismondo Maler Thedesco' promised to give him the special recipe for varnish that he used on his lutes. It was known that the famous German lute maker Laux Maler in Bologna had a brother in Venice, and that another lute maker, Marco Unverdorben, was a cousin of both of them.³⁸ Some of their lutes, much prized in later ages, have survived.³⁹ Newly discovered documents on Sigismondo and his family confirm the importance of the networks of German lute makers in early sixteenth-century Venice, whose families often intermarried. Sigismondo, who was evidently the elder (Laux, who had a different father, died in 1552), had been in Venice since the late fifteenth century; the tax records of 1514 show that he paid rent of 54 ducats a year for a house and shop in the Merceria, an area favoured by German artisans. By 1500 he had married Magdalena, the daughter of a 'Johannes Theutonicus from Augsburg' and the widow of another lute maker, Johannes Fraunhofer. She died in 1531, leaving a bequest to Agnola, who used to be her housekeeper; from other documents we know that she was the wife of Marco Unverdorben, who before he moved to Venice had worked with Laux Maler in Bologna. Sigismondo died in 1532 without sons, leaving his estate to his brother Laux and a bequest to his cousin Marco, who carried on the family tradition in Venice, founding his own dynasty.⁴⁰ Johannes Fraunhofer left two wills. In 1489 he calls himself 'Magister Joanes Fraunhofer cytharista', the son of another Johannes, of 'Merztal'. Thus he was both a lutenist and a lute maker (indicated by the title 'Magister'). At that time he was married to Prizita (= Birgit).⁴¹

One of the witnesses to Fraunhofer's 1489 will was 'Nicolaus Schonvelt', the lutenist portrayed in Figure 9.1.⁴² As mentioned above, he was hired as a lutenist by the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista in 1482; this is the first record of *scuole* employing instrumentalists. There he is only called 'Maestro Nicolò',

38 On Laux, see Sandro Pasqual, 'Laux Maler (c.1485-1552)', in *The Lute* 45 (2005), 71-97. On the Unverdorben family see Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, ch. 14 and pp. 386-88.

39 Marco Unverdorben's lute with ebony marquetry is in the Victoria & Albert Museum; see Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, fig. 94, pp. 252-53; it may also be seen online at <<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O154419/lute-body-unverdorben-max-or/>>. For references to other instruments see Lynda Sayce, art. 'Maler', *Grove Music Online*.

40 See Bonnie J. Blackburn, "'Il magnifico Sigismondo Maler thedesco" and his Family: The Venetian Connection', in *The Lute* 50 (2010; published 2013), 60-86. On Unverdorben's early career, see pp. 67-68.

41 On Fraunhofer, see Blackburn, "'Il magnifico Sigismondo Maler thedesco"', 64-66.

42 On Sconvelt see Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Making Lutes in Quattrocento Venice: Nicolò Sconvelt and his German Colleagues', in *Ricerca* 27 (2015), 23-59.

and in lieu of part of his salary he was permitted to live in one of the houses of the *scuola*. In 1501 he made a bequest *inter vivos* to the monastery of San Salvador of a tract of land; in return the friars were to celebrate a mass for him and his family in perpetuity. In his will of 1498 he named his partner, 'Hieronymus of Parma', who currently lived with him. Since Nicolò had no children, it was his partner who inherited the forms for making lutes. Nicolò's will of 1503 is more specific about this relationship: Hieronymus, now called 'de Cervitoribus' (possibly the German Hirschlein), and he had conducted a business for many years making lute strings and common lutes, and in the will Hieronymus is left half the business; the rest is to go to charity. Nicolò clearly is quite old, confirming his identity with the lutenist in Figure 9.1. He died in 1503.⁴³

The discovery of these early German lute makers in Venice allows us to identify the makers of the 'old lutes' listed in the 1566 inventory of the famous Fugger collection of musical instruments.⁴⁴ It is striking that nearly all of them can be linked with the Maler-Unverdorben-Fraunhoffer family and Nicolò Sconvelt, indicating that Raymond Fugger the Elder probably purchased them in Venice or had his agent do so. Of the nineteen 'old' lutes, two are by Sigismondo Maler, one by Laux Maler, three by Nicolò Sconvelt, one by Marco Unverdorben, one by Laux Bosch (= Luca Pos, Laux's nephew), and no fewer than four by Hans 'Fronhofer', who can now be identified as Johannes Fraunhoffer.⁴⁵ Although they were old, and perhaps no longer playable, they were kept because they were objects of beauty, collector's items.

Makers of Bowed String Instruments

Numerous Venetian paintings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries feature angels playing lutes and viols at the base of the pedestal on which the Madonna sits, but the iconographical documentation is much easier to come by than the makers of these instruments. When Isabella d'Este in Mantua wanted a *viola da mano*, she turned to Venice, as we have seen. Lorenzo da Pavia accommodated her wish, but he declined to fulfil Alfonso I d'Este's order in 1499 for five viols; bowed instruments required a different technology.⁴⁶ The records of

43 He also appears in a second painting made for the *scuola*, Lazzaro Bastiani's *Donation of the Relic of the True Cross to the Scuola*, likewise in the Accademia. Here he is standing over a lute with raised hands, holding three lute strings; see the illustration in Blackburn, 'Making Lutes in Quattrocento Venice', 37.

44 Richard Schaal, 'Die Musikinstrumenten-Sammlung von Raimund Fugger d.J.', in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 21 (1964), 212-16.

45 See Blackburn, 'Il magnifico Sigismondo Thedesco', 70-72.

46 Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 198.

those who could make these instruments in Venice before 1550 are even scantier than for lute makers. We know the name of Bartolomeo Zamberti because he was the creditor of a singer at San Marco, Giovanni Blanco, who failed to pay for his lira, with case, worth 4½ ducats.⁴⁷ In 1514 Piero 'che fa lire' rented a workshop for 20 ducats and Alessandro Stella 'fa lironi' paid for his mother's rent.⁴⁸ Girguol 'fa lironi' became a member of the Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Misericordia in the early sixteenth century.⁴⁹ The instruments are variously called 'lire', 'lironi', and 'lirini'. Better known as a centre for making string instruments was Brescia. Some makers came to Venice from Bergamo, for example Francesco Linarolo (1502-67), who founded a long-lived dynasty.⁵⁰

Makers of Keyboard Instruments

The multi-talented Lorenzo da Pavia built organs, harpsichords, and clavichords, and was at Isabella d'Este's beck and call to repair clavichords for her in 1497 and 1514 (he remarked that one looked as if it had been in the 'hands of dogs', and he feared for it in the hot climate of Mantua, in addition to transport problems).⁵¹ In 1505 he produced for her 'uno clavacinbalo grande con doi registri', and in 1506 Isabella bought from him a portative organ; Lorenzo also made a clavichord for Leo X in 1514.⁵² He seems to have had few competitors in Venice in the early sixteenth century; we find mention of 'Stefano dai clavizimbani', a member of the Scuola Grande di San Marco in 1537; a 'Baldessar cimbaner' whose son made a will in 1520; 'Bartolomio caramal cimbaner' in 1531; 'Hieronimo dai arpicordi' (will of 1549); and a 'Iacobo de Gottardo dai organi' (will of c. 1540).⁵³ Sources originating outside Venice reveal more names. A document from Mantua of 1513 mentions a clavichord made by Maestro Aloysio venetiano.⁵⁴ An imaginative instrument maker, unfortunately nameless, was the maestro from whom the Marchese Federico Gonzaga ordered an organ in Venice in 1520. The ambassador reported that it wasn't purely an organ but it could play sounds like an organ, a clavichord, flutes, and

47 Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 112. On the makers, see ch. 5.

48 Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*.

49 Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 322.

50 Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, ch. 7.

51 Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 206.

52 Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 210.

53 Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 420. For the names of others in the Veneto, gathered from documents, see Renato Lunelli, *Studi e documenti di storia organaria veneta* (Florence, 1973).

54 The Marchese Francesco Gonzaga tells his son Federico that the clavichord is no longer needed and can be returned. A. Bertolotti, *Musici alla Corte dei Gonzaga in Mantova dal secolo XV al XVIII* (Milan, [1890]), 30.

bagpipes, and it was in the shape of a clavichord; everything was ready except the bagpipes, and the maestro would bring it to Mantua in person.⁵⁵ The Venetian organ maker Marco Tinto was hired by Treviso Cathedral in 1530.⁵⁶ Unluckily for him, another Venetian, Andrea Vicentino, was engaged to evaluate the work, and his report was damning: he criticized the seating of the two largest organ pipes, which moreover were made from poor lead; the bellows were too small; some of the flute stops were not good; two tenor pipes were ruined at the bottom; and the whole organ needed tuning. Tinto disputed the judgement, so another Venetian organ maker, Vincenzo Colombo, was called in, upon whose verdict the chapter agreed to pay Tinto what he was still owed.⁵⁷

Sanuto mentions a German organ maker on 18 May 1533 in connection with a feast of the Compagnia dei Cortesi headed by Agostino Querini. The members brought their lord to the church of San Vidal, where he was greeted by thirty salvos of artillery and rockets, and then they entered the church accompanied by 'trombe squarzade et altri instrumenti assai'. The mass was said by their chaplain 'con soni, canti, musica eccellentissima' and 'the organ that the German made, with many registers'. This organ, Sanuto reported, had been sold to the Livrieri family for 120 ducats in order to be sent to Constantinople, together with a German who played it, who is to be paid 10 ducats a month (a considerable sum); they wanted to sell it to the Sultan.⁵⁸ This is perhaps the same German organist who played at San Geminiano on 20 April 1533, to Sanuto's admiration ('fa tante coxe'), but his identity remains mysterious; it is too early for Jacques Buus, unless he had visited earlier than his audition in 1541.⁵⁹

Later in the century the Trasuntino family were famous makers of harpsichords and clavichords, some of which have survived.⁶⁰ The dynasty was founded by Alessandro Trasuntino, from Bergamo, mentioned by Pietro Aretino in a letter of 1540 as 'Messer Alessandro dagli organi', who was making a harpsichord for Titian in exchange for the master's portrait of him.⁶¹ The only

55 Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1980), vol. 1, 173, doc. 4.

56 Giovanni D'Alessi, *La Cappella musicale del Duomo di Treviso (1300-1633)* (Treviso, 1954), 96.

57 D'Alessi, *La Cappella musicale*, 96-97.

58 Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 58, col. 182.

59 Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 58, col. 60.

60 Denzil Wraight, art. 'Trasuntino', *Grove Music Online*.

61 Letter of 7 April 1540, printed in the *Primo libro de le lettere di Pietro Aretino*; cited in Tofolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani*, 164.

other maker of the first half of the century with surviving instruments is Domenico da Pesaro; Zarlino ordered from him a harpsichord with divided sharps, producing quarter tones.⁶²

Considering that all the organs in Venetian churches constantly needed tuning and repairs, as the accounts show, there must have been many more makers. For example, in 1536 at San Silvestro, the organist received a salary of 6 ducats a year, and the organ tuner 1 ducat, but at the great Dominican church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in 1534 the organist got 16 ducats.⁶³ His duties would have been much more extensive; many of the Doges are buried in this church.

Makers of Wind Instruments

Members of the Bassano family had a thriving business in making instruments in the second half of the century, but it is not clear how early they started. Of the five brothers who as we have seen took up residence in England in 1539 as players of recorders and sackbuts, one was already working there as a maker of instruments: Anthony was paid by the court in 1538 as 'maker of dyverse Instruments of musyke'. He continued to be paid until 1540, but then joined his brothers as a player.⁶⁴

Scattered references to wind instruments in Venice help document their purchase if not their manufacture there. In 1506 Baptista da Verona was given money to travel to Venice to buy *fiauti* (recorders) for Alfonso I d'Este.⁶⁵ In 1541 a German brass-instrument maker in Nuremberg mentions instruments that have arrived in his shop from Lyons and Venice.⁶⁶ The famous collection of the Accademia Filarmonica in Verona included instruments made in Venice or at least purchased there. In 1545 'corne mute cinque portate da Venetia' were bought for 15 lire, 6 soldi.⁶⁷ 1548 saw the purchase of 'una copia di faifer' that Giovanni Nasco had brought from Venice.⁶⁸ The Germanic-sounding word 'faifer' suggests that at least some of these instruments may have been imported from Germany. Perhaps they were transverse flutes; in 1530 in Ferrara, it was

62 Denzil Wraight, art. 'Domenico da Pesaro', *Grove Music Online*.

63 Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 216 and 200.

64 Ashbee, *Records*, 272-83.

65 Quoted in David Lasocki, 'A Listing of Inventories and Purchases of Flutes, Recorders, Flageolets, and Tabor Pipes, 1388-1630', in *Musicque de Joye: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Renaissance Flute and Recorder Consort, Utrecht 2003*, ed. David Lasocki (Utrecht, 2005), 419-511 at 426.

66 Lasocki, 'A Listing', 433.

67 Giuseppe Turrini, *L'Accademia Filarmonica di Verona dalla fondazione (maggio 1543) al 1600 e il suo patrimonio musicale antico* (Verona, 1941), 37.

68 Turrini, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, 57.

specified that the German *flauti* were ‘played in the middle of the flute and not in the head, as we play ours’.⁶⁹ In 1517 the Cardinal Luigi d’Aragona took the opportunity, while travelling from Nuremberg to Constance, to stop in Valz to purchase ‘flutes, shawms and crumhorns, which are made there in an excellent manner’.⁷⁰

Evidence that recorders were imported from Germany comes from an unexpected source: the diagrams of recorders in chapter 4 of Silvestro Ganassi’s *Opera intitulata Fontegara* (Venice, 1535), a treatise on the art of playing the recorder (*flauto*). Here he warns the reader that the recorders of various makers differ, not only in the placement of the holes but also the range of the notes and the ‘wind’ (i.e. the bore), and for this reason he will show how to distinguish them by their maker’s marks. Three kinds of recorders are shown: with a B, a Gothic A, and a clover leaf; each includes a chart of the fingering and notes. The mark B has not been identified, but the A mark belongs to the Schnitzer family, of Munich and Nuremberg; Sigmund Schnitzer made not only recorders but also flutes and trombones. The clover leaf mark has been found on recorders made by the Rauch family, from Schratzenbach in Bavaria.⁷¹

A Music Teacher

It was not only professionals who needed musical instruments. In his treatise on playing the recorder, *Opera intitulata Fontegara*, Ganassi speaks directly to the would-be player, addressing him as ‘tu’. For Ganassi it is important not only to show how to place the fingers on the various recorders, but also how to play stylishly, imitating the human voice. The exemplar of this treatise in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel (3.3 Musica) has his autograph letter to Messer Domenego on the initial flyleaf, in which Ganassi says he is sending the treatise, accompanied by 300 handwritten cadences, all on the same subject, and some ‘lessons for the lira’ together with the rules for playing the viol, which he had prepared for a Florentine gentleman; they cost 1 scudo each, and if Domenego wishes to keep the treatises on playing string

69 Lasocki, ‘A Listing’, 428–29.

70 Quoted in Martin Kirnbauer, “si chiama fagotto”: Concerning a Drawing of Musical Instruments by Giovanni Ricamatori, otherwise Known as Giovanni da Udine, in *Early Music* 39 (2011), 217–28 at 224 and n. 44.

71 On these marks and their makers, see David Lasocki, ‘Tracing the Lives of Players and Makers of the Flute and Recorder in the Renaissance’, in *Musique de Joye*, ed. Lasocki, 363–405 at 374–75.

instruments, Ganassi will prepare another copy. Ganassi published only the second of these treatises, dividing them into two separate publications, *Regola Rubertina: Regola che insegna sonar de viola d'archo tastada* (Venice, 1542) and *Letitione seconda pur della prattica di sonare il violone d'arco da tasti* (Venice, 1543). The books were designed to be 'very useful to those who like to learn how to play'. They were dedicated to the Florentine exiles and fanatical music lovers Ruberto Strozzi and Neri Capponi, both of whom Ganassi had taught.⁷²

Ganassi is very much the teacher, and I propose that the title page of the *Opera intitolata Fontegara* shows his music school (see Figure 9.2). Ganassi typeset and published his own treatises, which included making the woodcuts. Here we see, gathered around a table, two men and a boy playing recorders and a man singing, all from music books. To the right, beating time, is probably Ganassi himself, holding a soprano recorder. On the wall hang three sizes of viols and a lute, and on the ledge at the front rest two cornetti. Nor it is surprising that viols should be shown in a book on recorder playing, because 'the diminutions in the treatise are apt for all wind and string instruments and all those who enjoy singing'.

Professional musicians in Venice must have been in demand as music teachers, though we lack documentation. Who taught Giorgione and Sebastiano del Piombo to play the lute—Sebastiano so expertly that he could 'play all voices without any companion'?⁷³ Who taught the courtesans, whose musical skills were indispensable to their profession? Who were the many men and women portrayed with lutes?⁷⁴ Who were the Venetians who patronized the instrument makers?

72 Ganassi, the son of a barber, had been a member of the Pifferi del Doge since 1517. For the most recent information on his life see Martin Kirnbauer, 'Armando Fiabenes *lettera su Ganassi*', in *Glareana* 61/2 (2012), 40-54 (with much new information but without documentation) and Kirnbauer, 'Ganassi im Kontext – Bemerkungen zur Biographie von Silvestro Ganassi und seinem musikalischen Umfeld', to be published in *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 35/36; I am grateful to Dr Kirnbauer for sending me both articles.

73 As Vasari claimed; on Giorgione and Sebastiano as musicians, see Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Myself when Young: Becoming a Musician in Renaissance Italy—or Not', in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 181 (2012), 169-203 at 172-73.

74 See Tracy E. Cooper, 'The Place of Music in the Artist's Home', in *The Music Room*, ed. Howard and Moretti, 51-75, and Howard, 'The Role of Music'.



FIGURE 9.2 Title page of Silvestro Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara* (Venice, 1535). PHOTO: AUTHOR

Owners of Musical Instruments

'Four *lironi*, five viols of various kinds, four lutes with their cases, a silver lute with its silver bow': these were the instruments named in the inventory of the estate of Lucietta di Girolamo Tiretta when she died in 1529. We do not know who she is, except that she belonged to the citizen class. Similarly, the jeweller Giovanni Fioretti owned a lute with its case (1528), and the 'comandador' Jacopo Franco owned a lute, a *lira*, and a *monacordo* (1526).⁷⁵ The ability to play all three instruments is confirmed by the inventory of the priest Franciscus de Magistris, a canon of San Marco, who owned two lutes, one with a case, a *lira*, and a *manacordo* (1530).⁷⁶ From 1525 to the end of the century, the surviving inventories list many instruments owned by Venetians. Among the keyboard instruments are found forty-eight harpsichords, nineteen clavichords, twenty-nine *manacordi*, five organs, and one spinet. The lute turns up most frequently: eighty-four are listed. Few wind instruments were kept in homes, with the exception of recorders, of which there were twenty-six. Bowed string instruments fare a bit better: five *citere*, four *lire*, seven *lironi*, twelve *viole*, two *violini*, and seven *violoni*.⁷⁷ These inventories are only a small but perhaps representative portion of the musical instruments owned by Venetians.

To own and to play a musical instrument was the mark of a cultured person, whether of the citizen or the patrician class. Instruments were treasured possessions, not only for music-making but also as collector's items; many were very beautiful. When the German printer Anton Kolb (the publisher of Jacopo de' Barbari's famous map of Venice) wanted to reward the witnesses of his will, all merchants in the Fontego de' Tedeschi, he could think of nothing more appropriate than to give each of them one of the lutes in his collection.⁷⁸

75 These notices come from post-mortem inventories of estates. Gastone Vio, 'La diffusione degli strumenti musicali nelle case dei nobili, cittadini e popolani nel XVI secolo a Venezia', in *Strumenti musicali a Venezia nella storia e nell'arte dal XIV al XVIII secolo*, ed. Stefano Toffolo (Cremona, 1995), 47-67 at 55. Vio supposes that the silver lute may be a brooch rather than an instrument.

76 Vio, 'La diffusione', 55.

77 See the summary in Vio, 'La diffusione', 64.

78 Venice, Archivio di Stato, Notarile Testamenti 128, no. 157 (notary Francesco Bianco), fols. 67^v-68^r, dated 12 October 1541: 'uno liuto de li miei per cadauno in segno de amor'. He died on 4 November 1541.

Instruments, Instrument Makers, and Instrumentalists in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century

Jeffrey Kurtzman

Bonnie Blackburn, in her chapter on instrumentalists and instrument makers, and Eleanor Selfridge-Field, in her chapter on Venetian instrumental music in the sixteenth century, set the stage for the widespread use and diffusion of musical instruments in Venice. As they demonstrate, instruments were essential to civic, social, institutional and religious contexts throughout the breadth and depth of Venetian society. By the middle of the century, the city was awash in musical instruments, not only because of their ubiquitous use in so many different circumstances, but also because of the growth of the city's industrial base throughout the century. The music, both improvised and published in Venice, for the various families of instruments described below is discussed in Selfridge-Fields's chapter. Music printing was one of several major industries on which Venice relied for its economic well-being in the sixteenth-century.¹ Another was the manufacture of musical instruments, already active in the late fifteenth century, but growing substantially as the sixteenth century progressed and the Venetian economy, deprived of much of its Mediterranean trade and ravaged by war, was forced to redirect its energies toward both agriculture on the mainland and industrial production in Venice itself.

Lute Makers, Players, and Plucked Instruments

Venice's established trading routes and trading partners in Europe favored the industrial economy well, since they facilitated the importation of raw and partially finished materials needed for manufacturing and promoted the export in large quantities of the finished products of Venetian industry to Spain, northern Europe, and England. Where this is especially important for the subject of the present chapter is the major role played in Venetian industry and its econ-

1 See also the contribution by Sherri Bishop to the present volume.

omy by the city's lute makers.² As Bonnie Blackburn points out, the most prominent lute makers in Venice emigrated there from Germany, more specifically, from Bavaria, and especially from the region around the city of Füssen, one of the important trading centres on the various routes through the Alps.³ Whether because of an oversupply of lute makers there or insufficient sales of their own products (the two problems are obviously complementary and mutually reinforcing), numerous young men left the region to come to Venice and to take up apprenticeships with lute makers (called variously *lauteri*, *liuteri*, and *ludieri*) already active in the city. Especially helpful to these German immigrants was the *Fondaco dei tedeschi*, the German trading centre, housed in a large building on the eastern bank of the curve in the Grand Canal just northeast of the Rialto bridge, containing offices and warehouse space and enabling the contacts essential for trade north of the Alps. German merchants resident in Venice had over a long period of time built up expansive networks of wholesale and retail merchants, agents, shippers, trading posts, and warehouses along the transportation routes over the mountains and at their final destinations. It is only natural that many of the lute workshops, as Blackburn mentions, were located in the *Mercerie*, the bustling business street connecting the Rialto bridge and area with the Piazza San Marco.

Lute making constituted a specialty within the *Marzeri*, the guild of craftsmen and retailers, with the successful workshops performing both functions. Like all such commercial and devotional organizations in Venice (there was always a devotional aspect to every commercial organization), the *Marzeri* had detailed sets of rules, requirements for membership, officers, obligations, fees, and fines for violations, overseen ultimately by the Venetian government. Thus the *lauteri* worked within a long-established framework of manufacturing and trade, taking advantage of the several hundred years through which the artisan and manufacturing professions of the city had gradually taken shape and flourished.

Once the apprentices became masters themselves, they could establish their own workshops and train new apprentices who were often their own close relatives and German townsmen. Thus several families became the most prominent and active in the profession for a period of several generations, as we also see with the recently developed Venetian printing industry. These family dynasties, like royal dynasties, intermarried—the daughter(s) or sister(s) of

2 Much of the information in my discussion of lute makers and instruments derives from Stefano Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers of Venice 1490-1630* (Venice, 2011) and Stefano Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani, 1500-1800: Quattro secoli di liuteria e cembalaria* (Venice, 1987).

3 Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani*, 50-51.

the owner of one shop married the son(s) or brother(s) of owners of other shops, or apprentices in those shops. The daughters and sisters of long-time workers did likewise. Despite the fact that these workshops were competitors in the marketplace, they were also intricately intertwined by close social relationships (for example, members of one family serving as godparents to newborns from other families or serving as witnesses at christenings, weddings, and the dictation or reading of testaments). Bonnie Blackburn has already described the Maler family from Bavaria, whose activity was primarily in the first half of the sixteenth century. Of longer duration was the Unverdorben dynasty, the founder of which, Marco (I), took on as an apprentice in Bologna Sigismondo (II) Maler in 1530.⁴ The relationships between the Unverdorbens, the Malers, the Tieffenbruckers, and other *lauteri* were manifold and deep. The Unverdorbens's activity as lute makers lasted until after 1624.

The records of the Tieffenbrucker family inform us about the most prominent and longest surviving clan of lute makers. A Venetian lute by Ulrich Tieffenbrucker was signed in 1521, and the earliest document attesting to the presence in Venice of someone from this Bavarian family is a marriage dowry contract from 1529.⁵ The brothers Magno (I) and Rigo (I) founded two different branches of the family with two separate workshops in Venice in the period 1530-40, while a third branch of the family, active in the nearby Venetian-controlled city of Padua, descended from a third brother, Leonardo, whose son Wendelin (Vendelino in Italian) was the first well-known *louter* of that branch.⁶ The interactions, both business and familial, including apprenticeships, marriages, contracts, investments, and litigation among these three branches of the family and other prominent and more modest *lauteri*, such as Giovan Battista dalla Ponta, Laux Maler, Martin (II) Sellas (1541-81), Tommaso Spilman (fl. 1565-1602), Andrea Elmi, Zuane and Magno Techler, Andrea Hartung, and Iacomo Heisele, are dizzying to try to follow. The German surnames of all of these individuals, except for dalla Ponta, illustrate the close origins and connections among the immigrant families.

4 The Unverdorben family is the subject of Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, ch. 14, 251-55.

5 See Giulio Ongaro, 'The Tieffenbruckers and the Business of Lute-making in Sixteenth-Century Venice', in *Galpin Society Journal* 44 (1991), 46-54, esp. 46. The most extensive and recent information on the family is in Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 263-343.

6 A partial reconstruction of Magno Tieffenbrucker's family tree is in Ongaro, 'The Tieffenbruckers', 48; a family tree showing the two Venetian branches into the seventeenth century is in Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 264, while the Paduan branch is shown on 332. The family's activity as luthiers ended in 1626 with the retirement of Magno (III) and the passing of his Paduan workshop to Andrea Hartung.

In addition to those *lauteri* already mentioned, other prominent makers in the sixteenth century included Zuane Hieber (1542-1612), the Rainer family (active from 1576 to at least 1641), the Sellas family (active from the early 1560s to well into the seventeenth century), the Ech (Hec) family in Padua and Venice (active from the 1550s to c. 1642),⁷ Dorigo Spilman (1569-1629), and numerous others less well known.⁸ The quantity of lute makers and the durability of several family dynasties testify to a continuing high demand for their products. The wills and inventories of goods of several of these makers reveal that some achieved the level of wealth of the merchant middle class, substantially more than most craftsmen.⁹

But apart from investments and dowries, this degree of wealth was not achieved just through the making and sale of complete lutes to individual local consumers or well-heeled buyers from Italian courts. A major factor in the development and growth of the lute-making industry was the standardization of instruments—their shapes and sizes. Luthiers followed the assembly-line pattern of shipbuilding at the Venetian Arsenal, where job specialization and standardization of design and parts allowed new ships to be constructed with remarkable rapidity.¹⁰ The majority of what luthiers manufactured in Venice was lute parts rather than complete lutes. Employees who each specialized in only one or a few parts produced mass quantities of virtually identical separate pieces, such as strings, rosettes, necks, pegs, sounding boards, bridges, etc. These could be placed compactly in pre-fabricated shipping boxes, measured to fit precisely in the compartments of the holds of Venetian merchant ships for export abroad where the parts could be assembled into complete lutes by luthiers at the point of destination.¹¹ The vast majority of such parts were, in fact, sent abroad, whether to Spain—a very large market—or north of the Alps and to England. The advantage of this system was, of course, the significant reduction in the cost of a finished lute to the customer. It also allowed Venetian

7 The Ech family tree is shown in Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 358.

8 A list of makers from up to the 1650s is given in Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 345-73. The family tree of the Rainer family is shown on 349. Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani*, 50-100, lists 130 Venetian lute makers between 1500 and 1800, the majority of German origin. I am grateful to Claire Fontijn for information about the prolongation of the Sellas family.

9 Ongaro, 'The Tieffenbruckers', 49-51.

10 Frederic C. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1934).

11 Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, discusses the manufacture of lute parts for shipping and assembly elsewhere on 215-21. The post-mortem inventories of the assets of Andrea de Bassis (1535) and Moisé Tieffenbrucker (1581), enumerating large quantities of individual parts in their shops and homes, are transcribed in Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 229-33 and 291-311. See also Ongaro, 'The Tieffenbruckers', 49-50.

lute makers to dominate the European market and for Venetian instruments to have wide influence over local production elsewhere. Venetian lutes were so highly valued that their bodies were re-used for generations, with new tops, braces, and peg boxes replacing the old ones.¹²

At the same time as they were engaged in the mass production of cheap lutes, luthiers also made complete instruments of very high quality, sometimes lavishly inlaid with ivory, turtle shell or other decorative materials and with intricately carved rosettes and pegboxes. These are often the kind of instruments that survive in museums, since there was always more incentive to care for and preserve ornate and expensive instruments than ordinary ones.

The sixteenth-century lute was an instrument typically of eleven strings comprising five double courses and a sixth single course in the treble, with the lower three courses tuned in octaves. Tuning (figuring from the bottom) was normally in the intervals of a fourth, fourth, third, fourth, and fourth. All strings were plucked by the fingers rather than a plectrum, and frets allowed for varying the pitch of each string or course. In the last quarter of the century seven, eight, and even ten-course lutes became common, with the new lower courses tuned diatonically by step rather than by larger intervals.¹³ In such lutes it also became common to raise the overall pitch of the instrument to improve the sound of the lower strings, but in order to avoid breaking the top string under the increased tension, to substitute a thicker string, lowered by an octave for a better sound (re-entrant tuning). The increased sonority and flexibility in the lower register reflected the increasing use of the lute as an accompaniment for the solo voice or duets, for solo instruments or instruments in duet, and for lute consorts comprising mostly smaller instruments.¹⁴

The increasing size of instruments and number of strings led to the invention of the archlute—a lute with extended body and additional diapason strings off the fingerboard attached to a separate bridge. The lutenist Alessandro Piccinini claimed to have invented it in 1594 with the help of the luthier Cristoforo Eberle in Padua, heir to the shop of Vendelino Tieffenbrucker. But according to Piccinini, the instrument was unsuccessful because of the separate bridge, and he had others built with an extended neck, which succeeded admirably.¹⁵ The ‘exquisite’ instrument Piccinini described is known as either

12 I am grateful to August Denhard for this observation.

13 Klaus Wachsmann et al., ‘Lute’, *Grove Music Online* (accessed 5 August 2014).

14 Kevin Mason, *The Chitarrone and its Repertoire in Early Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Aberystwyth, 1989), 21–25.

15 Piccinini’s claim, first published in his *Intavolatura di liuto et di chitarrone* of 1623, is translated in Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 337 and in Mason, *The Chitarrone*, 26–27.

a *theorbo* or by its humanistic name, the *chitarrone*. There is evidence of such an instrument as early as 1587;¹⁶ and two different descriptions of the intermezzi to the play *La Pellegrina*, performed in 1589 for the Florentine wedding of Grand Duke Ferdinando I and Christine of Lorraine, mention multiple *chitarroni*.¹⁷ The *theorbo*, with its long neck, quickly became very popular as the bass instrument for accompanying voices and other instruments, forming one of the principal basso continuo instruments of seventeenth-century solo and few-voiced music, opera, and instrumental compositions.

Most luthiers specialized in plucked instruments and did not build bowed string instruments, as noted in the example of Lorenzo da Pavia cited by Blackburn in Chapter 9, but lutes were not the only type of plucked instrument they made. Spanish influence was strong in Italy through Spanish control of both the Kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan. The vast amount of trade in instruments with Spain, especially through Valencia, also led to the introduction and influence of Spanish instruments into Italy, especially the *vihuela da mano* (the plucked *vihuela*) and the smaller four-course guitar (*chitarra*).¹⁸ These instruments competed with the lute in popularity throughout Italy, but especially in Spanish dominated areas. As the emphasis on solo singing grew in the more sophisticated musical circles served by the music printing industry late in the century, the five-course guitar, now called the *chitarra spagnola*, became a favorite instrument for accompanying the voice, without supplanting the four-course guitar, however.

The guitar, with its characteristic figure-8 shape, was a fretted instrument with either a flat or rounded back played without a plectrum. It was diffused throughout Europe and was immensely popular in Italy in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, threatening to displace the lute for accompanying solo song. Many of the surviving instruments were made with precious materials, such as ebony, ivory, and turtle shell. Venetian luthiers responded to the increased demand for these instruments by mass-producing them in large quantities, and taking advantage of their trading connections for lutes with Spain, shipped many of them to Spain itself. Thus some of the most prominent makers of Spanish guitars sold in Spain during this period were Venetian

16 Douglas Alton Smith, *A History of the Lute from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (s.l.: Lute Society of America, 2002), 82.

17 Mason, *The Chitarrone*, 17-18, 27; Howard Mayer Brown, *Sixteenth Century Instrumentation: Music for the Florentine Intermedii* (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology, 1973), 28, 37, 108, 112-17, 121, 123-32.

18 A fundamental resource for the Renaissance guitar is James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford, 2002).

luthiers.¹⁹ Among the most beautiful extant instruments are those made by the Venetians Giorgio and Matteo Sellas.²⁰ Like the lute, the guitar's gut frets were tied rather than inlaid so the tuning could be adjusted. The guitar did not have the lute's bass range, but was essentially a tenor and low treble instrument.²¹ Nevertheless, it too functioned as a common basso continuo instrument in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, often serving as the only instrument accompanying solo songs in both Italian and Spanish. In the early seventeenth century we find the first prints of music for the guitar as a solo instrument.²²

Small, portable harps were another instrument made by Venetian luthiers. As Blackburn notes, one is pictured in Gentile Bellini's famous painting *Procession in Piazza San Marco* of 1496, depicting the devotional procession of one of Venice's *scuole grandi* (see Figure 9.1). The harp, together with the lute and a bowed string instrument, typically called a *lira* or *viola*, comprised a standard ensemble of the *scuole* at this time.²³ The Florentine theorist and composer Vincenzo Galilei described in 1581 a harp with 58 strings, arranged in two parallel ranks, with each rank split at the middle between diatonic and chromatic pitches.²⁴ These harps were difficult to play, so that harps with three ranks comprising two parallel ranks of diatonic pitches and one of chromatic pitches were developed to solve the problem. Like the lute, the harp was used to accompany voices or other instruments, and toward the turn of the seventeenth century often formed part of the basso continuo ensemble or as an obbligato solo instrument in early opera.

Other plucked instruments made by luthiers included the *mandola* or *mandora*. It was similar to the lute, with an almond-shaped body, but smaller. It had four courses of strings whose tuning alternated fifths and fourths, was

19 Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 45.

20 Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani*, 41-43.

21 James Tyler, *A Guide to Playing the Baroque Guitar* (Bloomington-Indianapolis, 2011), 3.

22 A list of seventeenth-century Italian printed and manuscript sources of guitar music and songbooks with guitar accompaniment is given in Tyler and Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music*, 86-99.

23 Jonathan Glixon has documented such ensembles employed by the *scuole grandi* in 'Lutenists in Renaissance Venice: Some Notes from the Archives', in *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 16 (1983), 15-26. A list of lutenists and luthiers who appear in the documents of the *scuole grandi* from 1482-1600 is given on p. 26.

24 Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani*, 44-45, 65-66 (including a photo of a seventeenth-century example); Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music*, trans. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven-London, 2003), 357-61; Sue Carole DeVale et al., 'Harp', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 6 August 2014).

normally played with a plectrum, and was used principally for popular dance music.²⁵ Another widely diffused instrument was the cittern (*cetra*), produced in many sizes with four-twelve metal stings.²⁶ According to the Venetian Simone Balsamino, it was very sweet and suitable for playing madrigals an octave or an octave-and-a-fourth higher.²⁷ Numerous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century theorists mention the instrument.

The names of lute players active in Venice in the sixteenth century are largely unknown to us. Most, of course, were amateurs, but there had to have been a large number of professionals as well who were hired for banquets, parties, *compagnie delle calze*, academies, private entertainments, or by the *scuole grandi* and *scuole piccole* and by individual churches.²⁸ Some of them were the *lauteri* themselves, and many probably worked in the luthier shops. Accounts of institutions give us some names. But the majority of amateur performers were female, many of whom accompanied their singing with the lute, though their lack of professional employment means that very few records of their activities have come down to us. Female lutenists about whom we do have some information because of their social status are Gaspara Stampa (c. 1523-54), a poet and singer of songs to her own lute accompaniment, as well as her sister Cassandra; Franceschina Bellamano, and Irena dai Spilimbergo (1538-59). Male lutenists well known in Venice in their own time were Domenico Bianchini (c. 1510-c.1576), Valentino Bakfark (c. 1526-76), the Adrian Willaert student Perissone Cambio (c. 1520-65), Giulio Cesare Barbetta (c. 1540 to after 1603), and Giovanni Antonio Terzi (fl. 1593-99).²⁹

25 Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani*, 43; Renato Meucci, 'New Light on the Origin of the Chitarrone and related Instruments', in *Laute und Theorbe. Symposium im Rahmen der 31. Tage Alter Musik in Herne 2006* (Munich-Salzburg, 2009), 10-29, esp. 27-29.

26 Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani*, 46-47, including a photo of a seventeenth-century example.

27 Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani*, 46-47.

28 Detailed documentation of the employment of instrumentalists of all kinds by the *scuole grandi*, by the *scuole piccole*, and by churches is found in Elena Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco: Organizzazione e prassi della musica nelle chiese di Venezia nel Rinascimento* (Florence, 1998) and Jonathan Glixon, *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260-1807* (New York, 2003). The *scuole piccole* are the subject of Gastone Vio, *Le Scuole Piccole nella Venezia dei Dogi. Note d'archivio per la storia delle confraternite veneziane* (Venice, 2004). See also the chapters by Bonnie Blackburn and Eleanor Selfridge-Field in the present volume.

29 Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani*, 37; Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 333; Smith, *A History of the Lute*, 102-5, 138-40, 147-49.

Music for the lute and the other plucked instruments was published in the form of intabulations. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, alphabet notation, designating single chords by letters of the alphabet, was developed for the Spanish guitar, though it could also be used by other instruments.³⁰

Bowed String Instruments

Bowed string instruments comprised another facet of the large instrument-making industry in Venice. Because bowed instruments were of so many different types, sizes and tunings, and because they often played in consorts that required a variety of specific sizes and matching of tuning, each instrument had to be manufactured individually, and makers could not mass produce parts for assembly elsewhere as with lutes. Consequently, there wasn't a category of 'cheap viols' as there was of 'cheap lutes'; nevertheless, the demand for instruments was not only very high in Venice, the Veneto, and elsewhere in Italy, but also throughout Europe. As with lutes, Venetian makers were predominant in the European market. The manufacture of both types of instruments was highly specialized, so there was very little crossover between builders of the two categories.³¹

As with the lute makers, makers of bowed string instruments, called *lireri*, were members of the *Marzeri* guild of artisans and retailers. Because these instruments were not mass-produced, the workshops were likely smaller, and except for the Linarolo family, seem not to have generated the extensive dynasties that characterized so much of lute production. The Linarolo family originated in Bergamo, at the westernmost reaches of the Veneto.³² They were active as instrument makers in Venice from before the middle of the sixteenth century until 1647. Several members of the family were also players employed by the *scuole grandi* and the Basilica of San Marco. The first known instrument-maker of the clan, Francesco, had a shop on the main street of the *contrada* of Santa Maria del Giglio (Zobenigo), not far from the Grand Canal, lying between the current Accademia bridge and the Church of San Moisè.

30 Tyler and Sparks, *The Guitar*, 39-45.

31 One lute maker who also made at least a few bowed string instruments was Vendelino Tieffenbrucker. Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 87 includes photographs of a *lirone* by him in Vienna.

32 A brief account of the family is in Giulio Ongaro, 'New Documents on a Sixteenth-Century Venetian Viol Maker', in *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 27 (1990), 22-28. Three generations of the Linarolo family tree are given in Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 150. Pio's account of the family is on 150-93.

This location was not very far from Piazza San Marco but was distant from the *Mercerie* and the Rialto where so many of the lute makers had their workshops. Upon Francesco's death in 1567, his two sons, Ventura (1540-c. 1604) and Marco (1548-86), took over his business. Marco died young, leaving the shop to Ventura, who had sixteen children, ten of them male. The famous Venetian harpsichord-maker Vito Trasuntino served as godfather to one of his sons in 1576.³³ Ventura from a young age also had a career as a *violone* player and apparently also as a trombonist at the *scuole grandi* of San Marco, San Teodoro, Santa Maria della Carità, and the *cappella* of San Marco. His first-born child, Francesco (II), was likewise an instrumentalist at San Marco, as was his younger brother Zuane (1567-1647), who was hired as a player of the *lirone* also at the Scuola Grande di San Rocco.³⁴ When Zuane died, the family's activity as *lireri* ended.

Other known *lireri* active in Venice and Padua in the second half of the sixteenth century were Antonio Siciliano (Ciciliano) and Ioanbattista Siciliano;³⁵ Zuanpiero *dalle lire* (1504-74), who lived nearby and may have been employed in the Linarolo workshop; Paolo *lirer* (?-1554), who also worked in the same contrada; Tizian Bianchini *dalli violini* (fl. 1556-86), whose shop was near that of the *lauter* Magno (I) Tieffenbrucker; Michele *violinaro tedesco* (c. 1550-99), whose workshop was in Padua; Barbara *Violinara liutti tedeschi* of Padua (fl. 1601), the first known Italian female violin-maker; Zuan Piero *violeni* (fl. 1579-1605), originally from Bergamo; and Zuan Maria da Brescia (c. 1540-after 1601), a *violone* player as well as a prominent maker of bowed strings, who was a member of the Scuola Grande San Teodoro and played both there and at San Rocco.³⁶

Because of the many more varieties of bowed string instruments than lutes and because some underwent more profound development during the course of the sixteenth century, the instability of their nomenclature is often quite

33 Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 153-55.

34 Ibid., 171-73.

35 There are serious problems of vagueness of information regarding Antonio and Ioanbattista Siciliano, *lireri*, and inconsistency of style of instruments attributed to them in museums, to the point that Pio doubts their very existence (*Viol and Lute Makers*, 91-99). There is, however, a Ioanbattista Ciciliano *viola* virtuoso named by Silvestro Ganassi in the *Letitione Seconda* of his *Regola Rubertina* of 1542/43 (the passage is quoted in Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 91-92) and mentioned in other documents, one of which sets his death at 1552.

36 On these bowed string makers, see Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 115-27. The list in Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani*, 117-53, encompasses the period from the beginning of the sixteenth century to 1800.

confusing.³⁷ The terms *da gamba* (for the leg) and *da braccio* (for the arm) are found frequently throughout the era, though instruments with these names are not always played between the legs or on the arm. The theorist Silvestro Ganassi, in his *Regula Rubertina* of 1542/43, distinguishes between instruments *da gamba* and *da braccio* not by how they are played, but by which family they belong to, the *viola* family or the *violin* family, with words such as *soprano*, *alto*, etc. indicating the range and size of the instrument in each family.³⁸ But the terminology most commonly used in Venice from the early sixteenth century distinguished between a *viola* or *lira*, a medium-sized instrument with four-seven strings, which could be played either on the arm or between the legs; a *violone* or *lirone* of large dimensions (made in two sizes) with four-six strings, played vertically (see Figure 10.1); and a *violetta* or *lirino*, a small *viola* with three-five strings. The terms *viola* or *lira* also referred to the seven-string tenor instrument with drone strings and a flatter bridge used to accompany singing—what is usually called today a *lira da braccio*.³⁹ A larger version, with nine or fourteen strings and two drone strings, called the *lira da gamba* or *lirone* or *lira doppia* also became popular around the middle of the century, especially for accompanying the voice and for its capacity for improvisation. Its languid and sorrowful sound made it particularly suitable for use in sacred music and laments.⁴⁰ Indeed, Ganassi instructs on how to intabulate two, three, or four parts of a madrigal in order to accompany a solo voice, recommending an instrument with a flatter bridge and a bow with loose hair.⁴¹ Music for *viole da gamba* and *viole da braccio* was written in both mensural notation and tablature.

37 Venetian bowed string instruments are discussed in Toffolo, 101-44 and Pio, 21-193. See also David D. Boyden, et al, 'Violin', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 8 August 2014) and Ian Woodfield and Lucy Robinson, 'Viol', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 8 August 2014). I am also grateful to Wendy Gillespie for several valuable observations and suggestions regarding bowed string instruments.

38 The two-part treatise by Ganassi is indicative of the popularity of members of the *viola da gamba* family. The book is a tutor that goes into great detail about all the basics of learning to play the instrument, demonstrating that by this point in time there already existed a very well developed technique for playing the *viola da gamba*. On the range and size of instruments, see Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani*, 112. For an English synopsis of Ganassi's treatise, see Ian Gammie, 'Ganassi: *Regola Rubertina* (1542). *Lettione Secunda* (1543). A Synopsis of the Text relating to the Viol', in *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 8 (1978-79), 23-30. See the chapter by Selfridge-Field in the present volume for further comments on Ganassi's treatise.

39 Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 55-59.

40 Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani*, 106.

41 *Lettione Secunda*, ch. 16. I am grateful to Wendy Gillespie for calling this to my attention.



FIGURE 10.1 *Antonio Siciliano, six-string discant viola, mid-sixteenth century. VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM, SAM 70*

The smallest of the bowed string instruments was the *pochette*, a small 'pocket-sized' violin of four strings used especially by dancing masters, since it could be placed in a pocket while instructing clients in their dance steps or taken out for playing dance tunes for practice. The *pochette* also joined together with other string instruments in ensemble music.⁴² The term *violino* does not appear in Venetian documents until 1547, later than elsewhere, though a three-string instrument appears earlier in Venetian paintings as do violas and bass instruments of the same family. By the middle of the century, the word *violino* was already frequently replacing the terms *violette* and *lirino*. Another term used early on for the same instrument was *violone da braccio*, not to be mistaken for the bass instrument *violone* (the French word for *violin* is still *violon*).⁴³ Ganassi's distinction between the *viola da gamba* family and the violin, or *viola da braccio* family rests foremost on a number of differing structural elements between the two sets. The *viola da gamba* family included fretted instruments in a wide range of sizes with five-seven strings (most frequently six) in low tension, tuned mostly in fourths with a major third in the middle, significantly sloped shoulders with a narrow upper body and slightly arched belly, two 'C' holes, a flat bottom bending inward toward the neck, and produced a relatively soft and very sweet sound.

By about 1560, the unfretted violin family featured four strings in high tension tuned in fifths, prominent rounded shoulders, a significantly arched belly, two 'f' holes, a slightly rounded bottom, and produced a bright, powerful sound. The violin family comprised only three basic members, but the lowest member of the *viola da gamba* family, called the *violone*, often served as the bass instrument in consorts of the violin family. Another typical distinction between the *gamba* and *braccio* families was the manner in which the bow was held: *gamba* bows were gripped with the hand underneath and *braccio* bows with the hand on top. The grip and the weight it applies to the bow reflect the relative sonorities of the two families. The strings of both families, however, were made entirely of gut in the sixteenth century.

Violins were primarily instruments of professional street and dance musicians, while instruments of the *viola da gamba* family were played by amateurs and gentlemen for social occasions, by professionals in churches, the *scuole grandi* and *scuole piccole*, and by professionals hired for specific private, civic and religious occasions (see Figure 10.2 for a representation of a string consort performing at a banquet in the late sixteenth century). They were ubiquitous at many levels of society and were especially favoured for the performance of

42 Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani*, 106-7.

43 Ibid., 112.

polyphonic music. Wind instruments were also often added to consorts of *viola da gamba* for variety of sonority. (See Figure 10.3 for a fanciful outdoor allegory of a mixed consort.) In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, however, violins began to take a prominent role in theatrical music and in sacred music as music for the Church tended toward greater colour and differentiation of sonorities as part of the Church's broad effort to attract larger numbers of worshippers to its services. The bright sound of the violin could be heard in the vast spaces of even the largest houses of worship.

Professional players of *viola da gamba* were not only employed individually, but perhaps more importantly, in consorts of four, five or six.⁴⁴ Consorts of four typically comprised small and medium-sized instruments; consorts of five or six emphasized medium and large instruments; other consorts of six included instruments in all registers, typically including a *violetta*, an alto *viola*, a tenor *viola*, a small *violone*, a large *violone* and an additional instrument either doubling one of the registers, or a *sopranino da braccio* or a mid-size *viola da gamba bassetto*. It was this latter type of consort, referred to in their entirety as *violoni* from the name of their bass instrument, that were commonly attached to the *scuole grandi* by 1530, sometimes by admitting the consort *in toto* as members of the confraternity.⁴⁵ In addition, such ensembles were employed by the *scuole piccole*, various churches, and the *cappella* of San Marco. Many of the players and craftsmen came from Brescia, where a prominent string-instrument industry had already been established in the fifteenth century.⁴⁶

In 1584 Girolamo Dalla Casa's treatise *Il vero modo di diminuir con tutte le sorti di stromenti di fiato, & corda, & di voce humana* mentioned for the first time a manner of performing wide-ranging improvisations and rapid *passaggi* on *viola da gamba*, which he called the *viola bastarda*.⁴⁷ As with lutenists, we have the names of a number of players of bowed string instruments, especially from pay records of the *scuole*, San Marco and other churches, but we don't have information on any well-known virtuosi apart from several named by

44 Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 56-61, provides a list of documents mentioning players of bowed string instruments in Venice and Padua until 1576. After that the number of documents becomes too great to list.

45 Ibid., 75-79 provides lists of such ensembles at various *scuole* around mid-century. See also Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 105-42; and Glixon, *Honoring God and the City*, 129-38.

46 For information on the musical relationship between Venice itself and cities in the Veneto, see the chapter by Selfridge-Field in the present volume.

47 Facsimile ed. Giuseppe Vecchi (Bologna, 1976), *Libro secondo*, ii. See Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani*, 107. See the chapter by Selfridge-Field in the present volume for further information on Dalla Casa's treatise.



FIGURE 10.2 *Paolo Veronese, instrumental consort, foreground detail from The Wedding Feast at Cana. PARIS, LOUVRE*



FIGURE 10.3 *Jacopo Tintoretto, allegorical outdoor scene, Women Playing Music. DRESDEN, GEMÄLDEGALERIE ALTE MEISTER*

Ganassi: Giuliano Tibertino, Lodovico Lasagnino, Alfonso da Ferrara, Ioanbatista Ciciliano, Francesco da Milano, and Rubertino Mantoano.⁴⁸ Whether they plied their trade principally in Venice is unknown, but Ganassi, who lived in the city, certainly must have heard most, if not all, of them there.

Wind Instruments

Wind instruments in the second half of the sixteenth century are the same ones outlined in Bonnie Blackburn's chapter on the first half of the century. The civic winds included the very long silver trumpets, used already for centuries exclusively in processions in which the Doge participated. These trumpets must have produced a very low-pitched sound, similar to an alpenhorn, whose low frequency would have carried it far and wide about the city. The other civic ensemble, the *pifferi* of the Doge, also participated in dogal processions, but in addition provided music within the Doge's palace for banquets, state occasions, some liturgical celebrations in San Marco, and anything else for which the Doge required music. This ensemble of six salaried players seems to have played *cornetti* and trombones indoors, and shawms and trombones in outdoor processions. On occasion, recorders, transverse flutes, trumpets and string instruments seem to have participated in the ensemble, as they did in other *pifferi* ensembles in Venice.⁴⁹ This might have meant the hiring of additional players for the occasion, but not necessarily, since most instrumentalists could perform on two or more instruments, often of different families.⁵⁰

As far as we know, trumpets and trombones were not manufactured in Venice, but rather imported from Germany, especially Nuremberg and other Bavarian cities that were close to the mountains where the metals for making

48 Ganassi, *Letione seconda*, ch. 20.

49 Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi* (New York, 1994), 14, 68, 89, 353.

50 On the Doge's *pifferi*, trombones, and various types of trumpets, see Jeffrey Kurtzman and Linda Maria Koldau, 'Trombe, Trombe d'argento, Trombe squarciate, Tromboni, and Pifferi in Venetian Processions and Ceremonies of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 8 (2002), <<http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v8/no1/kurtzman.html>>. Venetian documents mentioning *pifferi* and trombones as well as their players are given in English translation in Stewart Carter, *The Trombone in the Renaissance* (Hillsdale, NY, 2012), ch. 8: Italy, 1500-99, 125-91. Other instruments are also named in some of these documents. See the letter of Girolamo Parabosco about the capacities of players to perform on multiple instruments cited in Bonnie Blackburn's chapter in the present volume.

such instruments were mined. As Blackburn mentions, some artisans in Venice were capable of repairing brass instruments, but their manufacture apparently took place elsewhere.

Trumpets came in two sizes: eight foot and four foot. These are not exact units of measure, but as in organ pipes, indicators of pitch level. Eight-foot trumpets had the typical folded design. Four-foot trumpets, apparently a bit shorter than a four-foot measure, were straight and called in Venice *trombe squarciate* (*squarzade*). Iconography suggests they had an especially broad bell. Their high pitch and wide bell enabled them to be used frequently in a variety of situations: parades and processions, on boats as signalling instruments, as heraldic instruments announcing the presence of some official or of a public proclamation, in festive church services, such as weddings or services celebrating important civic events, and in *pifferi* ensembles providing entertainment or dance music. Trumpets, whether *squarciate* or eight-foot, were very often accompanied by drums (*tamburi*). These were typically small drums that could be carried with a strap on one's side or in front while processing, though larger drums may have sometimes been used when the player himself remained motionless. Trumpets could be joined by trombones and drums, but we have no indication that trombones by themselves were ever associated with drums as a performing unit. Nor do we have any information about drums being made in Venice. They certainly could have been, but because of the close association between trumpets and drums, they may also have been imported from Germany in sets along with the trumpets. Further research is needed on the subject of drums and their makers.

Woodwind instruments, on the other hand, were indeed made in Venice, although we have very limited information on wind-instrument makers in the city before the middle of the sixteenth century. The most important source about woodwinds in Venice in this early period is the treatise by Silvestro Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara* of 1535 on how to play the recorder,⁵¹ discussed by Bonnie Blackburn and Eleanor Selfridge-Field in their chapters. Ganassi himself joined the *pifferi* of the Doge in 1517 and may still have been active as late as 1566.⁵² With woodwind manufacture we once again encounter a prominent family dynasty of artisans and players, the Bassanos, named for their town of origin (now Bassano del Grappa), in the Veneto, some 80 kilome-

51 Facsimile edition (Milan, 1934).

52 Howard Mayer Brown and Giulio Ongaro, 'Ganassi dal Fontego, Sylvestro di', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 10 August 2014).

tres from Venice.⁵³ It has been suggested that the family was Jewish and moved to Venice to escape persecution, but recent research has demonstrated that this theory is unfounded and that they likely moved sometime after 1502 because of devastating military campaigns in the Bassano area and much greater opportunities for musicians and instrument makers in Venice than in a rural community.⁵⁴

The first member of this dynasty, Hieronimo (Jeronimo), was a trombonist in the Doge's *pifferi* in 1512, who also played at the Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Misericordia.⁵⁵ His son Alvise played regularly in processions and at mass at the Scuola Grande di San Marco in 1515, and quite possibly beyond.⁵⁶ From 1519-20 he served in the civic Concerto Palatino of Bologna.⁵⁷ Four of Hieronimo's sons were recruited to the English court of Henry VIII in 1531. They returned to Venice after a period of time, but the brothers Alvise and Giacomo went back to England in 1538, followed in 1539 by the four others, five of whom settled there permanently in 1540 after having been officially granted places at court by King Henry. Giacomo, who had received a trade license in England in 1538, returned to Venice in 1539, apparently to take over his father's business at the latter's death in October of that year. He made at least one further trip to England, but returned by November 1544. Giacomo was joined in his shop by his son-in-law, Santo Griti, who changed his name to Santo Bassano, in the making of all kinds of woodwind instruments. In 1559 the two entered into a contract with three members of the Doge's *pifferi* to provide them with a sizable num-

53 A comprehensive study of the family is found in David Lasocki and Roger Prior, *The Bassanos: Venetian Musicians and Instrument Makers in England, 1531-1665* (Aldershot-Brookfield, 1995). See also Eleanor Selfridge-Field, 'Venetian Instrumentalists in England: A Bassano Chronicle (1536-1660)', in *Studi Musicali* 8 (1979), 173-221. Information about the family, whose original surname was Piva, is found in Alessio Ruffatti, 'La famiglia Piva-Bassano nei documenti degli archivi di Bassano del Grappa', in *Musica e Storia* 6 (1998), 349-67. See also the chapter by Bonnie Blackburn in the present volume.

54 Alessio Ruffatti, 'Una migrazione di strumentisti italiani in Inghilterra e la presunta identità ebraica dei Bassano', in *Il saggiautore musicale* 6 (1999), 23-27.

55 Jonathan Glixon, 'Music at the Venetian "Scuole Grandi", 1440-1540' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1979), vol. 1, 155; Rodolfo Baroncini, '"Se canta dalli cantori overo se sona dalli sonadori": voci e strumenti tra Quattro e Cinquecento', in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 32 (1997), 325-65, esp. 363. Jeronimo, whose original family name was Piva, had already been a builder of instruments and tuner and repairer of organs in Bassano. See Ruffatti, 'La famiglia Piva-Bassano', 349-67, esp. 353-54, 358.

56 Glixon, 'Music at the Venetian "Scuole Grandi"', vol. 1, 94-95; vol. 2, 33-34; Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 139.

57 Osvaldo Gambassi, *Il Concerto Palatino della Signoria di Bologna: cinque secoli di vita musicale a corte (1250-1797)* (Florence, 1989), 140, 614.

ber of instruments at fixed prices, some evidently for resale. The contract specifies that the Bassanos provide *cornetti*, shawms, transverse flutes, recorders, and crumhorns. The *cornetti* were to comprise *alti* (curved *cornetti*), *muti* (straight *cornetti* of lower pitch) and *bassi*. They were to be instruments tuned at *mezzo punto* (c. 466 Hz) and *tutto punto* (c. 440 Hz). Shawms were in four sizes, transverse flutes (*phifari*, or *fiffari*) in two sizes, crumhorns in only one size, and two chests of recorders (*flauti*) ranging from soprano to great basses.⁵⁸ Giacomo and Santo were very likely a source of both instruments and newly printed music for their brothers in London in pursuance of an officially established family-business corporation.⁵⁹ Santo Bassano patented an instrument in Venice in 1582, appropriately named the *bassanello*, which may have been invented earlier either by one of the English Bassanos or even Hieronimo himself.⁶⁰ The instrument, built in three sizes (soprano, alto/tenor, and bass), was a soft, double-reed with S-shaped reed holder, cylindrical bore, six fingerholes in front and an open key in the rear. It was muted by a perforated cover at the bottom.⁶¹

Another Venetian Bassano to have a major career as a musician was Santo's son, Giovanni (1560/61-1617), who may have been a boy singer at San Marco in 1572.⁶² He became a virtuoso cornettist and composer and was hired in 1576 as one of the *pifferi* of the Doge. He also performed in San Marco, and, in 1583 became a singing teacher at the seminary of San Marco. In 1585 he published an improvisation treatise entitled *Ricercate, passage et cadentiae*,⁶³ and in the same year a book of fantasias to be sung and played in three parts.⁶⁴ From 1586 Giovanni was active in providing companies of musicians for perfor-

58 Giulio Ongaro, '16th-Century Venetian Wind Instrument Makers and their Clients', in *Early Music* 13 (1985), 391-97; and Ongaro, 'New Documents on the Bassano family', in *Early Music* 20 (1992), 409-13.

59 Ongaro, 'New Documents', 411.

60 Ongaro, 'New Documents', 409, 412 note 6; Ruffatti, 'La famiglia', 351, 364-66.

61 Description from Sibyl Marcuse, *Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary* (London, 1964), 39.

62 The principal sources of biographical information on Giovanni are Eleanor Selfridge-Field, 'Bassano and the Orchestra of St. Mark's', in *Early Music* 4 (1976), 152-58; and David Lasocki et al, 'Bassano', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 10 August 2014). Newly discovered details of Bassano's career are scattered throughout Rodolfo Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli* (Palermo, 2012).

63 RISM B 1229, reprinted in 1598 (RISM B 1230). For commentary on Giovanni's treatise, see the chapter by Selfridge-Field in the present volume.

64 *Fantasia a tre voci, per cantar et sonar con ogni sorte d'istrumenti* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti and Ricciardo Amadino, 1585; RISM B 1228).

mances at the convent church of Santo Stefano as well as many other monastic and parish churches of the city. He continued composing and publishing light secular collections, embellished motets, madrigals and chansons by a number of prominent French and Italian composers,⁶⁵ and *concerti ecclesiastici* for five, six, seven, eight, and twelve voices, the larger pieces in the *coro spezzato* style of the basilica's other composers.⁶⁶ In 1601 Giovanni succeeded Girolamo Dalla Casa as the leader of the instrumental ensemble at San Marco, and in 1602 published a set of *Madrigale et canzonette* in a new style for him, 'concerted to be sung by a soprano and a bass with a lute and (or) a keyboard instrument (harpsichord, spinet or virginals), with *passaggi* (embellishments) in each part'.⁶⁷ This print was labelled as his *libro primo*, but no successor volume is extant.

Giovanni's son Santino was hired at San Marco in 1615, likely as a player of the bass trombone. An Antonio Bassano, possibly another son, became the leader of the *pifferi* ensemble in the same year. Giovanni remained at San Marco until his death in 1617 at the age of 56.⁶⁸ We have no other information on them or further descendants of the family in Venice.

Another prominent cornettist at San Marco was Girolamo Dalla Casa from Udine, who was hired in 1568 along with his two trombonist brothers, Nicolò and Giovanni, as the first permanent instrumental ensemble at the basilica to play with organs in concertos at major feasts.⁶⁹ As noted above, Dalla Casa is the author of an ornamentation manual published in 1584, preceding that of Giovanni Bassano by one year.

65 *Mottetti, madrigali et canzoni francesi, di diversi eccellentissimi autori à Quattro cinque, & sei voci. Diminuiti per sonar con ogni sorte di Strumenti, & anco per cantar con semplice voce* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1591). This print was destroyed in World War II, although a late nineteenth-century manuscript copy survives in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Hamburg. See Ernest T. Ferand, 'Die Motetti, Madrigali, et Canzoni Francese ... Diminuiti ... des Giovanni Bassano (1591)', in *Festschrift Helmuth Osthoff zum 65. Geburtstage*, ed. Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht and Helmut Hücke (Tutzing, 1961), 75-101.

66 *Motetti per concerti ecclesiastici a 5, 6, 7, 8, & 12 voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1598/99) and *Concerti ecclesiastici a cinque, sei, sette, otto, & dodici voci ... libro secondo* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1599). RISM B 1233 and B 1234. See also the chapter by David Bryant in this volume.

67 ... *concertate per potersi cantare con il basso, & soprano nel liuto, & istrumento da pena, con passaggi a ciascuna parte* (RISM B 1235).

68 Selfridge-Field, 'Bassano and the Orchestra', 152.

69 Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 237. Other newly discovered information about Girolamo is scattered throughout the book. See also the information on the instrumental ensembles at San Marco in Selfridge-Fields's chapter in the present volume.

Wind instruments circulating and played in Venice in the sixteenth century included, in addition to the brass and woodwinds named above, a popular reed instrument called the *cennamella* with a conical bore, seven finger holes in front and one behind that ended in an extension with more holes for tuning. The reed was broader and shorter than that of an oboe. In the early seventeenth century the name could refer to either a single- or double-reed version.⁷⁰ It is also quite likely that bagpipes of various kinds constituted another popular instrument.

Keyboard Instruments

Two fundamentally different kinds of keyboard instruments were manufactured and played widely in Venice. Pipe organs were built for use in churches, oratories, confraternities, monasteries and other settings where devotional and liturgical services were performed, though portable chamber organs could also be employed in the performance of both sacred and secular music. Strung keyboard instruments, comprising harpsichords, their small table-top versions, and clavichords, were used primarily for secular chamber use, though harpsichords were sometimes added to instrumental ensembles performing sacred music, especially late in the sixteenth century and beyond.

The harpsichord, typically called a *clavicembalo* in Italy, normally had a single keyboard and was double strung, either with both strings tuned at 8' or one at 8' and one at 4'.⁷¹ After the sixteenth century an additional 8' register was added to many instruments, or the 4' register was converted to a second 8' register. Some small harpsichords had two 4' registers. Each string of a pair was set in motion by a quill plectrum extending from near the top of a vertical jack mounted, unattached, on the end of a key lever. Each lever was positioned between the pair of strings and supported two jacks and their plectra facing in opposite directions, so that the two strings were plucked simultaneously by depressing the single key.

⁷⁰ Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani*, 171.

⁷¹ I am grateful to Carl Smith for information and clarification of a number of issues regarding Italian harpsichords of the sixteenth century. A fundamental source of information on harpsichords is Frank Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making* (Cambridge, MA, 1965), updated in many particulars by Edwin M. Ripin, Denzil Wraight et al., *The New Grove Early Keyboard Instruments* (New York-London, 1989) and several articles by Denzil Wraight in various journals.

Strings were made of iron or brass, with many instruments strung partly in iron and partly in brass depending on the register. The note compass of sixteenth-century instruments ranged from F,G,A-a'' to as much as C/E-f''' later in the century. The lowest notes typically constituted a short octave sounding only three or four pitches. What actual pitches the notes of a harpsichord produced varied according to the tuning, but Denzil Wraight's studies suggest that many instruments were tuned at frequencies similar to wind instruments, that is, at *mezzo punto* and *tutto punto* as well as a pitch approximately a half-step lower still for performing with voices called *tuono chorista*.⁷² It has been theorized that some instruments were built with their pitch a fourth higher than others to facilitate transposition, but the evidence is uncertain.⁷³ The instrument itself slid into a protective case, which is where the decoration was applied, especially to the underside of the lid, which could be elevated.

The meantone system of tuning, in widespread use in this period, featured perfect major thirds, which consequently differentiated between two sizes of minor seconds and thirds.⁷⁴ Thus there was a distinct difference between the pitches of c# and db, d# and eb, e and fb, f# and gb, g# and ab, a# and bb, b and cb. Most instruments, however, subdivided the keyboard into 12 notes per octave, comprising the notes c-c#-d-eb-e-f-f#-g-g#-a-bb-b-c, which limited the scope of tonalities and modulations before encountering unacceptable problems of intonation. In order to accommodate more chromatic pitches and modulations, some organs, harpsichords and table-top instruments added the enharmonic notes ab and d# (d# is rarer in table-top instruments), splitting the appropriate black notes between front and back for playing the different strings or pipes.⁷⁵ Harpsichords (*cembali cromatici*) were also built with the full complement of extra notes, subdividing the octave into 19 units instead of 12, once again played by split keys and short black keys inserted between B and

72 Denzil Wraight, 'The Pitch Relationships of Venetian String Keyboard Instruments', in *Fiori musicologici: Studi in onore di Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini nella ricorrenza del suo LXX compleanno*, ed. François Seydoux (Bologna, 2001), 573-604, esp. 593-97. See above for the approximate frequencies of *mezzo punto* and *tutto punto*. The *tuono corista* a half-step lower was at a' = c. 415 Hz, though there was an even lower *tuono corista* centered around a' = c. 392 Hz.

73 Ripin et al., *The New Grove Early Keyboard Instruments*, 21.

74 For an exposition of meantone tuning as well as just intonation and their application to keyboard instruments, see Patrizio Barbieri, 'The Evolution of Open-Chain Enharmonic Keyboards, ca. 1480-1650', in *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 22 (2002), 145-84.

75 Denzil Wraight and Christopher Stenbridge, 'Italian Split-Key Instruments with Fewer than Nineteen Divisions to the Octave', in *Performance Practice Review* 7/2 (1994), 150-81.

C and between *E* and *F*.⁷⁶ Such instruments could then theoretically play in any chromatic tonality, provided the player could manoeuvre adequately among the various split keys. Some organs throughout Italy also added more notes, but typically only *d*[♯] and *a**b* in some octaves.⁷⁷ An exception is an instrument commissioned from the organ builder Vincenzo Colombo by Nicola Vicentino (see below). Other than Vicentino's unique instrument, there is no evidence of split-key organs being produced or employed in Venice, though the lack of evidence doesn't itself preclude there having been such instruments.⁷⁸ On the other hand, there is some indication of two-manual organs with the second manual pitched a fourth lower to facilitate transposition of vocal music notated in high clefs.⁷⁹

A few specially built harpsichords played a unique role in humanistic circles in demonstrating the Greek chromatic and enharmonic *genera* by utilizing even smaller subdivisions of the octave than either the typical 12-note or the 19-note chromatic subdivision. In 1548, Domenico da Pesaro provided the musical theorist and later *maestro di cappella* of San Marco, Gioseffo Zarlino, with an instrument that divided the octave into 24 notes by splitting the black keys into three segments.⁸⁰ Nicola Vicentino discusses in his treatise of 1555 a

76 Christopher Stemberge, 'The *Cimbalo cromatico* and Other Italian Keyboard Instruments with Nineteen or More Divisions to the Octave (Surviving Specimens and Documentary Evidence)', in *Performance Practice Review* 6 (1993), 33-59; Denzil Wraight, 'The Cimbalo Cromatico and other Italian String Keyboard Instruments with Divided Accidentals', in *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 22 (2002), 105-36.

77 Wraight and Stemberge, 'Italian Split-Key Instruments', 162-69.

78 For studies describing split keys in Antegnati organs, see Oscar Mischiati, ed., *Gli Antegnati: Studi e documenti su una stirpe di organari bresciani del Rinascimento* (Bologna, 1995). A list of Italian split-key organs is given in Wraight and Stemberge, 'Italian Split-Key Instruments', 162-77. None of these organs are in Venice. I am grateful to Massimo Bisson, who has informed me in private conversation that he has never seen any evidence of split keys on Venetian organs.

79 I am grateful to Carl Smith for this information.

80 Stemberge, 'The *Cimbalo cromatico*', 44-51; Wraight, 'The *Cimbalo Cromatico*', 110-15. A detailed discussion of Zarlino's objectives is in Rudolf Rasch, 'Why were Enharmonic Keyboards Built? From Nicola Vicentino (1555) to Michael Bulyowsky (1699)', in *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 22 (2002), 35-93, esp. 44-53. Regarding terminological distinctions and inconsistencies between *cembali cromatici* and *cembali armonici* (enharmonic keyboards), see Rudolf Rasch, 'On Terminology for Diatonic, Chromatic and Enharmonic Keyboards', in *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 22 (2002), 21-33; and Patrizio Barbieri, 'Cembali a tasti spezzati: "cromatici" oppure "enarmonici"?', in *Arte*

harpsichord called the *archicembalo*, sporting two manuals with three ranks of keys on each, that subdivided the octave into 36 notes to accommodate the Greek *genera* and produce perfect intervals with small whole-number ratios.⁸¹ Vicentino also had an *arciorgano* built with 31 notes in the octave.⁸² In 1591, 1601 and 1606, Vito Trasuntino built similar single manual harpsichords that also subdivided the octave into 31 notes.⁸³

Small, table-top versions of the harpsichord that were easily portable enjoyed great popularity in Venice. These are often referred to as virginals and/or spinets, though the terminology is inconsistent and confusing, since the Italian terms were *spinetto* and *arpicordo*, and 'virginal' is of English origin.⁸⁴ Rather than perpetuate confusion, I prefer to describe the instruments without trying to place them in one taxonomic category or another. Like full-sized harpsichords, the instruments slid into protective boxes that were often elaborately decorated, especially the lid and its underside. Because of their small size, they usually had only one string for each note, and smaller instruments produced only a 4' pitch. The strings of some instruments, typically rectangular in shape, were at right angles to the keyboard, while others, with longer bass strings, were strung at an oblique angle, resulting in either a trapezoidal or a wing shape when the strings were longer than the keyboard. The bass strings of some instruments were located at the front, while others placed them at the back. Another factor in instruments' shape was the position of the keyboard—whether it projected out from the main body of the instrument or was inset. Depending on the number and location of the bridges, some instruments

organaria e musica per organo nell'età moderna: L'Umbria nel quadro europeo (Perugia, 2008), 125–30.

- 81 The instrument may have been built even before 1537. See Stembridge, 'The *Cimbalo cromatico*', 55. For a description and explanation of this very complicated and imperfect instrument, see Nicola Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, transl. Maria Rika Maniates (New Haven-London, 1996), xlviii–li, 315–443, 446–47, 450–55; Rasch, 'Why were Enharmonic Keyboards Built', 37–43; and Patrizio Barbieri, *Enharmonic Instruments and Music, 1470–1900* (Latina, 2008), 308–21.
- 82 Stembridge, 'The *Cimbalo cromatico*', 55–56; Barbieri, *Enharmonic Instruments*, 308–21; Wraight, 'The *Cimbalo Cromatico*', 115–20.
- 83 Stembridge, 'The *Cimbalo cromatico*', 46–54, 57–59. Wraight, 'The *Cimbalo Cromatico*', 121–23.
- 84 I am grateful to Carl Smith for information on the terminological quagmire as well as structural details of the instruments. Additional information given here is drawn from Ripin et al., *The New Grove Early Keyboard Instruments*, 111–38, where virginals and spinets are treated in two separate sections.

sounded more like harpsichords than others. The compass of most sixteenth-century instruments is F/E-f'''.

Clavichords were typically double-strung solo instruments valued especially for practising and teaching because of their small size and very soft sound, though they were sometimes also used to play dances and intabulations of vocal works in intimate surroundings.⁸⁵ Unlike the other strung keyboards, the two strings of a pair were very close together and were not set in motion by plucking, but by a metal tangent attached to the back end of the key lever. The tangent rose to touch the two strings and remained in contact with them until the key was released. Thus, the volume of sound could be varied by the amount of force with which a key was depressed; moreover, the player could modify the pitch by varying the pressure on the key or by vibrating it so that the tangent produced a light vibrato in the pair of strings. In order to keep clavichords small and easily portable, instruments were often 'fretted' by means of two or three keys and their tangents striking the same pair of strings at different points, producing multiple possible pitches from those strings, analogous to the function of frets on a plucked or bowed instrument. Potential pitches were typically a semitone or tone apart since only one pitch at a time could sound from a particular pair of strings, and the need for simultaneous *c* and *c#* or *c* and *d*, for example, was virtually non-existent. This 'fretting' allowed the instrument to encompass as many as four octaves in a confined space.

As with other instruments, Venice was once again a première centre for makers of strung keyboards. From 1500-1700, there were more than thirty *cembalari*, as they were called, in Venice and a similar number in Padua.⁸⁶ Their instruments were renowned for their quality and elegance of decoration, and despite the significant differences between Italian and northern keyboards, Venetian instruments were shipped all over Europe, to the point that a little more than half of all surviving sixteenth-century strung keyboards are of Venetian origin. The most important builders of the sixteenth century in Venice were Antonio Baffo (fl. 1570-79), Giovanni Celestini (fl. 1587-1610), Benedetto Floriani (fl. 1550-68), Domenico da Pesaro, from whom the largest quantity of instruments survive (fl. 1533-75), Francesco Padavano (fl. 1527-62), and Alessandro (c. 1485-c. 1545) and Vito Trasuntino (1526-after 1606; unrelated to Alessandro). Makers of strung keyboards were for the most part distinct from organ builders, as one might expect of such differently constructed

85 I am grateful to Carl Smith for a number of observations about Venetian clavichords. Other information on clavichords given here is drawn from Ripin et al., *The New Grove Early Keyboard Instruments*, 139-52.

86 Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani*, 154.

instruments. Only Domenico da Pesaro, Alessandro Trasuntino and Vito Trasuntino are known to have built both harpsichords and organs.

Organs came in two basic types—permanent installations, each of which was uniquely designed to fit the space, acoustical properties and specifications of the institution purchasing it, and portable organs of different sizes needed for flexibility of performance circumstances, whether the music were liturgical, devotional or secular. For major feasts or annual feasts of patron saints, large permanent organs could be supplemented by portable organs.⁸⁷

In his studies of organs in Venice, Murano and Mestre, Sandro dalla Libera lists 154 churches with organs, some of which had two organs.⁸⁸ Although the majority of his studies focus on extant instruments, he also provides what documentation he could find on past organs, and it is apparent that most, if not all, of these churches possessed one or more organs in the sixteenth century as well. Other organs were found in the *scuole grandi* and other confraternities and in the private chapels and salons of patrician families.⁸⁹

Who made all of these organs? In comparison to the totality of organ builders who must have been employed, we have information on only a few. The most renowned *organaro*, at least in terms of documentation, was Vincenzo Colombo. Circa 1547 he submitted a proposal for a new *organo doppio* (with the keyboard extended in the bass) for the church of Santa Maria del Giglio similar to other organs he names, including one he himself had built at Sant'Alvise.⁹⁰ In 1558 and 1564 he is noted as having repaired the organs in San Marco and in 1552 and 1562 as having repaired and tuned the organ in San Giovanni in Bragora.⁹¹ Colombo was the builder of the special organ (*arcior-gano*) for Nicola Vicentino, mentioned above, with 31 notes to the octave.⁹² At an unknown date he also built a second organ to that of Alessandro Vicentino in the church of San Sebastiano. Vicentino constructed his organ there in 1558,

87 See, for example, the expense list for music for the Feast of San Rocco at its church in 1604, which shows payment to Giovanni Gabrieli for seven organs, in Denis Arnold, *Giovanni Gabrieli and the Music of the Venetian High Renaissance* (London, 1979), 202. The 1609 expense list for the same feast shows six organs, one of them large. See Sandro dalla Libera, *L'arte degli organi a Venezia* (Florence, 1962), 144.

88 Dalla Libera, *L'arte degli organi*.

89 On organs in the *scuole grandi*, see Glixon, *Honoring God and the City*, 138-45.

90 Except where otherwise noted, the information on organ builders is drawn from Dalla Libera, *L'arte degli organi*.

91 Gastone Vio, 'Documenti di storia organaria veneziana', in *L'Organo* 14 (1976), 33-131, esp. 40. Bonnie Blackburn, in her chapter in the present volume, cites Colombo (Colombe) as an expert consultant in a dispute over an organ in the cathedral of Treviso.

92 Stembridge, 'The *Cimbalo cromatico*', 55-56.

the same year in which Benedetto Manzini of Pieve built a highly praised organ in the church of San Geminiano. Before 1560, Gasparo Blanco, also of Pieve, restored the 1453 organ of Bernardo d'Allemagna in the church of San Cassiano. San Vito, a church demolished in the nineteenth century, had an organ built in 1575 by Francesco da Montenegro and Francesco Bressan. Zuanne del Battista da Feltre constructed the organ in the Church of All Saints (*Ognissanti*) in 1584-86. From 1581-84 Vincenzo Colonna was responsible for maintaining the organ in San Giovanni in Bragora,⁹³ and in 1595 he rebuilt the right-hand organ in San Marco and was responsible for maintenance of the organs until 1622. The famous organ builder from a dynasty of *organari* and the author of a treatise on organs, Costanzo Antegnati of Brescia, was brought to Venice to build a new organ for the Palladian church San Giorgio Maggiore on the Island of St. George opposite the Piazzetta San Marco in 1612. He mentions in his treatise having also built an organ in the church on the Island of Santa Maria della Grazia. Many Venetian organs were as important for their decorations and the paintings on the inside and outside of the doors covering the ranks of pipes. Jacopo Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese were particularly active in painting organ doors in the second half of the sixteenth century.

The quantity of organs in Venice meant that there were also a large number of organists employed there, the names of whom appear occasionally in various documents. The most important organists, of course, were those who manned the two organs of San Marco. The first one in the second half of the century was Girolamo Parabosco, whose service lasted from 1551 to 1557; Annibale Padovano served 1552-65; Claudio Merulo from 1557 to 1584; Andrea Gabrieli, 1566-86; Giovanni Gabrieli, 1585-1612; Vincenzo Bell'haver, 1586-87; Giuseppe Guami, 1588-91; and Paolo Giusto, 1591-1624.⁹⁴ Two of these, Bell'haver and Giovanni Gabrieli, also served successively as organists at the Scuola Grande di San Rocco. In the church of San Salvatore, whose organ was widely known as one of the best in existence, a certain Ser Antonio was organist in 1557. In 1614 Francesco Sponga (Usper), a composer and student of Andrea Gabrieli, became the organist there after having served from 1596 to 1606 as the organist at the Scuola of San Giovanni Evangelista.⁹⁵

93 Vio, 'Documenti di storia organaria', 41.

94 Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music*, 332. For information on organists at San Marco in the first half of the century, see the chapter by Bonnie Blackburn, and on Jacques Buus, organist at San Marco from 1541-51 and the separate functions of the two organs, the chapter by Selfridge-Field, both in the present volume. These separate functions are also discussed extensively in Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*.

95 Dalla Libera, *L'arte degli organi*, 146; Glixon, *Honoring God and the City*, 142-43.

Venetian organs themselves can only be very generally summarized because of their variety and the fact that no Venetian church organ of the period survives. Normally, they consisted of a single manual and a principal chorus, in Venice comprising only six-ten registers, as well as a ripieno and a single flute stop for use primarily in accompanying the solo voice.⁹⁶ Before the middle of the century, pedals, if any, were for the purpose of pulling down the keys of the short octave in the bass. The organ that Vincenzo Colombo proposed c. 1547 for Santa Maria del Giglio, for example, was to have seven registers: *tenore* (16'), *ottava* (8'), *quintadecima* (4'), *decimanona* (3'), *vigesimaseconda* (2'), *vigesimasesta* (1½'), and *flauto* (8').⁹⁷ In 1561, Massimilano da Udine contracted with San Daniele di Castello for an organ of ten registers comprising a *tenore* (10'), *ottavo*, *quintadecima*, *decimanona*, *vigesimaseconda*, *vigesimasesta*, *flauto*, *cornetto*, *piffero*, and *uccello* (*ozelletto*).⁹⁸ The first organ at San Marco appears to have had nine registers: *principale contrabasso*, *tenore*, *duodecima*, *quintadecima*, *decimanona*, *vigesimaseconda*, *vigesimasesta*, *vigesimanona*, and *flauto*.⁹⁹

In general, the sound of Venetian organs has been described as clear, delicate, bright, and lively.¹⁰⁰ Portable organs, of course, were on a much smaller scale and produced a sound more suited to smaller spaces, such as private homes and academies, though they were often carried into churches and the meeting halls of confraternities to support extra choirs and extra solo ensembles, one organ per choir or ensemble. The *ottavino* was the smallest organ, with its wooden pipes pitched at 4', and perhaps also at 2'.¹⁰¹ There was another type of small chamber and theatre organ in use as well, called the *regal*. The *regal* produced its rather nasal sound through a set of resonating reeds instead of open pipes. Claudio Monteverdi called for one to accompany the underworld characters in his first opera, *L'Orfeo*, of 1607.

96 Dalla Libera, *L'arte degli organi*, 6.

97 Ibid., 60.

98 Vio, 'Documenti di storia organaria', 36-37.

99 Massimo Bisson, *Meravigliose macchine di giubilo: L'architettura e l'arte degli organi a Venezia nel Rinascimento* (Venice-Verona, 2012), 58. The registration cited in Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* of 1739, reported in Dalla Libera, *L'arte degli organi*, 39, is in error.

100 Dalla Libera, *L'arte degli organi*, 11.

101 Peter Williams, *The European Organ: 1450-1850* (London, 1966), 219.

Music Printing and Publishing in Cinquecento Venice

*Sherri Bishop**

Sixteenth-century Venice was an undisputed centre of international trade. Its advantageous location on the northern edge of the Adriatic Sea enabled it to thrive as a leading city in an ongoing exchange of services, goods, and learning throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Although periods of famine, war, and plague occasionally stifled the city's dominance, it continued to serve as a hub for trade with lands to the east well into the seventeenth century. This combination of geographic location, commercial dominance, and cultural exchange allowed Venice to be in a unique relationship to both northern European cities and courts and to Muslim and Byzantine cities and their leaders.

The burgeoning printing industry played a formative role in Venice's success in asserting itself as a city of art and learning. The city was among the first in Italy to adopt the mechanical printing press, and by the end of the fifteenth century it was one of the leading European print capitals.¹ The late fifteenth century witnessed an influx of French and German printers hoping to combine their success using the new technology with the advantages of working in a city well-positioned for international commerce. Following the establishment of the Aldine Press in 1494, master printer Aldus Manutius (1449-1515) revolutionized Venetian printing with his focus on classical and humanist texts published in clear and easily readable formats. His many technical achievements include the development of the italic typeface and the introduction of the octavo format, and his numerous editions of Greek and Latin texts are renowned for their accuracy and visual appeal.²

* Several sections of this chapter are adapted from chs. 1-3 of my dissertation: Sherri Bishop, 'Authorship, Attribution, and Advertising in Venetian Madrigal Prints, 1538-1580' (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2012).

1 Though certainly outdated, Horatio Brown's monograph on the history of printing in Venice remains one of the most thorough treatments of the subject. See Horatio Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press, 1469-1800: An Historical Study Based upon Documents For the Most Part Hitherto Unpublished* (London, 1891; reprint Amsterdam, 1969).

2 For an overview and contextualization of the career of Aldus Manutius, see Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Ithaca, 1979).

Music printing was an important part of Venetian print culture from its earliest incarnations. By the 1480s, Venetian printers were responsible for approximately half of all Italian music incunabula, and by the middle of sixteenth century the output of the firms of Antonio Gardano (1509-69) and Girolamo Scotto (c.1505-72) surpassed that of any other European city.³ Perhaps the biggest distinction between Venice and other European printing centres was a general lack of large institutions to serve as major sources of artistic patronage. Without the support of a centralized court or major university, and without a close relationship to the Catholic Church, Venetian printers were forced to rely on the financial support of an increasingly musically literate audience.⁴ It was during the first half sixteenth century that music became a commodity, one capable of defining a specialized market and of prompting printers and publishers to re-examine their strategies for financial success.

Technology also played a key role in the rapid development of a mid-century European market for printed music. Ottaviano Petrucci's (1466-1539) collections from the earliest years of the century were produced with a multiple impression technique in which each sheet was run through a press three times: once for staves, once for music, and once for text. This was gradually refined to allow for staves and music to be printed at the same time, but the process still required very careful alignment of each element and a great deal of time and skill. While Petrucci's advances introduced a new level of craftsmanship to the trade, it was precisely the level of detail required for such prints that made his collections costly and time-consuming to produce. Andrea Antico's (c. 1480-after 1538) exquisitely produced woodcuts required a similar level of craftsmanship and skill. The next major advance in printing technology took place in Paris in the late 1520s; while there were a number of earlier experiments with single impression printing, Pierre Attaignant (c. 1494-1551/1552) has been credited with the successful adaptation of the technique on a large scale.⁵ In contrast to Petrucci's multiple impression method, Attaignant

3 Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)* (New York-Oxford, 1998), 25. While Gardano and Scotto printed a variety of sacred and secular genres, Italian incunabula focused almost exclusively on plainchant repertoires. For additional information regarding early Italian prints, see Mary Kay Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula* (Berkeley etc., 1992).

4 Bernstein, 'Girolamo Scotto and the Venetian Music Trade', in *Atti del XIV Congresso della società internazionale di musicologia: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale* (Turin, 1990), vol. 1, 295.

5 For the most comprehensive study of Attaignant and his work, see Daniel Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant, Royal Printer of Music: A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1969).

developed a series of pieces of type containing both the note and the lines of the staff in a single unit. The difficulty here was in designing pieces of type with very evenly spaced lines, allowing for multiple pieces to be placed side-by-side to give the illusion of a continuous staff. These pieces were then collected into formes and locked into place before they were run through the press.⁶ Assuming the type was well-made, a person with little training and potentially no musical literacy could assemble the necessary pieces needed to print a musical composition. This decrease in the need for highly skilled workers, combined with the fact that formes could be reused for future editions, drastically cut the production costs associated with the publication of polyphonic music and helped to introduce a period of production motivated largely by commercial concerns.

The following survey of music printing and publishing in sixteenth-century Venice will return to issues of print technology alongside discussions of genre, patronage, musical literacy and market size, and printers' and editors' authorial agency in the development of musical tastes. While Petrucci, Gardano, and Scotto are the most important names in any such survey, we will also briefly consider the careers and musical output of others who made significant contributions to the Venetian music printing milieu at various times over the course of the century.

Breaking New Ground: Ottaviano Petrucci

In 1498, Ottaviano Petrucci was awarded an unprecedented twenty-year privilege guaranteeing that no other printer in the Venetian empire would be allowed to print polyphonic music or intabulations for organ or lute during the period of the privilege.⁷ Little is known of Petrucci's background and training prior to 1498; while his family had long resided in Fossombrone, there is no evidence that Ottaviano was active as a printer or bookman before being

6 A thorough overview of the process of setting type can be found in Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972; reprint Winchester, 1995), 40-56.

7 Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Oxford-New York, 2006), 77. While Boorman's catalogue is the most thorough single study of Petrucci's life and work, those interested in individual case studies would do well to consult the proceedings of a 2001 conference held in honor of the five-hundredth anniversary of Petrucci's first music print. See *Venezia 1501: Petrucci e la stampa musicale (Atti del Convegno internazionale, Venezia, Palazzo Giustinian Lolin, 10-13 ottobre 2001)*, ed. Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (Venice, 2005).

granted his Venetian privilege.⁸ As part of his application for this privilege, Petrucci referred to (though never completely described) a new method of printing polyphonic music. His multiple-impression techniques were not entirely new, having been used by printers of liturgical music, both in Venice and elsewhere, since the late 1480s. His decision to apply them more widely to the printing of polyphonic music was a new and critical development, however, and his refinement of the technology produced far superior results than those of his predecessors.

Petrucci's first book, the *Harmonice musices odhecaton A*, was issued in 1501. This inaugural collection consisted largely of chansons and other secular pieces, and its success is attested to by a series of reprints, new editions, and additional volumes in the series (*Canti B* and *Canti C*), all of which had appeared by 1504. The chanson prints represent only one facet of Petrucci's output during this time, as he also began to issue books of motets and masses by Josquin des Prez and other renowned composers of the early sixteenth century. He expanded his secular repertory again in 1504 with a book of frottole (see Figure 11.1), and continued to publish in a variety of sacred and secular genres over the next five years. His final Venetian publication dates from 27 March 1509, and he appears to have taken a two-year hiatus before resuming printing activities in Fossombrone in May 1511.⁹

One of Petrucci's closest collaborators on the early Venetian volumes was one Petrus Castellanus. Petrus is first mentioned in one of two prefatory letters to the *Odhecaton A*, in which he is said to be 'most renowned for religion and for musical learning' ('religione et musicae disciplina memoratissimi') and in which we learn that 'these hundred songs' have been 'corrected by his diligent labor' ('diligentia centena haec carmina repurgata').¹⁰ Though scholars and editors of Petrucci's prints had long acknowledged Petrus's role as editor in this

8 Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 27–30 has suggested that Venetian laws regarding foreigners working in Venice would have made it nearly impossible for Petrucci to have arrived in Venice later than 1490. He has also argued that Petrucci may not have been a trained printer by the time he moved to Venice.

9 Given his relatively consistent rate of production and carefully developed business ties, both of which presumably led to some measure of financial stability, there is no clear evidence for why Petrucci might have left Venice while seemingly at the height of this portion of his career. It is possible that broader concerns about economic pressures in Venice at the end of the first decade of the century, including a decline in trade and a rise in disease, may have motivated his decision.

10 Letter from Bartolomeo Budrio in *Harmonice musices odhecaton A*. Translated by Leo-franc Holfred-Strevens and quoted in Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Lorenzo de' Medici, a Lost Isaac Manuscript, and the Venetian Ambassador', in *Musica Franca: Essays in Honor of*



FIGURE 11.1 *Colophon, Frottole libro primo (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1504)*. BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK MÜNCHEN, RAR. 878-1/9, <URN:NBN:DE:BVB:12-BSB00082307-7>

and other early Venetian volumes, it was Bonnie Blackburn who identified Petrus Castellanus as a Dominican friar primarily associated with the Venetian church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo.¹¹ He was well known in his time as both a musician and as an avid collector of music, and Blackburn has suggested that he must have had an arrangement in which he provided music to Petrucci and subsequently worked to prepare pieces for printing.¹² Though he cannot be tied to all of Petrucci's editions between 1501 and 1505, he is thought to have been both a principal supplier and a regular editor of Petrucci's prints until his departure from Venice in 1505.¹³ Petrus likely provided copies of music contained in the library at Santi Giovanni e Paolo as well as copies from the

Frank D'Accone, ed. Irene Alm, Alyson McLamore, and Colleen Reardon (Stuyvesant, 1996), 19-44, at 35.

11 Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Petrucci's Venetian Editor: Petrus Castellanus and his Musical Garden', in *Musica Disciplina* 49 (1995), 15-45.

12 Blackburn, 'Petrucci's Venetian Editor', 27-28.

13 Boorman has speculated that Petrucci might have had access to an increasingly varied circle of suppliers later in his career, but also acknowledges the possibility that Petrus may have been an important source for music even after he was no longer living in Venice. See Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, ch. 9.

extensive collection he had acquired during his travels among various houses of the Dominican Order, and evidence suggests that he was heavily involved in editing both music and texts.

The fact that Petrucci clearly chose to title the *Odhecaton* as the first in a series (implying that 'A' would be followed by B, C, etc.) indicates that he, along with his supplier(s) and financial backers, expected a stable market comprised of buyers willing and able to buy multiple collections of this kind of repertoire. This calculated risk eventually extended to other genres as well, again suggesting a particular set of market-driven expectations.¹⁴ While the obvious market for Petrucci's early volumes of sacred music would have been large religious institutions, it seems unlikely that these would have been enough to support the sheer volume of liturgical and devotion music issued by Petrucci during the first decade of the century, to say nothing of the secular music that became an increasingly significant component of Petrucci's output. As such, we must consider the possibility of a rapidly developing amateur market for this music, including—as Stanley Boorman has suggested—'clerics, purchasing for their own pleasure rather than for the institution they served, but others were certainly laymen, nobles, merchants, and bankers, who enjoyed music for its own sake and could read it well enough to understand what was going on in a composition'.¹⁵ This amateur market, though slow to expand in the early part of the century, would continue to play a key role in the evolution of the music printing industry several decades later. Boorman has argued that Petrucci's contributions to music printing 'ushered in, almost single-handedly, a revolution in the availability of music and in the level and spread of musical literacy,

14 Boorman's work has dealt extensively with trying to establish the size of print runs and with trying to define the size of the market for printed music books at various times during the sixteenth century. In addition to chs. 9 and 10 of Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, see his 'Early Music Printing: Working for a Specialized Market', in *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe*, ed. Gerald P. Tyson and Sylvia S. Wagonheim (Newark, 1986), 222-45. For discussions of market size later in the sixteenth century, see Boorman, 'Thoughts on the Popularity of Printed Music in 16th-Century Italy', in *Fontes artis musicae* 48 (2001), 129-44 and Richard J. Agee, 'A Venetian Music Printing Contract and Edition Size in the Sixteenth Century', in *Studi Musicali* 15 (1986), 59-65.

15 Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 338. The novelty of widely available printed music likely exaggerated growth among new classes of music buyers. Boorman has acknowledged that Petrucci's prints were certainly more expensive than those of his successors, but he suggests that Petrucci's books are favorably priced when compared to those of the Aldine press, which would have been a more meaningful comparison at the time (Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 336).

a revolution almost as significant for music as Gutenberg's was for other texts.¹⁶ More than anything else, Petrucci's lasting contribution to the history of music printing was the introduction of a technology that fundamentally changed the ways in which polyphonic music—sacred and secular—was disseminated; while new developments in printing quickly supplanted Petrucci's methods, the quality of his prints remained the standard for printed music throughout Europe for years to come.

Collaborative Efforts: Andrea Antico

Andrea Antico's career as an editor and publisher of polyphonic music began in Rome in 1510, where he remained active until 1518.¹⁷ During this time, he established himself as a successful creator and producer of beautifully printed music books whose artistic quality often rivalled those of Petrucci. As Petrucci worked to perfect his multiple impression technique, Antico excelled as a master woodcutter who worked in collaboration with printers and publishers to bring his collections to fruition. He was successfully granted papal privileges in 1513 and 1516, the second of which also included a statement revoking Petrucci's exclusive right to print organ tablatures and granting such privilege to Antico instead. Antico relocated to Venice at some point before 1520 and established a partnership with the Giunta firm, one of the most prolific Venetian printing houses during the first decades of the century.¹⁸ After publishing several collections of frottole, motets, and masses during the next two years, Antico's career appears to have come to a dramatic halt between 1522 and 1533—there are no extant prints or privileges to shed light on his activities during this time.

Antico's name next appears in connection with a book of Verdelot madrigals published by the Scotto press in 1533.¹⁹ Between 1533 and 1540, a total of seventeen Venetian editions were based on Antico's woodcuts, indicating his continued renown well into the third decade of his career. In contrast to earlier periods of activity in Rome and Venice, in which Antico was most often the person to initiate a particular print, he appears to have spent the last phase of

16 Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 3.

17 Catherine Weeks Chapman's dissertation remains the only monograph-length study of Antico's career and output. See Chapman, 'Andrea Antico' (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1964).

18 An overview of Antico's activities during his first years in Venice can be found in Martin Picker, 'The Motet Anthologies of Andrea Antico', in *A Musical Offering: Essays in Honor of Martin Bernstein*, ed. Edward H. Clinkscales and Claire Brook (New York, 1977), 211–38.

19 *Il primo libro de' madrigali a quattro voci di Verdelotto* (Venice, 1533; RISM 1533²).

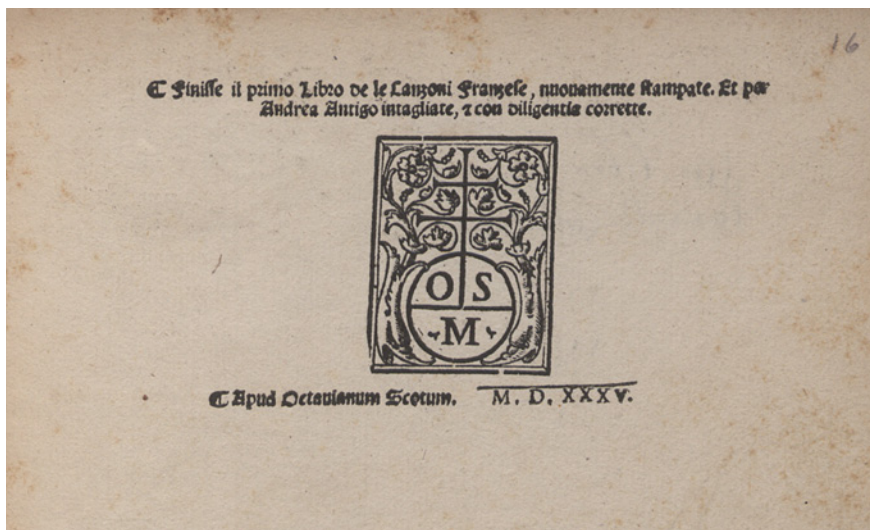


FIGURE 11.2 *Colophon*, Il primo Libro de le Canzoni Franzese, nuovamente stampate. Et per Andrea Antigo intagliate, et con diligentia corrette (Venice, 1535). BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK MÜNCHEN, RAR. 117 K, <URN:NBN:DE:BVB:12-BSB00082116-6>

his time in Venice as an employee of the Scotto firm (see Figure 11.2). Though Antico was likely no longer functioning as a member of an equal partnership, the Antico/Scotto volumes are among the last significant Venetian collections to be issued prior to the widespread shift to single impression printing at the end of the decade. Antico's final print, a 1539 collection of motets by Adrian Willaert, appears to have been an exception in this working relationship: though this is the *secondo libro* following a Scotto print issued earlier in the same year, Antico is clearly given credit for initiating and editing the volume, thus allowing him to return to the skill set he honed during his first years in Rome.²⁰

Histories of sixteenth-century music printing often describe Antico as Petrucci's Venetian successor. While this is accurate in several senses, it is also important to realize that Antico was a direct competitor of Petrucci's during the 1510s, as evidenced by the details of his 1516 privilege. At the height of his career in Rome, Antico's productivity exceeded that of Petrucci in some years, and they were often publishing music in the same genres and by some of the

20 *Motetti di Adrian Willaert. Libro secondo a quattro voci* (Venice, 1539).

same composers.²¹ Though Antico's success depended in large part on his successful collaborations with printers and publishers, his career and contributions deserve recognition in their own right, and the quality of his woodcuts places him among the very best of those using this method during the first half of the century.

Music Prints and the Marketplace: The Dominance of Gardano and Scotto

The year 1539 marked a number of important turning points in the history of Venetian music printing. Antico's final print was issued within months of Petrucci's death, both of which events marked the end of what Jane Bernstein has called the artisan phase of music printing.²² These events also coincided with a rapid shift to a new printing technology and with the rise of the most dominant personas in mid-century Venetian music printing: Antonio Gardano and Girolamo Scotto.

When Girolamo Scotto assumed a managerial position in the Scotto firm in 1539, he inherited a well-respected printing business that had been established by his uncle, Ottaviano (d. 1498), in the late 1470s.²³ In its early years, publications from the Scotto firm focused largely on philosophy, law, medicine, and classical texts, and Ottaviano continued to publish fairly regularly until his death in 1498. Over the next thirty years, the Scotto press was run by a number of relatives who published under the imprint *heredes Octaviani Scoti* ('the heirs of Ottaviano Scotto'). Ottaviano II (c. 1495-after 1566), one of several nephews using this imprint, began to take a more active role in the firm in the early 1530s. The younger Ottaviano was well-educated in philosophy and medicine and continued the family's interest in publishing works in these fields while slowly expanding into the realm of music printing. Ottaviano's involvement in music printing dates to the mid-1510s, including a noteworthy collaboration

21 Chapman, 'Andrea Antico', 1. For additional discussion of the dissemination of Petrucci and Antico prints, see Chapman, 'Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music Owned by Ferdinand Columbus', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21 (1968), 34-84.

22 Jane A. Bernstein, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (New York, 2001), 22.

23 Bernstein's definitive treatment of the firm can be found in *The Scotto Press* (cited above); in addition to Bernstein's other work cited above, see also 'Financial Arrangements and the Role of Printer and Composer in Sixteenth-Century Italian Music Printing', in *Acta Musicologica* 63 (1991), 39-56, and 'Musica Transalpina: The Transmission of Netherlandish and Venetian Music Publications in the mid-16th Century', in *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation* 2 (1997), 395-404.

with Antico and Antonio Giunta on the 1516 *Liber quindecim missarum*.²⁴ Music prints published by the Scotto press in the early 1530s centred largely on polyphonic vocal music (motets, madrigals, and chansons) and were printed almost entirely from Antico's expertly made woodcuts. While Ottaviano was responsible for overseeing the prints and Antico was responsible for preparing the necessary woodblocks, it was Ottaviano's brother, Girolamo, who had the musical background to edit and assemble the printed music.

Although Girolamo did not move into a position of leadership until 1539, he was undoubtedly active in the affairs of the press from a much earlier age. Under his guidance, the press spent its time printing Aristotelian texts and music in nearly equal measure, with Girolamo almost solely responsible for the musical output.²⁵ Girolamo's rise to a more prominent role in the firm coincided with the decision to move to single-impression music printing, and it was under Girolamo's guidance that the house of Scotto became one of the most prolific music printing firms of the sixteenth century. Outside the realm of music, Girolamo also enjoyed success as a bookseller throughout Italy and Northern Europe and served as a financial backer for a number of smaller Italian printers (see below). Though music dominated his output, he continued the Scotto firm's history of publishing important works in law, medicine, theology, and classical texts. In 1571, at the very end of his career, he was elected the first leader of the Venetian Guild of Printers and Booksellers.

When Girolamo assumed artistic and financial control of the Scotto firm in 1539, Antonio Gardano was just beginning to establish himself as a musician and printer in Venice.²⁶ Believed to have been born in southern France, he

24 *Liber quindecim missarum electarum quae per excellentissimos musicos compositae fuerunt* (Rome, 1516; RISM 1516¹). See Bernstein, *The Scotto Press*, 41 and 111-12. Bernstein also discusses a financial relationship between Amadio Scotto and Petrucci, providing another important example of collaboration among early music printers and publishers.

25 Bernstein, *The Scotto Press*, 44.

26 Mary S. Lewis's three-volume descriptive bibliography of Antonio Gardano's printed output is the single most important source of Gardano scholarship to date; see *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer, 1538-1569: A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study*, 3 vols. (New York-London, 1988-2005). Where Bernstein has focused on the business aspects of Venetian printing, Lewis has attempted to better define the relationships among various circles of Venetian musicians, intellectuals, and printers. See 'Antonio Gardano's Early Connections with the Willaert Circle', in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1992), 209-25; 'The Printed Music Book in Context: Observations on Some Sixteenth-Century Editions', in *Notes* 46 (1990), 899-918; 'Response: Manuscripts and Printed Music in the World of Patrons and Collectors', in *Atti del XIV Congresso della società internazionale di musicologia: Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale* (Turin, 1990), vol. 1, 319-25; and

seems to have been known primarily as a composer by the time he moved to Venice at some point in the late 1530s.²⁷ Little is known about his training as a printer, but some have suggested that he may have worked with French printer Jacques Moderne (c. 1495/1500–after 1560) in Lyons; this connection is particularly plausible given that Gardano acknowledged several of Moderne's prints as models for his own early motet publications.²⁸ He may also have apprenticed with Venetian printer Agostino Bindoni, whose daughter he married shortly before he established his own print shop in Venice.²⁹ Given the relative obscurity of his background, it is remarkable that Gardano was able to compete with Scotto's success from the very beginning. Gardano also seems to have been accepted into Venetian musical and intellectual circles quite quickly, making ties with many of the composers associated with San Marco and the 'Willaert circle'.³⁰ Though his first few years in Venice were spent struggling to find and print new repertory, by the early 1540s his prints featured a great deal of music by local composers such as Jan Gero, Jacques Buus, Domenico Ferrabosco, and Willaert.

Although each began his career in a print shop, Gardano and Scotto were not just printers: over time, they were responsible for coordinating all aspects of book production; supervising a diverse staff (including apprentices, journeymen, master printers, composers, and pressmen); pursuing opportunities for cooperative ventures with fellow printers, publishers, and composers; and coordinating the distribution of prints in Venice and beyond. As Bernstein has pointed out, though there is no single modern term that encompasses each of the roles played by these multi-faceted bookmen, their contemporaries

'Twins, Cousins, and Heirs: Relationships among Editions of Music Printed in Sixteenth-Century Venice', in *Critica musica: Essays in Honor of Paul Brainard*, ed. John Knowles (Amsterdam, 1996), 193–224.

27 A Venetian document of May 1538 refers to Gardano as 'musicso francese', and he retained the French spelling of his name, Gardane, in many of his prints as late as the 1550s (see Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, vol. 1, 17). Girolamo Scotto was also a capable composer who wrote in all the major styles and genres of his time; over a period of more than 30 years, he printed more than 200 of his own works.

28 Samuel Pogue, though, has argued against this theory, primarily because several of Moderne's prints from 1532 and 1533 are full of errors (including his print of a mass setting by Gardano). See Pogue, *Jacques Moderne: Lyons Music Printer of the Sixteenth Century* (Geneva, 1969), 72–73, and 'A Sixteenth-Century Editor at Work: Gardane and Moderne', in *The Journal of Musicology* 1 (1982), 217–38.

29 Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, vol. 1, 20 and Thomas Bridges, 'The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book of Madrigals' (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1982), 98.

30 Lewis, 'The Willaert Circle', 215–17.

referred to them simply as *mercatori* [merchants].³¹ The terms 'printer' and 'publisher' are often used interchangeably in much of the scholarship regarding sixteenth-century Venetian music printing, and it is easy to see why this is the case; while it is true that Gardano and Scotto would have overseen the entire printing process, their involvement in financing and marketing their publications was equally essential to their success.

One of the keys to the successful marketing of mid-century prints was a distinctive printer's mark. While the earliest printer's marks were often monograms, later examples made use of an astonishing array of emblems, typically in elaborately produced woodcuts, intended to serve as an obvious visual marker for a potential buyer. Nearly all of Gardano's prints feature a lion and a bear holding a rose between them, an image commonly believed to be a homage to Bishop Leone Orsini, one of Gardano's most important early patrons.³² Prior to 1542, this mark was given clear priority as the most important element of a title page, as seen in Jacques Arcadelt's *Primo libro di madrigali ... a quattro voci* from 1539, reproduced as Figure 11.3. Girolamo Scotto employed a much broader range of marks, many of which featured anchors or images associated with fame or peace. The 1543 title page of Cristóbal de Morales' book of four-voice motets, given as Figure 11.4, includes one of the anchor-based marks, in which the anchor and the log symbolize Venice's dominance both at sea and on land.³³

Throughout their careers, Gardano and Scotto published much of the same music.³⁴ From the beginning, each sought to appeal to a wide variety of potential buyers by printing as large a selection of music as possible. Despite efforts to distinguish themselves, the early prints of Gardano and Scotto show a clear overlap in repertory. Their priorities were fairly similar in terms of genre: madrigals comprised the largest percentage of each printer's output, followed by publications of motets, other liturgical music, light forms such as the villanesca, and instrumental music. Little is known about their sources for these early prints; in some cases, they seem to have been able to access competing repertories that allowed them to issue a variety of music, but in other cases

31 Bernstein, *Print Culture*, 10. For a more thorough discussion of the inner workings of Scotto's print shop, see Bernstein, *The Scotto Press*, 55-61.

32 See Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, vol. 1, 42-43.

33 Bernstein has identified a total of eighteen different prints marks used by the Scotto press during Girolamo's career, nearly all of which have explicit symbolic connections to Venetian imagery. For a detailed discussion, see Bernstein, *The Scotto Press*, 80-85.

34 Although each issued more than 400 music prints, many of these collections were reprints of earlier editions, making the overall size of the repertory considerably smaller than it might otherwise seem.



FIGURE 11.3

Title page of the tenor, *Jacques Arcadelt*, Il primo libro di madrigali d'Archadelt a quatro con nuova gionta impressi (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1539). BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK MÜNCHEN, 4 MUS.PR. 95,

<URN:NBN:DE:BV:B:12-BSB00071893-4>

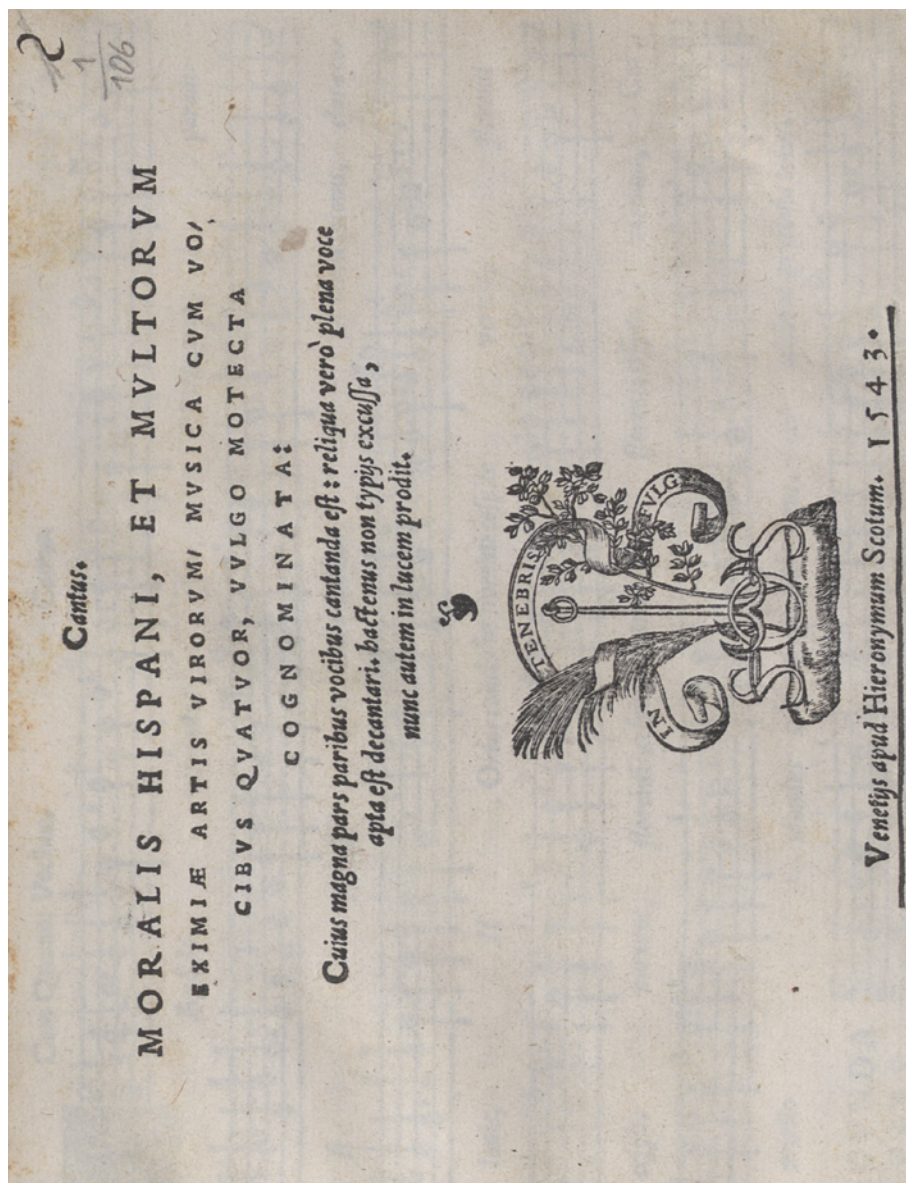


FIGURE 11.4

Title page of the *cantus*, *Moralis Hispani, et multorum eximiae artis virorum musica cum vocibus quatuor, vulgo motecta cognominata* (Venice: Ottaviano Scotto, 1543). BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK MÜNCHEN, 4 MUS.PR. 106#BE1BD.1, <URN:NBN:DE:BYB:12-BSB00079624-5>

they appear to be printing and reprinting each other's work.³⁵ With such a high degree of overlap in the music issued from each press, scholars have long debated the exact nature of the relationship between the two men and their work. Much has been made about instances in which Gardano and Scotto issued nearly identical collections within the same year, and early writers such as Alfred Einstein assumed that the second of such editions must have been pirated in some way.³⁶

Richard Agee was among the first to suggest that Gardano and Scotto may not have been rivals. In his study of the function of the privilege in sixteenth-century Venetian printing, Agee argues that a careful study of existing documents shows that neither printer ever actually accused the other of stealing his music, and that each seems to have respected the other's privileges.³⁷ Mary Lewis's investigation of the closely issued pairs of editions reinforces the notion that the relationship between Gardano and Scotto was something of a cooperative one in which they seem to have capitalized on 'a repertory with potential for commercial success, and to have taken advantage of opportunities to publish as much of that repertory as possible without encroaching on each other's rights'.³⁸ Perhaps the strongest evidence of a collaborative effort between the two can be found in the dedication to Gardano's 1541 edition of duos from Jan Gero: the dedication is not only written and signed by Scotto, but the text of the dedication reveals that Scotto was responsible for commissioning both the composition and the printing of the works.³⁹ Ultimately, it seems likely that Gardano and Scotto worked in a cooperative environment

35 In the late 1530s and early 1540s, Gardano seems to have focused on Arcadelt prints while Scotto was issuing a great deal of music by Verdelot. At the same time, there are a handful of examples in which Gardano and Scotto issued virtually the same collection in the same year (or in consecutive years), suggesting either similar sources or a mechanism by which one was reprinting the other's work. For more, see Lewis, 'Twins, Cousins, and Heirs'.

36 Einstein seemed to side with Gardano, going so far as to declare that Scotto 'was essentially a pirate, even though many musicians came to him with their original works': see Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 3 vols., trans. Alexander H. Krappe, Roger H. Sessions, and Oliver Strunk (Princeton, 1949), vol. 1, 166.

37 Richard J. Agee, 'The Venetian Privilege and Music-Printing in the Sixteenth Century', in *Early Music* 3 (1983), 1-42 at 16-17. Gardano had a history of accusing others of plagiarism, most notably Ferrarese printer Johannes de Bulghat. In a series of title pages and dedications to motet prints published in 1538 and 1539, Bulghat and Gardano traded insults and accusations regarding the overlapping repertory within their prints.

38 Lewis, 'Twins, Cousins, and Heirs', 216.

39 *Ihan Gero il primo libro de madrigali italiani, et canzoni francese, a due voci* (Venice, 1541; RISM 1541¹⁴). This dedication was first discussed in Bridges, 'The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book of Madrigals', 131.

that was mutually beneficial: sharing supplies and equipment, forming partnerships when necessary, and printing and reprinting repertoire that was popular and commercially successful.⁴⁰ Such a relationship allowed Gardano and Scotto to maintain a monopoly over the music printing industry for much of the middle of the sixteenth century.

Although it is perhaps impossible to determine the exact make-up of the market for printed madrigal books in Venice, Gardano and Scotto attempted to create an audience for their prints by maintaining strong ties to each other and to close circles of Venetian musicians, writers, and intellectuals, tapping into local communities of interested buyers.⁴¹ The evidence for such connections, together with documentation for a more wide-ranging audience of prospective buyers, supports the suggestion that, as commercial music printing grew in the middle decades of the sixteenth century, the market for printed music grew and diversified at a comparable rate.

As Lewis and others have emphasized, the rapid development of commercial music printing would not have been possible without the existence of a steady number of musically literate buyers.⁴² As in earlier decades, the exact make-up of this potential market has been debated by scholars and is difficult to pinpoint due to a lack of publishers' records and the potential loss of music that may have once existed in libraries and personal collections. Lewis has succinctly described likely mid-century buyers as follows:

The distribution, purchase, and collecting of music books during the sixteenth century resulted in numerous scenarios of transmission and acquisition. Purchasers included the casual amateur who picked up a volume or two at the local bookstore, avid collectors who sought out music on an international level, professional and courtly musicians who needed a repertory from which to learn and perform, clergy acquiring sacred music for private devotional use and recreation, and large ecclesiastical institutions who bought substantial quantities of music for their daily and festal services.⁴³

Boorman has argued that 'virtually every purchaser would have been able to read music ... to a very great extent, the purchasers of any volume must have

40 Bernstein, *Print Culture*, 149-50.

41 Lewis, 'The Willaert Circle', *passim*.

42 Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, vol. 1, 7.

43 Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, vol. 3, 48.

been either performers or promoters of performers'.⁴⁴ Although these performers likely included both professionals and amateurs, it is difficult to estimate the extent of musical literacy by the middle of the sixteenth century. Agee, in a discussion of bookshop records from Florence and Antwerp toward the end of the century, has demonstrated that the music-buying public was 'solidly middle-class by profession', including clerics, leather-workers, customs inspectors, government officials, and religious figures, in addition to musicians, other booksellers, and close friends of the publisher and the seller.⁴⁵

Three primary forces worked to shape and define this market over time: patrons, collectors, and publishers. Patrons undoubtedly played a large role in the early decades, facilitating and financing publications which may or may not have reached a large audience. Dedications from printed collections indicate the existence of private patronage from a number of musical and intellectual circles, including members of prominent European families. Bernstein has suggested that dedications also hint at a 'greater degree of independence' in the Venetian patronage system than could be found elsewhere in Italy, as shown by the number of 'high government officials, foreign ambassadors, merchants, intellectuals, university professors, and even composers' found among named dedicatees.⁴⁶ This level of independence allowed for freedom from the strict policing of the church and freedom from the artistic preferences of a single ruler. This is not to say, however, that there were no fixed sources of patronage within the Venetian community. Martha Feldman's work on the private salons and *accademie* that flourished in Venice at this time has shown that these gatherings were progressive in their artistic tendencies and played a significant role in the 'textures of vernacular patronage' that characterized the city's interaction with its artists, writers, and musicians.⁴⁷

While patronage, in all its forms, was clearly an essential component of the development of Venetian music printing, Lewis argues that the collector (most likely a buyer of the kind described above) played an equally significant role, explaining that 'patrons can be defined as those who are responsible in some way for the creation of a piece of music, while collectors are those who obtain a work independently of its original function, solely because the music pleases

44 Boorman, 'Working for a Specialized Market', 222.

45 Richard J. Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569-1611* (Rochester, 1998), 27. In the same discussion, Agee demonstrates, in general terms, that the wages of most skilled laborers in Venice would have been sufficient to allow them to occasionally purchase a set of printed partbooks.

46 Bernstein, *Print Culture*, 104.

47 Martha Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley etc., 1995), 22-23. See also the chapter by Rodolfo Baroncini in the present volume.

them, or they have reason to believe it will please them'.⁴⁸ In this view, the patron has the power to define musical taste and to influence the creation of new works, but the collector has the power to select—and thus financially support—the product that interests him. In the case of music, this power extends not only to the acquisition of the print itself but also to the choice to perform its music.⁴⁹ The third force, falling between the patron and the collector in this process, was the publisher himself. As supply and demand became a larger part of the reality of music publication, the publisher's ability to shape public tastes played a major role in the evolution of sixteenth-century music. Like their predecessors, Gardano, Scotto, and others in their position quickly identified those repertoires that had the greatest potential for commercial success and worked tirelessly to produce publications that might appeal to a growing public.

New Printers, New Collaborations: 1560s-1570s

The 1550s and 1560s witnessed a period of remarkable wealth and stability in Venice, and the firms of Gardano and Scotto continued to thrive in this environment. The resulting economic prosperity also allowed for an expanding Venetian market that could support additional presses working in all fields. In music, the most successful new printers were Francesco Rampazetto (c. 1510-c. 1576) and Claudio Merulo (1533-1604). Though neither could approach the quantity or quality of the larger printing houses, Rampazetto and Merulo were collectively responsible for more than sixty music prints during a ten-year period, proof of a growing musical market that could support a growing number of successful music printers in Venice.⁵⁰

Francesco Rampazetto produced nearly 200 editions (including at least 31 sets of music partbooks) during his career, making him the most prolific rival printer during the height of productivity of the Gardano and Scotto firms.⁵¹

48 Lewis, 'Response', 321. See also Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, vol. 1, 9.

49 Lewis, 'Response', 324.

50 In his discussion of the hypothetical size of the market for printed music in sixteenth-century Italy, Boorman has suggested that the lack of successful printers who could rival the output of Gardano and Scotto indicates that the market must have been smaller—or, at least, must have grown more slowly—than commonly believed. (See Boorman, 'Thoughts on the Popularity of Printed Music', 132-34.) Though his overall assessment may be correct, the 1560s is arguably one decade that contradicts this argument.

51 To date, the only comprehensive study of Rampazetto's music output is Claire Iannotta Nielsen's MA thesis (and the *New Grove* article ultimately derived from her work in

His musical output consisted largely of reprints of previously issued collections, and his relatively few first editions included many previously printed pieces and rarely contributed to the Venetian market in any new or particularly significant way.⁵² Bibliographic evidence (such as shared type and shared repertory) suggests a connection between Rampazetto and Scotto; indeed, it seems possible that Scotto may have contracted Rampazetto during periods of extremely high demand. Information on title pages and in colophons attests to similar relationships with other bookmen in Venice and surrounding areas. A title-page woodcut used on nine of Rampazetto's music prints between 1565 and 1568 (see Figure 11.5) bears an almost exact resemblance to one previously used by Plinio Pietrasanta, perhaps indicating an undocumented partnership of some kind that ultimately benefitted both printers in their quest to compete with the larger presses.⁵³ Rampazetto's high esteem among Venetian printers likely led to his election as the Prior of the Guild of Booksellers upon Scotto's death in 1572.

Though he is now known primarily as a composer, Claudio Merulo's role as an organist at San Marco allowed him to maintain relationships with a complex network of patrons, writers, organ builders, and bookmen during the height of his career. Active as a printer primarily between 1566 and 1571, Merulo issued approximately three dozen music collections during the course of his brief tenure as a printer (most of them under the name 'Claudio da Correggio').⁵⁴ The bulk of his output consisted of madrigals and other secular songs and focused on the music of contemporary composers as well as the music of earlier generations still popular in print. He does not seem to have had direct ties to either Gardano or Scotto during this time, though his own compositions

preparing the thesis). See Nielsen, 'Francesco Rampazetto, Venetian Printer, and a Catalogue of his Music Editions' (MA Thesis, Tufts University, 1987).

52 One notable exception is Rampazetto's publication of Gioseffo Zarlino's *Modulationes sex vocum* in 1566. Cristle Collins Judd and Katelijne Schiltz have suggested that this motet collection may have been intended to silence critics of Zarlino's recent appointment as *maestro di cappella* at San Marco. For more on this print, see Gioseffo Zarlino, *Motets from the 1560s: Seventeen Motets from Modulationes sex vocum and Motetta D. Cipriani de Rore et aliorum auctorum*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd and Katelijne Schiltz, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* 163 (Middleton, WI, 2015), xii-xix.

53 Pietrasanta was active as a printer in Venice between 1553 and 1557. His output includes just four music prints, including a reprint of Arcadelt's *Primo libro*: see Bridges, 'The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book of Madrigals', 179-80.

54 For a summary of Merulo's career in music printing, see Rebecca A. Edwards, 'Claudio Merulo: Servant of the State and Musical Entrepreneur in Late Sixteenth-Century Venice' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1990).

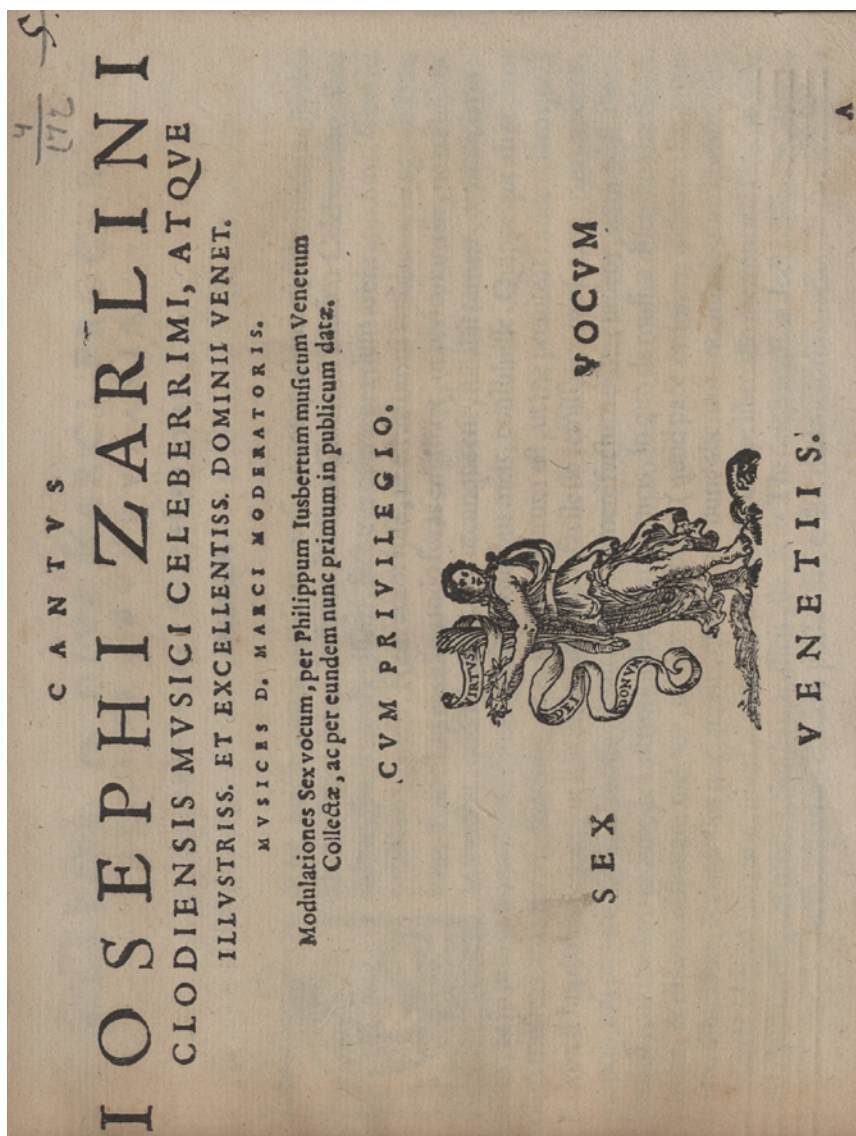


FIGURE 11.5 Title page of the *cantus*, *Gioseffo Zarlino, Iosephi Zarlino ... Modulationes Sex vocum, per Philippum Iusbertum musicum Venetum Collectæ, ac per eundem nunc primum in publicum datæ (Venice: Francesco Rampazatto, 1566)*. BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK MÜNCHEN, 4 MUS.PR. 172#BEIBD.4, <URN:NBN:DE:BYB:12-BSB00074771-7>

continued to be printed and reprinted by both. In his *Ricercari d'intavolature d'organo, libro primo* (1567), Merulo outlined plans for a twelve-volume series of intabulated organ works designed to capitalize on what he perceived as a large potential market interested in contemporary keyboard works. He was unable to complete this project before selling his press in 1571, and several of the later volumes were eventually printed by other Venetian presses.⁵⁵

Between 1565 and 1568, Scotto issued a series of madrigal collections whose title page included the phrase 'Di novo posti in luce per Giulio Bonagiunta da San Genesi.'⁵⁶ Prior to his association with the Scotto press, Bonagiunta was a relatively unknown composer of various secular Italian genres; in his role as an editor for Scotto's collections, he was responsible for compiling anthologies that intersected with many different layers of mid-Cinquecento musical life.⁵⁷ The dedications of the prints bearing his name suggest that he was a friend and trusted musical advisor to composers such as Cipriano de Rore and Orlando di Lasso; in the dedication to Lasso's fifth book of motets, Bonagiunta claims that Lasso—a composer who was notoriously fussy about trusting others with the accurate printing of his music—gave him 'many musical compositions' on the condition that he would supervise their printing.⁵⁸ Other collections suggest a tendency to dedicate prints not to rulers of particularly high stature, but rather to lesser-known members of some of Venice's most prominent families. These dedications, as well as Bonagiunta's decision to compile anthologies that included works by some of Venice's more obscure composers, provide evidence of a continuing attempt to market such anthologies to a specifically Venetian audience while allowing composers of lesser stature to share the spotlight with composers of international fame. Although little is known about Scotto's working relationship with Bonagiunta, Bernstein has suggested that Bonagiunta's role may have extended beyond that of editor to include a significant role in the financial underwriting of these collections, and that, in these

55 Thought Merulo's exact reasons for selling his press are unknown, Edwards has suggested that Merulo wished to leave a field increasingly defined by its response to the politics of the Inquisition. In Edwards's words, 'the Venetian government, in conjunction with the Holy Office, transformed the trade from one characterized by freedom and adventure into one of fear, distrust and tedious bureaucratic detail'. Edwards, 'Claudio Merulo', 208.

56 Despite the spelling often included on Scotto's title pages, the commonly accepted spelling of this name is 'Bonagiunta'.

57 A summary of Bonagiunta's editing activities can be found in Bernstein, *The Scotto Press*, 143-44, and Giulio Ongaro, 'Venetian Printed Anthologies of Music in the 1560s and the Role of the Editor', in *The Dissemination of Music: Studies in the History of Music Publishing*, ed. Hans Lenneberg (Lausanne, 1994), 43-69.

58 Ongaro, 'Venetian Printed Anthologies', 50.

instances, Scotto may have served merely as printer.⁵⁹ Regardless of the exact division of labour, the Bonagiunta/Scotto prints provide yet another example of fruitful collaboration among Venetian bookmen.

Music Printing at the End of the Cinquecento

Perhaps the most transformative events in the post-1560 period were the deaths of Antonio Gardano and Girolamo Scotto. Venetian records confirm that Gardano died of a fever on 29 October 1569, and it is likely that he was a victim of the typhus outbreak that had begun to spread through Venice earlier that month.⁶⁰ Prior to his death, all prints issued from the Gardano press included only Antonio's name, though it is fairly safe to assume that his sons and heirs, Angelo (c. 1540-1611) and Alessandro (before 1540-1591/1603), were working in the print shop for some time before their father's death. Such family business ventures were common in Venice (and throughout Europe); the role of Gardano's sons prior to 1569 was probably similar to Girolamo Scotto's role in his uncle's firm before he began printing works under his own name. Angelo and Alessandro printed their first edition in 1569 under name 'li figliuoli di Antonio Gardano' and continued to publish as a partnered unit for several years. Although Alessandro was the eldest of the four Gardano children, it was Angelo who seems to have assumed primary responsibility for the Gardano firm at the age of twenty-eight.⁶¹

The Gardano brothers, like many of their Venetian colleagues, felt the impact of the periods of famine and plague common during this time. Despite

59 Bernstein, *The Scotto Press*, 143. The appearance of several editions with printer's marks not related to those typically used by the Scotto press has led Bernstein to suggest that these editions were most likely financed by a publisher other than Scotto. She is careful to point out that printer's marks were sometimes more closely associated with the publisher than with the printer, and has identified three such marks known to belong to other Venetian bookmen. See also Bernstein, *The Scotto Press*, 85.

60 Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms*, 16. The following discussion of Angelo and Alessandro Gardano is based largely on chs. 7 and 8 of Agee's monograph.

61 Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms*, 54 summarizes the contents of a number of legal and financial documents that he suggests are a testimony to the leadership role Angelo played in a number of aspects of Gardano family life, arguing that such documents are a 'testimony to the trust he evoked from those around him'. Comparably little is known about the personality and prior business engagements of Alessandro, who seems to have played a secondary role in the affairs of the Gardano printing firm in the years immediately following his father's death.

these hardships, it appears that the initial years of their partnership allowed them to continue many of the practices established by their father. Of the 112 editions published by the brothers between 1569 and 1575, fifty-nine were collections devoted to madrigals. In the years following the death of Antonio, the first major change in the daily workings of the Gardano press came in 1575, when Alessandro withdrew from the family firm and set up his own Venetian print shop. Alessandro's output paled (both in terms of quantity and significance) when compared to that of his brother, and after several years struggling to compete in the Venetian market he eventually moved to Rome in the early 1580s. Though his time in Rome remains comparatively undocumented, he is known to have worked both alone and in collaboration with a variety of Roman printers, issuing a total of 94 editions (musical and non-musical) between 1582 and 1591.⁶²

After assuming sole ownership of the Gardano firm in Venice, Angelo Gardano began printing under his own name and taking a more active role in the local printing community, where he quickly earned the respect and admiration of his colleagues. The first several years of his tenure as owner were overshadowed by the devastation of the plague, but the press quickly rebounded and began issuing an average of three dozen editions each year. Angelo was responsible for at least 813 publications between 1575 and 1611 (and 925 total if one includes those editions printed in collaboration with Alessandro between 1569 and 1575).⁶³ The sheer volume of the collections issued under his name make him one of the most influential printers of his generation.

The life and career of Melchiorre Scotto (c. 1540-1613), heir to the Scotto firm following Girolamo's death in 1572, is far less well-documented than the history of the Gardano heirs. Like Girolamo before him, Melchiorre inherited the press from his uncle after having played a prominent role as an agent for the firm since the mid-1560s.⁶⁴ Printing under the name 'l'herede di Girolamo Scotto', he maintained the diverse output characteristic of the Scotto press throughout its history, issuing editions of classical texts, law, religions, philosophy, and medicine in addition to musical collections. In contrast to Angelo Gardano, whose productivity far exceeded that of his immediate predecessor, Melchiorre was unable to match the prolific output of his uncle. Over the course of his career, he issued a respectable 375 prints between 1572 and 1613, nearly three-quarters of which were musical prints.

62 Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms*, 64.

63 Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms*, 4.

64 Bernstein, *The Scotto Press*, 51.

During the 1580s, two bookmen managed to establish themselves as noteworthy competitors to the well-established firms of Gardano and Scotto. Ricciardo Amadino (fl. 1572-1621) and Giacomo Vincenti († 1619) collaborated to produce approximately eighty books between 1583 and 1586, nearly all of which were musical volumes.⁶⁵ Their output included both reprints and first editions, with a mix of single-composer and multi-composer collections featuring Giovanni Matteo Asola, Luca Marenzio, and Paolo Virchi, among others. After a brief but productive partnership, Amadino and Vincenti each continued to print independently over the next several decades. Both printed music in quantities large enough to qualify them as significant competitors in the Venetian market and beyond. Vincenti's output was more varied, and his network of connections with bookmen outside of Venice was slightly larger, but Amadino was frequently commissioned by both composers and booksellers throughout the Italian peninsula. He is perhaps best known as the publisher of much of Claudio Monteverdi's work from the Mantuan portion of his career, including the third (1592), fourth (1603), fifth (1605), and sixth (1614) madrigal books; the *Scherzi musicali a tre voci* (1607); the *Vespro della Beata Vergine* (1610); and the first published version of *L'Orfeo* in 1609.

While printers active in the last decades of the century were issuing music books—both first editions and reprints—in unprecedented numbers, many of these prints are prime examples of the generally declining quality of single-impression prints by the end of the Cinquecento. In contrast to the artistry of the prints produced by Petrucci and Antico, the prints of Amadino, Vincenti, and their contemporaries often sacrificed quality and aesthetics for quantity and rapid production at relatively low cost. Despite changes in technology, however, the goals of this generation of printers were likely quite similar to those of their predecessors: producing prints that would appeal to the widest possible buying public while working to expand and nurture that public as much as possible. And, like their predecessors, they achieved these goals largely through careful selection of repertory and well-planned collaborations with composers, editors, and other printers and publishers. The result was a century of dynamic change in which those responsible for the compilation, organization, and production of printed music books exerted significant influence on the musical tastes of generations of music buyers, collectors, and performers in Venice and beyond.

65 See Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms*, 73 and Bridges, "The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book of Madrigals", 228-38.

From Aaron to Zarlino: Music Theorists in the Social and Cultural Matrix of Sixteenth-Century Venice

Rebecca Edwards

The Serenissima as Context

But if you heard the divine sound that I have tasted with the ears of my intellect here in Venice, you would be astounded ... I heard one night a concert of viols and voices in which Polissena Pecorina ... (wife of a citizen of my home town [Florence]), played and sang in the company of other excellent musicians, the flawless master of which was Adriano Willaert. The music of his invention, in a style never before employed, was so concerted, so sweet, so just and so miraculously appropriate to the words that I confessed never in my life to have known true harmony until that evening.

ANTONFRANCESCO DONI, *Dedication to Dialogo della musica* (Venice, 1544)¹



The extraordinary achievements in theoretical and practical music that occurred in Venice's public and private spheres during the Cinquecento derived from a conflation of highly complex, carefully fostered conditions unique to the Serenissima. Among these were a richly embroidered history founded upon myth and self-glorification;² a city-state devout in its faith yet fiercely independent of Rome;³ a government dedicated to civic stability

1 Cited in Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, trans. Gary S. Tomlinson and ed. Leo Treitler (New York, 1978), 333-34.

2 On the myth of Venice see James Grubb, 'When Myths Lose Power: Four Decades of Venetian Historiography', in *The Journal of Modern History* 58 (1986), 43-94 and *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State 1297-1797*, ed. John J. Martin and Dennis Romano (Baltimore-London, 2000), 1-35.

3 Gaetano Cozzi, 'I rapporti tra Stato e Chiesa', in *La Chiesa di Venezia tra Riforma protestante e Riforma cattolica*, ed. Giuseppe Gullino (Venice, 1990), 11-36; Giorgio Cracco, "E per tetto il

and economic prosperity;⁴ an educated patriciate steeped in Renaissance humanism;⁵ a ducal chapel of exceptional distinction;⁶ and a printing industry capable of circulating Venice's achievements throughout Europe.⁷

At the turbulent dawn of the century, intense intellectual and artistic currents had gathered force in the estuary despite, or perhaps because of, Venice's devastating defeats by the ecclesiastical and military weapons her neighbours had arrayed against her. A staunch, unwavering belief in the city's destiny nevertheless prevailed, prompting Doges and the Procuratori to make decisions about her musical and artistic life that reinforced deeply held, often-repeated, patrician convictions, notably, that Venice had been founded upon the waters by God and protected by His Apostle Mark (rather than Peter) and would, with God's help, display His splendour on earth.⁸

In hiring Adrian Willaert, hailed a 'new Pythagoras' and 'new Prometheus of celestial harmony',⁹ to head the Doge's private chapel, a uniquely innovative

cielo." Dinamiche religiose di uno stato nascente', in *Storia di Venezia: dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, vol. 3: *La formazione dello stato patrizio*, ed. Girolamo Arnaldi, Giorgio Cracco, and Alberto Tenenti (Rome, 1997), 957-96.

- 4 Franco Gaeta, 'Venezia da "Stato misto" ad aristocrazia "esemplare"', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 4.1: *Dalla controriforma alla fine della repubblica: Il Seicento*, ed. Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Vicenza, 1983), 437-94; Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton, 1986).
- 5 Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore-London, 1989); Margaret L. King, 'The Venetian Intellectual World', in *A Companion to Venetian History 1400-1797*, ed. Eric R. Dursteler (Leiden, 2013), 571-614.
- 6 Giulio M. Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St. Mark's at the Time of Adrian Willaert (1527-1562): A Documentary Study' (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1986) and 'Sixteenth-Century Patronage at St. Mark's, Venice', in *Early Music History* 8 (1988), 81-115; Rebecca Edwards, 'Claudio Merulo: Servant of the State and Musical Entrepreneur in Later Sixteenth-Century Venice' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1990), ch. 2. See also the contributions by Ongaro and Francesco Passadore in the present volume.
- 7 Brian Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: the Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470-1600* (Cambridge, 1994); Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)* (Oxford, 1998) and *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (New York-Oxford, 2001); Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer, 1538-1569: A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study*, 3 vols. (New York, 1988-2005); Richard Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569-1611* (Rochester, 1998). See also the chapter by Sherri Bishop in the present volume.
- 8 Marin Sanudo, *I darii di Marino Sanuto (MCCCCXCVI-MDXXXIII) dall'autografo Marciano ital. cl. VII codd. CDLIX-CDLXXVII*, ed. Rinaldo Fulin et al., 58 vols. (Venice, 1879-1903), vol. 8, cols. 187-204; Ellen Rosand, 'Music and the Myth of Venice', in *Renaissance Quarterly* 30 (1977), 511-37.
- 9 Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1558; facsimile edition New York, 1965), 1-2 and Silvestro Ganassi, *Regola Rubertina* (Venice, 1543), dedication.

Fleming was brought to occupy a position at the very centre of Venetian musical life.¹⁰ Even as he presided over the Cappella Marciana, Willaert soon became a sought-after presence in the heterodox private *ridotti* held in the city's opulent *palazzi* where, as the music printer Angelo Gardano reported, 'the most perfect vocal music is sung and played by the most outstanding musicians, and ... the best society ... gathers regularly and with great pleasure'.¹¹

Theorists, composers, organists, singers, and instrumentalists aspired to attend these illustrious soirées, eager to join the elite of the Veneto in discussions of science, mathematics, music, and books. Presence at these glittering gatherings bestowed a mark of professionalism and provided opportunities to engage with the largely male literary world.¹² Patrician hosts, educated in Classical Latin and Greek, spoke carefully with one another in a modern language that steered between the Trecento Tuscan advocated by Bembo and Venetian dialect. In such settings, Claudio Tolomeo recommended use of the 'language of gentlemen', not the 'the dregs of woolworkers' speech', and the writer Stefano Guazzo wryly drew distinctions between 'doti' and 'idioti'.¹³

This vibrant, burgeoning sphere provided inspiration for the eight theorists who are the subjects of this chapter: Giovanni Spataro, Pietro Aaron, Giovanni Del Lago, and Lodovico Fogliano, who lived during the first half of the century, and Nicola Vicentino, Gioseffo Zarlino, Lodovico Zacconi, and Girolamo Diruta, a younger generation who studied either with Adrian Willaert or with one of his close colleagues at the Basilica of San Marco. While the first group maintained a deep admiration for their predecessors who had emphasized mathematical schemes and speculative constructs, paying homage to the past through careful citation, they nevertheless became increasingly fascinated by, and engaged with, far more practical concerns. By mid- and later century, when the Friulian poet, Cornelio Frangipane, could proudly assert that Venetian

10 Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 3 vols., trans. Alexander H. Krappe, Roger H. Sessions, and Oliver Strunk (Princeton, 1949), vol. 1, 319-20; see also Ignace Bossuyt, *Adriaan Willaert (ca. 1490-1562): Leven en werk. Stijl en genres* (Leuven, 1985).

11 Einstein, *Italian Madrigal*, vol. 1, 318-39. According to Paolo Da Col, the exchange of ideas occurred in 'the private house, the secluded assembly, the circle of friends'. See 'The Tradition and Science: The *Istitutioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino', introduction to the facsimile edition of Gioseffo Zarlino's *Le Istitutioni Harmoniche* (Venice, 1561), Bibliotheca Musica Bononiensis 11.39 (Bologna, 1999), 53.

12 On Cappella Marciana musicians' engagement with such groups, see Ongaro, 'The Chapel of St. Mark's', 204-8. For a view of how such gatherings excluded women, see Helena Sanson, *Women, Language and Grammar in Italy, 1500-1900* (Oxford, 2011).

13 Brian Richardson, 'The Italian of Renaissance Elites in Italy and Europe', in *Multilingualism in Italy, Past and Present*, ed. Anna Laura Lepschy and Arturo Tosi (Oxford, 2002), 5-23; Ronnie H. Terpening, *Lodovico Dolce: Renaissance Man of Letters* (Toronto, 1997), 19.

music had far surpassed that of the ancients,¹⁴ the second group was dealing more thoroughly with the codification of contemporary practice, mixed with especial awareness of the intersection of music theory and language.¹⁵

Theorist-Composer Correspondence

The active engagement by contemporary theorists and composers with Venice's musical institutions and personalities can be observed in a spectacularly informative *cache* of 110 letters exchanged between 1517 and 1543.¹⁶ The 'Spataro correspondence', as the collection has come to be known, provides information about their careers and concerns that goes well beyond what is available through extant treatises, manuscripts, and archival studies. Some correspondents were men of the cloth; others were active musicians, given more to solving practical problems than to contemplation. The three most important were Giovanni Spataro, a theorist and *maestro di canto* from Bologna and central contributor to the correspondence; Pietro Aaron, a Florentine, who lived in Venice for sixteen years; and Giovanni Del Lago, a cleric, who spent his adult life in the Serenissima.

Its impressive scope notwithstanding, the Spataro correspondence is lamentably incomplete as a historical record. The majority of the extant letters were written by Giovanni Spataro; none addressed to him exist among the exchanges. Instead, what remain are thirty-three mostly autograph letters by Spataro to Aaron, eighteen to Del Lago, and two to Marco Antonio Cavazzoni, in addition to correspondence among Del Lago, Aaron and lesser figures, and other miscellaneous letters. Internal evidence reveals the one-time existence of other missives, the loss of which erases all but traces of well-developed

14 Cornelio Frangipani, *Tragedia del S. Cl. Cornelio Frangipani al Christianissimo et invittissimo Henrico III* (Venice, 1574), introduction, unpaginated.

15 Far-reaching changes in musical style and compositional practice begun in the previous century were to continue throughout the Cinquecento, a fact that formed an inescapable backdrop for the lives and careers of music theorists. As Blackburn notes, 'This was an age when simultaneous conception of the polyphonic complex was becoming the norm, when the art of composition was being separated from the craft of counterpoint, and when composers began to use scores as a compositional aid'; *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky, and Clement A. Miller (Oxford, 1991), 101. For an explanation of the influence of humanist rhetoric on musical composition and performance practice see Anne Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music: Learning from the Theorists* (Oxford, 2011), ch. 7.

16 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*.

subjects that once were part of these lively conversations. Nevertheless, the Spataro correspondence serves as a 'gold mine of information about fifteenth- and sixteenth-century music and music theory'.¹⁷

That these letters have survived over four centuries is attributable to Giovanni Del Lago's assiduous collecting. Apparently interested in publishing a selection of his own letters, Del Lago prepared a fair copy with a title and dedication to Girolamo Molino, a Venetian nobleman. The publication never appeared. After Del Lago's death, the entire Spataro correspondence passed to Paolo Manuzio, son of the famed Venetian printer Aldo Manuzio, possibly through Molino, who was a fellow member of the illustrious Accademia Veneziana. They were then inherited by his son, Aldo Manuzio the Younger, a professor of rhetoric in Rome. Upon his death, the Venetian Republic laid claim to the entire collection. It was sequestered as collateral against debts, however, and placed, on Clement VIII's orders, in the Vatican library. Copies of some of the Spataro correspondence eventually ended up in Paris, Bologna, and Vienna.¹⁸

The exceptional value of these sources is attested by the number of prominent scholars, whose efforts over the course of three centuries contributed to their eventual publication.¹⁹ Most important is the insight they furnish into solutions to a host of music historical problems. On both theoretical and practical levels, the letters provide intriguing glimpses into multiple topics, especially composers' theories of consonances and dissonances, counterpoint, harmony, and methods of combining voices during the actual processes of music composition, including the use of a *cartella*, an erasable tablet or slate that facilitated writing and singing exercises.²⁰

17 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, introduction, 4.

18 The history of the manuscripts, particularly Vat. Lat. 5318 and the manuscripts that depended from it, is described in close detail in Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, ch. 2.

19 These include Raffaele Casimiri, Giovanni Battista Martini, Gaetano Gaspari, Knud Jeppesen, Edward Lowinsky, Clement Miller, Bonnie J. Blackburn, and Leofranc Holford-Stevens.

20 For extensive analysis of compositional theory and practice based on discussions between correspondents with reference to Renaissance repertory, see Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'On Compositional Process in the Fifteenth Century', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987), 210-84 and 'The Dispute About Harmony c. 1500 and the Creation of a New Style', in *Théorie et analyse musicales 1450-1650/Music Theory and Analysis. Actes du colloque international, Louvain-la-Neuve, 23-25 septembre 1999*, ed. Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2001), 1-37. On the use of *cartelle* see Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 120-24, letter 18, 350-52 and Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (Oxford, 1997), 74-107.

Giovanni Spataro (1458/9-1541)

As a polemicist born and based in Bologna, Giovanni Spataro's career would have played out at the margins of Cinquecento Venetian theory.²¹ Indeed, before his trenchant correspondence demonstrated his centrality to theory in sixteenth-century Italy, it was believed that, besides three sharply worded critiques, he was mainly responsible for a manuscript entitled *Utile et breve regule di canto composite per Maestro Zoanne di Spadari da Bologna* (1510) and a single published theoretical treatise, *Tractato di musica di Giovanni Spataro musico bolognese* (Venice, 1531). His early musical studies with Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja between 1470 and 1484 seem to have been conducted at a shop, suggesting that Spataro had once worked as a simple tradesman. Thus, his musical training probably was accomplished at his own expense through a tutor, rather than as a choirboy, university student, or ecclesiastic. He may have served as a teacher for the powerful Bentivoglio family, to whom he dedicated a treatise, now lost, and two masses. In 1505 he was hired to sing at the Bolognese cathedral of San Petronio. Seven years later, on 30 June 1512, Spataro was elevated to *maestro di canto* there, a position he kept for the rest of his life. He died on 17 January 1541 and was buried in San Petronio.

Information provided by the Spataro correspondence suggests that he was an immensely prolific writer, acute observer and formidable critic. His twenty-six year correspondence with Franchino Gaffurio, eminent authority on music theory and *maestro di cappella* at the Milan cathedral, now lost, included eighteen letters that criticized the latter's treatise *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus* (Milan, 1518).²² Also missing are his defence of Ramos against Gaffurio's attacks, separate treatises on mensural music, counterpoint and proportions, and a 200-page critique of Pietro Aaron's *Trattato della natura et cognitione di tutti gli tuoni* (Venice, 1525).²³ Spataro was a composer of sacred works, some of which survive in the choir books at San Petronio. Of generally secondary importance, they reveal a penchant for experimentation—tenors with enigmatic riddles, puzzles, canons, and the like.²⁴

A lively attentiveness to all sorts of subtle and minute musical problems, including the finest elements of the craft of musical composition, can be found

21 Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Spataro, Giovanni', in *Grove Music Online*; Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 51-73, 174-77.

22 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 60 n. 27.

23 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 60-64.

24 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 65, 72-73 and Frank Tirro, 'Giovanni Spataro's Choir-books in the Archive of San Petronio in Bologna' (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1974).

in Spataro's discussions with his colleagues.²⁵ In his exchanges with Aaron regarding their respective works (knowledge of Aaron's motets, masses and madrigals otherwise would be unknown to posterity), Spataro devotes lengthy discussions to the strategic placement of perfect and imperfect intervals in a composition; the uses of time signatures; the treatment of dissonances, including the ear's capability to detect particular sounds; the writing of suspensions; common contrapuntal errors including parallel unisons, fifths, octaves and allowable exceptions; faults in voice leading; strategies for detecting contrapuntal mistakes, and the like.²⁶ One compositional discipline that seems to have eluded the constantly striving Spataro, however, is that of the humanist concern with proper text declamation.²⁷

Eager for conversation around the endlessly delightful challenges of combining sounds in the compositional process ('la nostra delectabile harmonica facultà'), Spataro kept a rapt eye on musical events in the Serenissima. 'May I ask you a favour?' he queried Aaron on 29 August 1533. 'It is to ask Messer Adriano [Willaert] if he would set ... the enclosed hymn to St. Petronius ... I have many other hymns by Willaert which please the listeners because of their fine technique and great art'.²⁸ The Spataro correspondence reveals that both theorists readily acknowledged the overwhelming superiority of Willaert as a composer whose works they assiduously studied, yet they also took no small amount of pride in their own practice of solid craftsmanship. Always teaching and learning, Spataro maintained very differing intellectual expectations of his students, friends, and equals, holding less exacting standards for beginners than for mature colleagues. Rapier attacks deserving of his surname (spadaro means 'sword maker') were reserved for peers. The constant good will he seemed to proffer to Aaron and Del Lago sometimes was quickly and devastatingly withdrawn, leading to periods of stony silence. Long-time friends could be dismissed with withering *dicta*, such as his comment that 'in this field [Aaron] is not only a pauper but poverty itself'.²⁹ Spataro was capable of

25 For a comprehensive list of letters dealing with problems in mensural notation such as binary and ternary number, blackened notes, dots, ligatures, mensural modes, rests and the like, see Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, ch. 8.

26 Extended analysis of these issues appears in Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, ch. 5.

27 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 106-07.

28 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, letter 59, 674-77.

29 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 58. Apart from Spataro's insistence on his honour, intense competition, especially involving the perceived advantages afforded by the possibility of publication, was at the centre of many of the disagreements among Spataro, Aaron, and Del Lago; Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Publishing Music Theory in Early Cinquecento Venice and Bologna: Friends and Foes', in *Music in Print and Beyond: Hildegard Von Bingen*

rapprochement, however, after which his correspondence resumed with cordial *bonhomie*. He seems to have held that excellent composers, while grounded in the rudiments of counterpoint, were masters of an art that transcended science. The rare combination of impeccable hearing and judgment that produces masterworks was, he believed, inborn.³⁰

The challenges that attended Spataro's career are illustrative of the limitations suffered by keenly intelligent musicians who sprang from common stock in the Cinquecento. His correspondence reveals that, once aware of Aaron's success in publishing (Aaron's *Toscanello* enjoyed the advantage of his being a native Tuscan speaker), the elderly Spataro became eager to print all of his own writings. Only one treatise was published, however. Perhaps his attitude toward printers held him back. 'I can believe that you are having a hard time with printers; I would rather undergo torture than to fall into their hands again', he wrote on 24 October 1531.³¹ Other obstacles attended his status as a musician. Gaffurio, with whom Spataro publicly squabbled, called him 'illiteratus' and described him as 'once in leather swords and sabres clad', even as he conceded that 'in musicis' Spataro was 'acutissimus'.³²

Spataro was a brilliant intellect and the most important composer of his time in Bologna, but it is likely that he had an imperfect facility with Latin.³³ His letters are written in the *lingua cortegiana* of Italian courts, and his orthography is Latinate with irregular spellings. One letter is described in Giovanni Maria Artusi's dialogue, *L'Artusi* (Venice, 1600), where the interlocutor says: 'Here is the letter in [Spataro's] own hand. Read it, and if, in reading, you should find some word not quite Tuscan, ascribe it to the period and the time'.³⁴ As Spataro himself confided to Aaron, 'I know that I am nobody among the

to the Beatles, ed. Craig A. Monson and Roberta Montemorra Marvin, Eastman Studies in Music 105 (Rochester, 2013), 36-61; eadem, 'Theorists as *Primedonne*: Reviewing Music Theory in the Early Cinquecento', in *Studi musicali* 6 (2015), 263-82.

30 'Rules are good for the beginner but will not make a good composer, for good composers are born, just as are poets'; Spataro to Del Lago in Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, letter 22, 363-65. On the Renaissance notion of genius see Edward Lowinsky, 'Musical Genius—Evolution and Origins of a Concept', in *The Musical Quarterly* 50 (1964), 321-40, 476-95.

31 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 57-63, letter 35, 440-44; eadem, 'Publishing Music Theory', 48.

32 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 52.

33 Spataro held that a knowledge of music, philosophy, and other subjects did not depend on Latin. He probably read treatises with difficulty, however, and he requested that Gaffurio address him in Italian; Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 52 n.7.

34 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 197-99.

learned, and I'll never amount to anything, but as one who seeks to learn, I always study and keep in musical practice'.³⁵

Pietro Aaron (c. 1480-c. 1550)

Scholarship over the past thirty years has added small but important details to the biography of Pietro Aaron, a Florentine born in poor circumstances.³⁶ His early life remains unknown; even his birth year is based on a chance remark, in which he claims to have had the 'greatest familiarity' in Florence with four composers: Josquin, Obrecht, Isaac, and Agricola.³⁷ Blackburn suggests that Aaron may have been a choirboy in Florence, and notes that his discussions of counterpoint obviate a northern teacher. Independent sources place him in Imola in 1521. Circumstances surrounding the publication of Aaron's first treatise, the *Libri tres de institutione harmonica* (Bologna, 1516), point to similar problems of identity and language as those encountered by Spataro. A familiar anecdote concerns Aaron's dreams of being immortalized in print and his request for help from Giovanni Antonio Flaminio, a Latin translator and Greek scholar, so that his work would receive the respect it deserved.³⁸

The publication of the *Libri tres* did not bring immediate acceptance, however. A behind-the-scenes dispute broke out among Flaminio, Spataro, and Gaffurio.³⁹ It seems that Spataro, who had offered pre-publication criticism, sent a copy of Aaron's treatise to Gaffurio, who responded with a stinging evaluation and a list of errors so grievous that he suggested the work be withdrawn. Flaminio blamed the printer for carelessness and attempted to calm Gaffurio, who had received an intemperate protest from Aaron. Spataro disingenuously tried to appear uninvolved in the affair.

35 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 54-55.

36 Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Aaron, Pietro', in *Grove Music Online*; Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 74-75. For a hypothesis of Aaron's possible Jewish origin, see 89-92.

37 Current knowledge of the whereabouts of these composers during the relevant years makes Aaron's claim difficult to uphold; Peter Bergquist, 'The Theoretical Writings of Pietro Aaron' (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1964), 22-28 and Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 74-76.

38 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 75-76.

39 Discussion of the issues, including the relevant letters between Gaffurio and Flaminio, is in Bergquist, 'Theoretical Writings', 28-33, 504-10 and Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 77-78; see also Bonnie Blackburn, 'Publishing Music Theory', 37 ff.

Shortly after the appearance of the *Libri tres*, Aaron was hired as a singer and teacher at the cathedral of Imola.⁴⁰ By 1523 he had moved to Venice, where he engaged in 'honourable disputes', undoubtedly in the heady atmosphere of the Venetian *ridotti*. Aaron held a position in the home of Sebastiano Michele, Grand Prior of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, to whom he dedicated his next and most popular treatise, the *Toscanello in Musica* (Venice, 1523, reprinted in 1539 and 1562).⁴¹

Aaron remained in the Serenissima for the next sixteen years. Building on the success of the *Toscanello*, he published his *Trattato della natura* two years later, in 1525. Inferences in the correspondence suggest that Spataro's well-intended editing had, by this time, become meddlesome and intolerable. Indeed, Spataro believed Aaron to be angry at him for attempting to restrain this publication, for which he had supplied 100 pages of criticism, and later claimed that it had appeared 'without order or truth'.⁴² Aaron's work in Venice abruptly ended in 1534 with the death of his patron. Writing afterwards to Del Lago, he noted: 'You know how much time I've wasted among lords, and I regret most the sixteen years with Monsignor of San Giovanni that came to naught; would to God I had never seen him!'⁴³

Pietro Aaron next took orders as a monk with the *Frati Crociferi*, retiring to a monastery near Bergamo in 1536. Responding to an incredulous Del Lago, Aaron stated that his new conditions were entirely to his liking, especially the esteem of his patron, the company of many worthy men in every field, particularly in music, and a secure future.⁴⁴

Joining a monastery did not preclude his 'constantly making music' with members of the Brescian aristocracy, nor further publishing. In 1545 he brought out the *Lucidario in musica*, which Bergquist has described as a 'compilation of Aaron's opinions on a variety of theoretical problems, largely of a specialized nature'.⁴⁵ His last publication, *Compendiolo di molti dubbi* (Milan, c. 1550), seems to have appeared while he was still alive. He died sometime after 1549, most likely c. 1550, but certainly before the 1562 reprint of the *Toscanello* appeared.⁴⁶

40 Documentary evidence confirms his employment in the cathedral and town and his position as priest; Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 78-81.

41 Bergquist, 'Theoretical Writings', 35-42, 59-65.

42 Bergquist, 'Theoretical Writings', 40-42.

43 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 84, letter 64, 715-25.

44 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 84, letter 62, 709-11.

45 Bergquist, 'Theoretical Writings', 67.

46 Bergquist, 'Theoretical Writings', 54-55.

Pietro Aaron's reputation as a theorist derives primarily from his five published treatises. Seldom given to speculation, he was the first to fit contemporary polyphonic practice to the standard eight-mode teachings, when to do so was becoming ever harder, and to recommend the notation of all accidentals, rather than relying on the practice of *ficta*. His theorizing covers many traditional topics: plainsong, solmization, intervals, modes and mensural notation, cadences, proportions, tuning, temperament, and composition.⁴⁷

Recent scholarship has focused attention on the more innovative aspects of Aaron's publications. For example, the *Toscanello* departed drastically from the *Libri tres*, which supplied no musical examples, by furnishing cadences and tables. These aids to his reader were not continued in the *Trattato*, which pursued a new and unusual strategy: the inclusion of a list of citations by composer and title for almost every modal final listed. Cristle Collins Judd asserts that Aaron 'accomplished the substitution of the authority of a contemporary printed polyphonic repertory for that of the Church as represented by chant—a potentially heretical gesture. Looked at another way, Aaron's gesture placed all composed music under the ecclesiastical authority of modal theory'.⁴⁸ If the validity of printed pieces served Aaron as a new authority, the main sources are easily identified: seven Petrucci prints produced in Venice—*Odhecaton A*, *Canti B*, *Motetti C*, Josquin's *Missarum liber II*, and the *Motetti de la Corona I, II* and *III*. Based on the mode of the tenor, Aaron attempted to demonstrate how mode is recognized by using specific citations of polyphonic examples. These methods, which did not become commonplace until the latter part of the century, raise a host of fascinating questions about the music print as visual reference.⁴⁹

Giovanni Del Lago (c. 1490-1544)

Facts about the youth of Giovanni Del Lago are unknown, except for his claim to have studied with Giovanni Battista Zesso, a Paduan frottolist. Del Lago's first and only assignment was as a cleric at the small Venetian parish of Santa Sofia, a post that he already held in 1520. Seven years later he was elevated to

47 For Aaron's writings on mode see Frans Wiering, *The Language of the Modes: Studies in the History of Polyphonic Modality* (New York, 2001).

48 Cristle Collins Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory: Hearing with the Eyes* (Cambridge, 2000), 48.

49 Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, ch. 3.

deacon, and in 1542 he was promoted to titular priest.⁵⁰ His living circumstances seem to have been consistently humble. He died, while still serving Santa Sofia, on 8 March 1544.⁵¹

A minor figure his entire life, Del Lago's most important achievements are twofold—first, as correspondent with the foremost theorists of his day; second, as careful collector and preserver of the missives that served him as a vital source of musical information. A single, incomplete composition by Del Lago survives, suggesting that, unlike most theorists of this time, he did not spend much time actively composing music. Del Lago was, in fact, not a practical musician, but rather a self-taught intellectual, fascinated by old theoretical treatises (some of which he owned).⁵² His interests also ran to intricate problems of notation, Greek genera, Pythagorean tuning, and obscure canons.⁵³

Del Lago enjoyed sparring with learned musicians and took pleasure in pointing out their errors, even as he disingenuously lamented his 'meagre and humble ability'.⁵⁴ At the outset of his relationship with Spataro, the younger Del Lago seemed eager to establish a rapport with the older theorist, but Spataro's patience with Del Lago's obsequiousness and trickery eventually grew thin.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, Del Lago eagerly cultivated the attentions of lesser

50 Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Del Lago, Giovanni', in *Grove Music Online*; Don Harrán, 'The Theorist Giovanni del Lago: A New View of the Man and his Writings', in *Musica Disciplina* 27 (1973), 107-51. Knud Jeppesen's research at Santa Sofia in 1941 found no mention of Del Lago, 'Eine musiktheoretische Korrespondenz des früheren Cinquecento', in *Acta musicologica* 13 (1941), 3-39, but Blackburn's 1986 archival campaign turned up documents placing him in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the parish; Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 127-29.

51 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 128-29.

52 On the contents of Del Lago's extensive library see chapter 7, 'Giovanni Del Lago's "Authorities"' of *Correspondence*.

53 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 129. Many of the missives dealing with the finer points of mensural notation which appear as chapter 8 of the *Correspondence* were written by Del Lago. Protracted arguments on technicalities of notational practice characterize his concerns. As Blackburn notes, he 'was filled with (doubts) and criticisms of Spataro on many intricate and complex notational matters. A good example is (letter) no. 44, which contains Del Lago's criticisms of Spataro's use of mensuration-signs, his treatment of mode, and his incorrect notation', 186. On the subject of the Greek genera see Del Lago's letter to Girolamo Molino, letter 96, 897-914.

54 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 130, letter 80, 804-9. In at least one instance, Del Lago admits that he posed questions to test his correspondents, such as letter 57, 653-64, where Del Lago's added postscript states that the request for a resolution to two tenors was for that reason.

55 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 61-62.

musicians who turned to him for mentoring. Toward the end of his life he issued a single, unremarkable treatise on the basic principles of music entitled *Breve introduttione di musica misurata* (Venice, 1540).

It is not known when the idea of publishing the *cache* of extraordinary letters occurred to Del Lago.⁵⁶ His biographers suggest that he might have been following the example of Pietro Aretino, whose celebrated correspondence with ecclesiastical and political luminaries, issued in the vernacular in 1537, went through multiple printings. An *epistolario* certainly held promise of novelty, placing Del Lago in discussion with some of the foremost musical thinkers of his day, arguing with and sometimes correcting them, and would have been a Renaissance first. It also might have offered the prospect of financial gain, with its intention to be a volume 'for the common use of the scholars ... [with] ... the resolution of many recondite problems in music obscurely treated by the ancient music theorists'.⁵⁷

In the end, Del Lago's idea to publish the *Epistole* was afflicted by a tangle of difficulties so serious as to be unresolvable. Many of the letters from Spataro, who wielded a sharp tongue, were spectacularly unflattering. His relationship with Aaron ended abruptly when Del Lago sent him a copy of his newly published *Breve introduttione*, to which Aaron responded with a bruising thirteen-page critique. More damning, by far, were the outright appropriations of many original ideas from Spataro's and Aaron's own missives, along with Del Lago's other self-serving methods. These included ridding the copy of Spataro's stinging barbs; revising arguments; changing spellings; altering dates; adding historical weight by quoting theoretical authorities; and creating fictitious letters, some of which were *pastiches* of material taken from various writers, mixed with outright invention.⁵⁸ Until both of his correspondents were no longer alive, Del Lago could not go into print, without his fraudulence being detected.

Ironically, the duplication of materials between the published *Breve introduttione* and the planned *Epistole* uncovered what might be Del Lago's main original idea: an early concern for literary style so avidly pursued in Venetian *ridotti*. The opening, autograph letter attempted to lay out fundamental concepts of language and grammar useful to an aspiring composer, part of which had already been published in the *Breve introduttione*.⁵⁹ As Feldman has

56 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 130-31.

57 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 132.

58 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 133-42, especially 134, pl. 6.

59 Del Lago's insistence that a good composer must possess knowledge of meters, accentuation, syllabification and other elements of text underlay, twenty years before Zarlino's

noted, Del Lago was 'not proactive but reactive—not a molder of his time, but a measure of it, a gauge of the new interdependencies between language and music that were already being formed within Venetian academies and private homes'.⁶⁰

Lodovico Fogliano (c. 1475-1542)

No less an intellect than Giovanni Spataro believed Lodovico Fogliano's work to be of major consequence, even if the Spataro correspondence offers scant clues about the life of the important but poorly documented theorist.⁶¹ Fogliano started out as a singer at his native cathedral of Modena (1499-1501, 1503-4) and later served at the Cappella Giulia (1513-14). Zarlino claimed that he lived a long time in Venice, but held no post as cleric or lay person. Blackburn has proposed that he enjoyed the patronage of Giambattista Casali and Pietro Aretino there.⁶² An accomplished Aristotelian, singer, and composer, Fogliano championed a theory unrelated to Pythagorean principles in his *Musica theoricarica* (Venice, 1529). He justified his bold approach on the grounds of science and sensory experience, which could be traced back to Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja.⁶³ By employing Euclidean geometry and numerical ratios, Fogliano defined a system of tuning that allowed perfect and imperfect consonances to be used in contemporary polyphony, and he advocated the practical tuning of the music scale on a C octave.⁶⁴ Many of his ideas were subsequently borrowed and expanded upon by Zarlino, albeit with somewhat less elegant solutions, frequently fraught with minutiae.⁶⁵

writings, might seem to place Del Lago in a singular category among his peers. However, the theorist was aware that he had drawn on the ideas of others rather than create an original work, and realized that 'his treatise was but a modest offering'; Harrán, 'The Theorist Giovanni Del Lago', 113, 141-151.

60 Martha Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley etc., 1995), 170.

61 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, letters 51 and 60 at 628-30 and 678-706 respectively.

62 See 'Fogliano, Lodovico', in *Grove Music Online* and Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 678-706, 992-94.

63 Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, 1009-11; Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven, 1985), 232-35.

64 For a more thorough explanation of Fogliano's theories see Palisca, *Humanism*, 20-21, 235-44 and Blackburn, 'Fogliano, Lodovico', in *Grove Music Online*.

65 Palisca, *Humanism*, 244-50.

Nicola Vicentino (1511-1575/6)

A native of the Venetian *dominio*, Nicola Vicentino's connection to the city of Venice is tenuous, at best. He claimed to have been 'a pupil of Adrian Willaert', but his principal ties were with Ferrara, particularly with Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este and members of Duke Ercole's family, whom he served for a number of years.⁶⁶ Periods of time spent in Rome, Siena and Ferrara in the entourage of this highly influential, three-time candidate for the papacy may have included duties as a music teacher to members of the Cardinal's clan. Vicentino's first book of five-voice madrigals, released in 1546, contributed to his growing renown as both composer and theorist specifically interested in discovering and reviving the legendary powers attributed to ancient music.⁶⁷

The avenues by which Vicentino may have acquired particular knowledge of ancient theory have never been fully explained. He was not an accomplished humanist capable of reading original sources. He attributed the bulk of his notions to Boethius, who had drawn on ancient Greek writings; to Pythagoras, whom he could have known through translations; and to a host of other ancient and contemporary authors, whom he mentioned in his writings. He was also indebted to Fogliano, whom he did not acknowledge as a source. Traditionally, it has been held that Vicentino's associations with specific humanists could account for his familiarity with ancient theory and practice, though none of these contacts have been securely demonstrated.⁶⁸

The arc of Vicentino's career was shaped by a famous debate in Rome in 1551, the result of a wager over a polyphonic setting of the plainchant *Regina coeli*. In a heated exchange, Vicentino challenged Vicente Lusitano, a Portuguese musician, to a formal, public joust. The topic was to be the relationship of ancient Greek music genera to contemporary polyphonic practice; Vicentino placed two gold *scudi* on the odds of his victory. The formalities and

66 Henry W. Kaufmann and Robert L. Kendrick, 'Vicentino, Nicola', in *Grove Music Online* and Henry W. Kaufmann, *The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino (1511-c. 1576)*, Musicological Studies and Documents 11 (Rome, 1966); Jonathan Wild, 'Genus, Species and Mode in Vicentino's 31-tone Compositional Theory', in *Music Theory Online* 20 (2014), <<http://mt.societymusictheory.org/>> (accessed 15 August 2014).

67 Nicola Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, transl. Maria Rika Maniates (New Haven-London, 1996), xi-lxiii.

68 In her introduction to the modern translation of *L'antica musica*, Maniates reconstructs Vicentino's life—his erudition, his sources, their availability in translation, and his relationships with learned scholars whose *ridotti* he might have frequented, especially drawing attention to Gian Giorgio Trissino, an important humanist active in Vicenza and highly respected in Venice; xi-lxiii.

high drama of the debate took place the first week of June, replete with designated judges, the papal choir, prelates, ecclesiastical personages and learned men first at the Cardinal's sumptuous residence and later at the Apostolic Chapel in the Vatican. While Lusitano argued that music commonly performed in the sixteenth century could be explained by the common diatonic genus, Vicentino held that it was a mixture of the three genera—diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic. In his view, any component of a genus—a minor third, or semitone in the chromatic genus, for example—would expose its presence, without recourse to a fuller statement in context.⁶⁹ Losing this highly visible joust, the final judgment of which was delivered by two papal singers, may have convinced him to expand his original notions into a treatise titled *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome, 1555).

In the years following the debate, Vicentino dedicated himself to the construction of an *archicembalo* and an *archiorgano* which, outfitted with two manuals and six ranks of keys, were capable of reproducing the notes of all three genera. Vicentino took over the position of *maestro di cappella* at Vicenza cathedral in 1563, but he seems to have left for Milan soon thereafter, becoming second rector in a small parish. Evidence suggests that he was still in Milan, working as a composer and teacher until his death, probably of the plague, in 1576 or 1577.⁷⁰

Vicentino's musical contribution rests on his treatise, two extant books of madrigals, and a few sacred and secular works in manuscript and published sources. Given the complexity of the musical issues Vicentino was addressing, it is unlikely that his quixotic solutions would have been popularly accepted. Apart from the formidable performance difficulties inherent in his compositions, sections within his treatise devoted to practical topics such as solmizing the genera or tempering the archicembalo, suffer from poor organization and multiple errors in methodology. Vicentino's highly original ideas of decorum, however, place him 'in the vanguard of musical rhetoric, especially stylistics'.⁷¹

69 That such topics had been keenly debated for decades is confirmed by a letter of Giovanni Spataro to Pietro Aaron in 1532. Spataro tells of visiting the home of the Venetian ambassador to the King of England, in which the conclusion of an erudite discussion was that good harmony could not be achieved by one genus alone. A separate letter from Bernardino da Pavia invites Giovanni Del Lago to a luncheon with Adrian Willaert, in which Greek genera are the anticipated topic of conversation; Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*, letter 46, 548-62, and letter 98, 927-28; Timothy R. McKinney, 'Point/Counterpoint: Vicentino's Musical Rebuttal to Lusitano', in *Early Music* 33 (2005), 393-411. For Vicentino's view on mode see Wiering, *The Language of the Modes*, 180-82.

70 Maniates, Introduction, xi, xxiv.

71 Maniates, Introduction, xxxviii.

He divided music into three levels of style—low, middle, and high—and warned against contaminating the solemnity of church music with popular elements or inappropriately confusing compositional tactics for small and large ensembles. In his attempts to revive ancient secrets that would render music subtly inflected, emotionally and aesthetically sublime, Vicentino proposed strategies for increasing the intelligibility of words, ‘now recognize[d] as standard techniques for observing the prosody of language’. For expression of passions or poetry, he advocated a mixture of intervals including minute, subtle ones, each placed within a hierarchy of tension, velocity and melodic direction, thus providing ‘the first systematic application of rhetorical tools to musical structure’.⁷² Vicentino’s bold experimentations, some of which served Zarlino and other theorists in Venice, laid the groundwork for innovations not realized until the Seicento and beyond.⁷³

Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–90)

Gioseffo Zarlino, born across the lagoon in Chioggia, took his education with the Franciscans. Bernardino Baldi, a personal friend, supplied the outlines of his youth, the subjects of his studies, and the names of his teachers in the fields of grammar, mathematics, logic, philosophy, Greek, and Hebrew.⁷⁴ Archival documents afford details of his rise within the ecclesiastical world between 1532 and 1539. He served as a singer at the cathedral of Chioggia starting in 1536 and took on the organist position three years later, about the same time that his ordination probably occurred.⁷⁵ Shortly thereafter, in 1541, he became a student of Willaert in Venice. He is known to have served as *capellanus curatus* at the church of San Severo, chaplain at the monastery of San Lorenzo, and *man-sionario* at the Scuola Grande of Santa Maria della Carità from 1558 to 1565.⁷⁶

72 Maniates, Introduction, xxxviii. See also Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music*, especially ch. 7.

73 Pertinent to the competitive pressure between Vicentino and Zarlino was a wide range of discussions explored by a network of intellectuals, especially mathematicians and musicians, extending from Venice to Padua and elsewhere. Their interactions can be traced in Zarlino’s correspondence; Da Col, ‘The Tradition and Science’, 35–55.

74 Bernardino Baldi, *Vite inedite di matematici italiani*, ed. Enrico Narducci (Rome, 1887).

75 Claude Palisca, ‘Zarlino, Gioseffo’, in *Grove Music Online*.

76 Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 185, n. 19.

Benito Rivera's research has filled in other lacunae, including Zarlino's residence and the fact that he was a secular priest.⁷⁷

Cristle Collins Judd's fundamental studies on Zarlino have demonstrated that he aspired to occupy an important musical post, possibly as successor to the celebrated Adrian Willaert.⁷⁸ As she observes, 'With remarkable canniness Zarlino masterfully and meticulously manipulated his public image through the medium of print over a forty-year period beginning with this first publication (*Musici quinque vocum moduli*) in 1549. The composer/theorist conjunction ... is a dichotomy that recurs throughout Zarlino's printed works as he attempts to present himself with a foot planted firmly (and successfully) in each camp'.⁷⁹ His first publication, lavishly printed and dedicated to a Venetian patrician, was followed by his magisterial treatise, *Le institutioni harmoniche*, which claimed to go far beyond his predecessors by embracing immense learning that included both speculative and practical theory.⁸⁰ The 1558 release of the *Istitutioni*, which was written in the vernacular, coincided with the founding of the prestigious Accademia Veneziana, at a time when Zarlino was carefully climbing social and intellectual ladders.⁸¹ He is listed in the academy's membership rolls and seems to have helped to shape its proposed list-for-publication of 300 ancient and modern writers.⁸² If his *Istitutioni* sold few copies, that situation was quietly remedied by its re-issue in 1561 and 1562 with a new title page and a dedication to the Patriarch of Venice.⁸³

77 Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 184-85, especially n. 17 and n. 18.

78 Cristle Collins Judd, 'Music in Dialogue: Conversational, Literary, and Didactic Discourse about Music in the Renaissance', in *Journal of Music Theory* 52 (2008), 41-74; 'Renaissance Modal Theory: Theoretical, Compositional, and Editorial Perspectives', in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge, 2002), 364-406; 'How to Assign Note Values to Words: Gioseffo Zarlino's *Pater Noster-Ave Maria* (1549 and 1566)', in *Festschrift for Eugene Narmour*, ed. Lawrence Bernstein and Alexander Rozin (Hillsdale, 2013).

79 Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 179-225, particularly 184. Paolo Da Col's work also reveals that Zarlino argued variously about the superiority of both theory over practice and its opposite; 'Tradition and Science', 38-39, 42-47.

80 Among theorists who lived after Boethius, only Gaffurio, Faber Stapulensis, and Fogliano are esteemed by Zarlino; Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 188-89.

81 The Venetian privilege for the treatise reveals that it was to have been issued in Latin as well, implying the author's ambitions to reach beyond the Italian book market; Da Col, 'Tradition and Science', 35-36.

82 Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 197, n. 41 and n. 42.

83 Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 189-92. Dedicatees within Zarlino's complete *oeuvre* are holders of the highest ecclesiastical and political offices in Italy—the Patriarch of Venice, the Procuratori of San Marco, the Doge of Venice, Pope Sixtus V.

In alternating the pattern of his musical compositions and treatises, Zarlino strategically sought to demonstrate his prowess as a composer, his remarkable erudition, and his ability to codify the teachings of his great master, Adrian Willaert, even if it seems to have had little influence on his prospects for employment.⁸⁴ He remained close to Willaert through the period in which the elderly *maestro* travelled to Flanders and angered the Procuratori by overstaying his leave because of chronically worsening health.⁸⁵ When Willaert passed away in 1562, the Procuratori elected another Fleming, the Willaert protégé Cipriano de Rore, who remained only a few months before resigning.⁸⁶ In mid-1565 Zarlino was finally hired as *maestro di cappella* at San Marco, being offered a two-year contract, with the option of three additional years of service.⁸⁷ Zarlino quickly published his *Modulationes sex vocum* (Venice, 1566), which carried a dedication to his superiors through the voice of a newly hired singer, Filippo Zusbarto.⁸⁸ While praising the chapel's new *maestro*, Zusbarto disparaged the 'rabble of backbiters' and 'venomous carping', which apparently attended the transition of leadership.⁸⁹

In actuality, Zarlino's tenure as head of the Doge's private chapel was a period of musical prosperity. Not a celebrated composer himself, Zarlino was, nevertheless, highly respected as 'excellent in the practice of music [and] someone superior to the other musicians'. He provided valued counsel to the Procuratori on a myriad of matters, managed unruly singers, steadily increased the use of instrumental music, and was even called upon as a priest to conduct a 'diligent inquisition' against cappella musicians' conversion to Protestantism.⁹⁰ Zarlino seems to have written little music during his service, but the gap was

84 He failed to secure the position as head of the chapel at the cathedral of Padua in 1560; Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 243 and Da Col, 'Tradition and Science', 37.

85 Edwards, 'Claudio Merulo', 108-14, 127-28; Ignace Bossuyt, 'O socii durate: A Musical Correspondence from the Time of Philip II', in *Early Music* 26 (1998), 432-44.

86 Jessie Ann Owens, 'Cipriano de Rore a Parma (1560-1565): nuovi documenti', in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 11 (1976), 5-26.

87 Edwards, 'Claudio Merulo', 128.

88 For a modern edition, see *Gioseffo Zarlino: Motets from the 1560s: Seventeen Motets from Modulationes sex vocum and Motetta D. Cipriani de Rore et aliorum auctorum*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd and Katelijne Schiltz, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* 163 (Middleton, WI, 2015).

89 Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 247-50.

90 Rebecca Edwards, 'Setting the Tone at San Marco: Gioseffo Zarlino amidst Doge, Procuratori and Cappella Personnel', in *La cappella musicale di San Marco nell'età moderna. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, 5-7 settembre 1994*, ed. Francesco Passadore and Franco Rossi (Venice, 1998), 398.

filled by the talented organist-composers Claudio Merulo and Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, whose liturgical pieces augmented the Cappella Marciana's repertory.

In 1571, six years after being hired, Zarlino issued his *Dimostrationi harmoniche*. Using the popular dialogic conceit, Zarlino presented the reader with a series of conversations between the venerated Willaert and four musical colleagues that expanded upon themes of the *Istitutioni*. His responses to criticism by his student, Vincenzo Galilei, were published in the *Sopplimenti musicali* (Venice, 1588). He died in Venice on 4 February 1590.

Zarlino's most important theoretical work remains the *Istitutioni*, which provides a synthesis of vast numbers of writings and subjects, including philosophy, mathematics, and history.⁹¹ Zarlino disagreed with Pythagorean theory, and sought to admit sweet-sounding imperfect consonances by considering their usefulness in Renaissance polyphonic writing. By allowing the first six divisions of the string and adopting diatonic tuning, Zarlino admitted the use of thirds and sixths, although not without careful rationalizations. His writings were challenged by others, including Vincenzo Galilei and Giovanni Battista Benedetti.⁹² Zarlino increased the number of modes from eight to twelve (after Glarean) and re-numbered them. Most useful were his writings on counterpoint and musical style, in which he claimed to codify Willaert's methods while, sometimes, blurring the distinctions between his and Willaert's thought.⁹³ He was particularly careful with text underlay, discussing syllabic and melismatic settings, syncopations and the like, with reference to the natural rhythms and accents of speech.⁹⁴

Humanist tendencies in Zarlino's music of the 1550s kept pace with Willaert's *Musica nova* strategies by highlighting Petrarchan textual dichotomies, which corresponded with Bembo's ideas of *gravità* and *piacevolezza*. In comparing

91 Zarlino was the owner of a remarkable library, and his extensive learning gave a patina of authority to his opinions; Da Col, 'Tradition and Science', 51-52; Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 181-84.

92 Giovanni Battista Benedetti, *Diversarum speculationum mathematicarum & physicorum liber* (Turin, 1585) and Vincenzo Galilei, *Discorso intorno all'opere di Messer Gioseffo Zarlino da Chioggia* (Florence, 1589).

93 For Zarlino's teachings on canons see Peter Urquhart, 'The Persistence of Exact Canon Throughout the Sixteenth Century', in *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th-16th Centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Leuven, 2007), 171-96. An analysis of Zarlino's treatment of mode can be found in Wiering, *The Language of the Modes*, ch. 7 and Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music*, ch. 6.

94 Mary S. Lewis, 'Zarlino's Theories of Text Underlay as Illustrated in His Motet Book of 1549', in *Notes* 42 (1985), 239-67; Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 206-9.

similar settings by both composers, Timothy McKinney has identified expressive compositional features and conventions that were codified by Zarlino and Vicentino, a 'clear set of footprints leading from Willaert's practice toward the theories of interval affect' presented by these composers.⁹⁵

Zarlino's life and career were mediated by print culture more than many of his contemporaries. As Judd has demonstrated, musical examples in the *Istitutioni* are drawn from a few important predecessors, but the majority of works are by Willaert and by Zarlino himself, especially the *Musica nova*.⁹⁶ In his *Musici quinque vocum moduli* (1549), Zarlino provided groupings of pieces by tonal type which emulate Willaert's works, and the scrupulous underlay displays a far greater care than is found in Gardano's ordinary production.⁹⁷ This first, lavish publication reveals early stages of Zarlino's thinking about the modes, leading to the ground-breaking *Istitutioni*, a work which Harold Powers described as 'bringing polyphonic texture, modal structure, and modal ethos under the rule of a single unifying musical principle'.⁹⁸ Paolo Da Col has compared the editions of the *Istitutioni*, examining the elderly theorist's reaction to many justified criticisms, especially those of Galilei, who condemned Zarlino's borrowings and paraphrases without any proper acknowledgment. Zarlino's response was to expand and correct chapters, refine terminology, and defend his decisions on stylistic grounds.⁹⁹ Publication of his complete works in a single volume at the end of his life revealed a continuing interest in the world of publishing and his enduring legacy.

Lodovico Zacconi (1555-1627)

Lodovico Zacconi joined the Augustinian order in Pesaro at the age of thirteen. His musical studies included voice, organ, clavicembalo, lute, and viola da gamba. Early ecclesiastical assignments kept him in the Marche, but at age twenty-two, Zacconi went to Venice to join the Augustinian convent of Santo

95 Timothy R. McKinney, *Adrian Willaert and the Theory of Interval Affect: the 'Musica nova' Madrigals and the Novel Theories of Zarlino and Vicentino* (Burlington, 2010), 73 and 242ff.

96 Zarlino was implicated in the controversy around the ownership of *Musica nova* when the patrician Antonio Zantani protested that much attention had been paid to a petition by 'those mechanicals', Zarlino and Gardano; Jessie Ann Owens and Richard J. Agee, 'La stampa della "Musica Nova" di Willaert', in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 24 (1989), 219-305; Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 234-35.

97 Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 206-9.

98 Quoted in Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 226.

99 Da Col, 'Tradition and Science', 54-55.

Stefano. He stayed there six years, successfully passing the audition for singer at the Cappella Marciana, although he was never hired. Instead, he studied voice with Ippolito Baccusi and counterpoint with Andrea Gabrieli, who lived in the neighborhood. He also seems to have taken part in discussions or lectures on music with Zarlino, whom he admired. After several assignments in northern and central Italy, he was hired as a singer, first by Archduke Karl in Graz and then by Duke Wilhelm v of Bavaria, under the direction of Orlando di Lasso. Eventually he returned to his native city, where he remained to the end of his life.¹⁰⁰

Like his fellow theorist, Girolamo Diruta, Zacconi's connections to music theory in Venice were directly related to his studies with one or more main figures at the Cappella Marciana. His motivation for writing the comprehensive treatise, *Prattica di musica*, was to disprove Zarlino's criticism of his musical training. The first segment was issued in 1592, during a brief sojourn in Venice; the second was published thirty years later.

Zacconi's treatise is remarkably exhaustive in approach. Because of his linguistic limitations in Latin and Greek, a number of explanations in Zacconi's work are faulty, especially his understanding of Zarlino's writings on Greek genera. Nevertheless, Zacconi offers comprehensive explanations of vocal theory, performance practice, mensural polyphony, and improvisation. Included in his treatise are highly practical discussions of notation; the acquisition of vocal skills such as negotiating difficult leaps, fast passages of small note values and rests, odd rhythms and syncopations; canons; proper pronunciation; vocal production; intonation and the like. He also discusses vibrato and vocal ornamentation, devoting a lengthy section to improvising ornamental *passaggi*, or the art of *gorgia*.

Zacconi was also interested in the teaching of music, and his pedagogical philosophy includes his notions of good and bad instruction and the need for students to emulate masters. Despite a more conversational tone, the *Prattica* nevertheless embraces rigorous, systematic discipline as a necessary habit for the mastery of musical skills, especially counterpoint, whether written or improvised. In numerous chapters of his second volume, Zacconi furnishes exercises that are designed to provide solid musical training. His treatise is generously illustrated, and contains musical examples by Zarlino, Artusi, Diruta, Palestrina, and others.

Recent research has focused on a manuscript collection of canons, which Zacconi prepared from 1622 to 1627; on his role as a teacher; and on his

100 Gerhard Singer, 'Zacconi, Lodovico', in *Grove Music Online*; Francesco Vatielli, *Un musicista pesarese nel secolo XVI (Ludovico Zacconi)* (Pesaro, 1904).

commentaries, which afford sharply focused visions of major currents, personalities and practices during the waning years of the sixteenth century.¹⁰¹

Girolamo Diruta (1554-1610)

Details of Girolamo Diruta's early life are sparse. He entered the Franciscan monastery at Correggio in June 1574; by 1580 he was in Venice, where he studied with Zarlino, Costanzo Porta, and Claudio Merulo. The title page of his two-part treatise *Il Transilvano* (Venice, 1593 and 1609) states that Diruta was the organist of Chioggia Cathedral in 1593 and by 1609 had become the cathedral organist at Gubbio. He died sometime after March 1610.¹⁰²

Using the popular dialogic form, Diruta's *Transilvano* constructs a conversation among himself, Istvan de Jósika, a diplomat from Transylvania, and a Venetian gentleman. The first systematic explanation of keyboard theory and performance, the work covers a host of topics: modes, transposition, species counterpoint, choral accompaniment, body and hand positions, fingerings, ornamentations, passage work, and the like.¹⁰³ His vision of keyboard mastery is assumed to be based on Claudio Merulo, for whom his treatise serves as a mouthpiece.

Diruta's counterpoint rules for consonant progression as applied to keyboard instruments were adopted by successors, and his pieces composed to promote specific facilities leading to virtuosity are among the first études written. Similar to Zacconi, Diruta's work offers penetrating insights into music theory and practice in Venice and beyond, as the Cinquecento drew to a close.

101 Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Two Treasure Chests of Canonic Antiquities: The Collections of Hermann Finck and Lodovico Zacconi', in *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th-16th Centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz and Bonnie Blackburn (Leuven, 2007), 303-38, esp. 313-14, nn. 34-35; James Haar, 'Some Introductory Remarks on Musical Pedagogy', and Russell E. Murray, 'Zacconi as a Teacher: A Pedagogical Style in Words and Deeds', in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Russell E. Murray, Jr., Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus (Bloomington, 2010), 3-24 and 303-23 respectively. See also Wiering, *The Language of the Modes*, 187-89, Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music*, and James Haar, 'A Sixteenth-Century Attempt at Music Criticism', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983), 191-209.

102 Claude V. Palisca, 'Diruta, Girolamo', in *Grove Music Online*; Edward J. Soehnlein, 'Diruta on the Art of Keyboard Playing' (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1975); Girolamo Diruta, *Il Transilvano*, facsimile ed. Edward J. Soehnlein and Murray C. Bradshaw (Henryville, 1984); Wiering, *The Language of the Modes*, 177-79 and Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music*, ch. 8.

103 See also the chapter by Eleanor Selfridge-Field in this volume.

PART 4

Genres, Styles, and Cross-Cultural Traditions



Cori Spezzati in Composition and Sound*

David Bryant

This essay discusses the place of *cori spezzati* in compositional and performative practice in sixteenth-century Venice. Archival and other non-musical documents of various kinds—deliberations of governing bodies, payment records, liturgical and ceremonial rubrics, descriptions of occasional events etc.—are used to shed light on the functions and sounds of the written musical sources and, in so doing, review and partially reconsider the findings, interpretations, and speculations contained in the more-or-less recent musicological literature.¹ Basic assumptions are as follows:

- church music is functional; perhaps more than in any other sector of musical production, the artistic dimension of composition and performance is subordinated to non-musical—liturgical and ceremonial—dynamics; diversities of function potentially lead to divergent uses of apparently similar compositional techniques and divergent sounds in performance;
- church architecture is likewise functional; the relationship between musical composition and architectural space is not necessarily direct but may be mediated by their respective functions; in particular, the mere presence of spatially separated organ lofts in San Marco cannot entirely explain the

* The following abbreviations are used in this chapter: I-Vas = Venice, Archivio di Stato; I-Vasp = Venice, Archivio storico del Patriarcato di Venezia; I-Vnm = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

1 Particular points of reference are provided by David Bryant, 'The "cori spezzati" of St Mark's: Myth and Reality', in *Early Music History* 1 (1981), 165-86; Laura Moretti, 'Architectural Spaces for Music: Jacopo Sansovino and Adrian Willaert at St Mark's', in *Early Music History* 23 (2004), 153-84; Iain Fenlon, 'The Performance of *cori spezzati* in San Marco', in *Architettura e musica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, ed. Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti (Milan, 2006), 79-98; Jonathan Glixon, '"Standing al in a rowe": Polychoral Music at Confraternities and Convents', in *ibid.*, 277-95; Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice: Architecture, Music, Acoustics* (New Haven-London, 2009), 26-42; Rodolfo Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli* (Palermo, 2012), 233-78; David Bryant and Elena Quaranta, 'Written and Unwritten Practices in the Tradition of *cori spezzati*. Gabrieli's Contribution in Context', in *Giovanni Gabrieli. Transmission and Reception of a Venetian Musical Tradition*, ed. Rodolfo Baroncini, David Bryant, and Luigi Collarile, *Venetian Music Studies* 1 (Turnhout, 2016), 97-106.

phenomenon of *cori spezzati* in the ducal basilica (and, for obvious reasons, elsewhere);

- compositional and performative practices linked to ‘exceptional’ institutions (for example, San Marco) are themselves potentially exceptional; yet the unrestricted circulation of originally ‘exceptional’ compositions through printed reproduction can give rise to subsequent performances under potentially different conditions with similar, otherwise exceptional or unexceptional results; at the same time, exceptional data—musical, archival, iconographical—cannot, by definition, cast light on what may (or may not) have been normal practices.

The sound of *cori spezzati* in performance should thus be seen as the variable product of differing intersections between compositional practice, architectural space, and liturgical and ceremonial function—to which must be added the constraints imposed by the local availability of musicians, local performance traditions and, naturally, underlying economic conditions.

These considerations interact with a further observation. The practice of *cori spezzati* is not a specifically Venetian phenomenon,² though the musicians of the ducal *cappella* were undoubtedly instrumental in the creation of compositional models. At the same time, the presence of double-choir psalms in manuscript sources from Treviso and Bergamo, compiled long before Willaert’s celebrated publication of 1550, does not demonstrate—as has sometimes been claimed—the non-Venetian origins of polychoral technique; little Venetian music indeed has survived from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, so essential evidence for comparison is lacking. The quest for the precise origins of a practice whose use was perhaps less exclusive than the few surviving sources would suggest may in any case seem inappropriate.

San Marco: The Double-Choir Psalms

The *Salmi appertinenti alli vesperi per tutte le feste dell’anno* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1550) by Adrian Willaert, Jachet of Mantua et al. comprise four different types of polyphonic psalm setting: 1) ‘Salmi a versi con le sue risposte a li medesimi numeri’: two, four-part choirs alternate verse by verse throughout, with no *tuttis*; 2) ‘Salmi senza risposte quali sono nel primo choro’: the four parts of choir 1 set the first hemistich of each verse; 3) ‘Salmi senza risposte

2 Giovanni D’Alessi, ‘Precursors of Adriano Willaert in the Practice of *coro spezzato*’, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 5 (1952), 187–210.

quali sono nel secondo choro': the four parts of choir 2 set the second hemistich of each verse; 4) 'Salmi spezzadi di M. Adriano': two, four-part choirs alternate verse by verse and come together for the final doxology.

Clearly, types 1-3 are polyphonic derivatives of traditional *alternatim* practices, whereby two or more contrasting bodies alternate in the musical performance of liturgical texts. Likewise tied to liturgical use is type 4: indeed, Willaert's (or his publisher's) allusion to 'salmi spezzadi' is the first of a sporadic though enduring series of references, spanning almost two centuries, in which 'spezzadi' denotes not the spatial separation of groups of performers but, in various ways, the liturgically-based 'breaking' of the text. Gregorio Zucchini's four-part—single-choir—*Missa quatuor vocibus ... cum nonnullis psalmis integris, divisis, falsibordonibus, Magnificat, et litanis B.V.* of 1615 contains, among other things, settings of complete psalm texts (the 'psalmi integri' of the title-page) and settings of odd verses only, dubbed 'psalmi ... divisi' on the title-page and 'vesperi spezzati' in the index.³ Feliciano Tobanello's *Salmi spezzati a quattro* (1619) and Giovanni Brunetti's *Salmi spezzati concertati a due, tre, et quattro voci con una messa a quattro ... libro secondo, opera quinta* (1626) contain a mixture of odd-verse and even-verse settings.⁴ Giacomo Bondioli's five-part psalms of 1627,⁵ described as 'intieri e spezzati a beneplacito' in the index, have coronas on the last chord of each verse; all verses are present, but odd or even verses can be amputated at will. Among the contents of Antonio Cifra's *Motecta et psalmi octonis vocibus* (1629) are double-choir settings of the psalm *Beatus vir* and Magnificat 'a versi spezzati' (the reference is again to the liturgical text);⁶ in the same year, Cifra's *Motecta et psalmi duodenis vocibus* contains triple-choir settings of *Laudate pueri Dominum* and the Magnificat, again 'a versi spezzati'.⁷ Pietro Lappi's four-part *Salmi spezzati* of 1630 set odd verses only.⁸ In Agostino Diruta's three-part *Davidicae modulationes* of 1641, the term 'spezzato' is specifically adopted in conjunction

3 Gregorio Zucchini, *Missa quatuor vocibus ... cum nonnullis psalmis integris, divisis, falsibordonibus, Magnificat, et litanis B.V.* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1615).

4 Feliciano Tobanello, *Salmi spezzati a quattro. Con basso per l'organo* (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1619); Giovanni Brunetti, *Salmi spezzati concertati a due, tre, et quattro voci con una messa a quattro ... libro secondo, opera quinta* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1626).

5 Giacomo Bondioli, *Psalmi tum alterno tum continuo choro canendi cum basso ad organum ... opus octavum. Quinque vocum* (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1627).

6 Antonio Cifra, *Motecta et psalmi octonis vocibus* (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1629).

7 Idem, *Motecta et psalmi duodenis vocibus* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1629).

8 Pietro Lappi, *Salmi spezzati a quatro voci con il basso continuo à beneplacito* (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1630).

with odd-verse settings, as opposed to settings of the entire text.⁹ In Maurizio Cazzati's *Messe da capella a quattro voci, con alcuni Magnificat intieri, e spezzati* (1670), the 'Magnificat *spezzati* can be performed with the *concertato* verses or, in alternative, the organ may respond' (on the contrary, the 'Magnificat *intieri*' use four voices throughout).¹⁰ Finally, Domenico Zanata's *Salmi spezzati a quattro voci da capella per le domeniche della quaresima ... opera settima* of 1715 are settings of odd verses only.¹¹ In none of these collections is the term 'spezzado' used with primarily musical connotations to indicate the spatial division of performers.

Documentation dated 1589 suggests that Willaert's double-choir psalms were still in use at San Marco almost three decades after his death and that his immediate successors as *maestri di cappella*, Cipriano de Rore and Gioseffo Zarlino, had also contributed to the repertory (though their music has not survived).¹² Giovanni Croce, *vicemaestro di cappella* from before 1594 and Baldassare Donato's successor as *maestro* in 1603, published collections of eight-part psalms for Compline (1591), Terce (1596) and Vespers (1597); these compositions differ from Willaert's model only insofar as verses are sometimes replaced by hemistichs as the basis for choir alternation, with occasional interjections of rapid dialogue.¹³

The use of double-choir psalms at San Marco is regulated by ducal ceremonial. The *maestro di cerimonie* Bartolomeo Bonifacio notes in his *Rituum*

9 Agostino Diruta, *Davidicae modulationes tribus vocibus concinendae* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1641).

10 Maurizio Cazzati, *Messe da capella a quattro voci, con alcuni Magnificat intieri, e spezzati* (Bologna: [publisher unspecified], 1670), index: 'nelli Magnificat spezzati ponno valersi delli versetti di concerto, ò in vece di essi, far rispondere con l'organo'.

11 Domenico Zanata, *Salmi spezzati a quattro voci da capella per le domeniche della quaresima ... opera settima* (Venice: Giuseppe Sala, 1715).

12 I-Vas, Procuratoria de Supra, b. 91, proc. 208, fol. 20^r, contains Baldassare Donato's eyewitness account of a controversy regarding double-choir performance of the psalms on first Vespers in *dedicatione ecclesiae S. Marci* (see below). Donato states: '[On this feast, Vespers] are not normally sung in two choirs, nor does the [final] psalm exist in the manner of all the other double-choir Vespers composed by Adrian, ... nor was it set by his successor Ciprian nor by the present *maestro di cappella* Father Isepo ...' ('Non è solito il cantarlo doppio né manco vi è il salmo sicome sono tutti li altri vespori a dui cori fatti per mano di m. Adrian, ... né manco lo ha fatto m. Ciprian successor suo né il presente maestro m. pre Isepo ...').

13 Giovanni Croce, *Compietta a otto voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1591); idem, *Salmi che si cantano a terza, con l'inno Te Deum, & i salmi Benedictus, & Miserere à otto voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1596); idem, *Vespertina omnium solemnitarum psalmodia octonis vocibus decantanda* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1597).

ecclesiasticorum caeremoniale iuxta ducalis ecclesiae Sancti Marcj venetiarum consuetudinem of 1564 that the practice is associated with feasts of particular solemnity when the *pala d'oro*, the high altarpiece of the basilica, was rotated and displayed to the faithful.¹⁴ The following list of days on which Vespers 'are sung in two choirs', as found in the *tarifa* (or 'calendar') of *maestro di capella* Iseppo Zarlino, was added to Bonifacio's volume by a later master of ceremonies, Nicolò Fausti (1576-98), perhaps in or shortly after 1589 in the aftermath of a controversy between Fausti and the singers (see below):¹⁵

Dies in quibus cantantur ad vespervas duobus choris

mensis Januarij	die 1	circumcisionis Domini
	die 6	epiphaniae Domini
Februarij	die 1	pridie purificationis quando non itur ad ecclesiam S. Mariae Formosae
	die 2	purificationis b. Mariae
Martij	die 24	pridie annunciationis B[eatae] M[ariae]
	die 25	annunciationis B. M.
Aprilis	die 24	pridie festi s. Marci
	die 25	festi s. Marci evangelistae
Junij	die 24	s. Ioannis baptistae nati.
	die 25	s. Marci evangelistae apparrissionis
	die 29	ss. Petri et Pauli apost.
Julij	die 2	visitationis s. Mariae
Augusti	die 14	vigiliae assumptionis b. Mariae
	die 15	assumptionis vir. Mariae
Septembris	die 7	vig. nativitatis s. Mariae
	die 8	nativitatis b. Mariae
Octobris	die 8	dedicationis ecclesiae S. Marci
	die 31	vigiliae festi Omnium ss.
Novembris	die 1	in festo Omnium ss.
Decembris	die 8	conceptionis b. Mariae
	die 24	vig. Nativitatis
	die 25	nativitatis Domini
	die 26	s. Stephani protomartyr
	die 27	s. Joannis evangelistae
	die 31	pridie circumcisionis Domini

14 I-Vnm, ms. III 172 (= 2276), *Rituum ecclesiasticorum caeremoniale iuxta ducalis ecclesiae Sancti Marcj venetiarum consuetudinem*, fol. 46^v.

15 Ibid., fol. 114^r.

in festis mobilibus vero	in die S. Paschalis, et duobus sequentibus
	in vig. Ascensionis, et in die
	in vig. Pentecostes, et in tribus diebus sequentibus
	in feste S.mae Trinitatis

Bonifacio provides qualifying information on individual feasts listed only generically by Fausti. On second Vespers *in visitatione Beatae Mariae Virginis*, for example, ‘the psalms are sung by two choirs of singers at the pleasure of the master of ceremonies’,¹⁶ while, on second Vespers *in conceptione B.M.V.*, ‘the psalms are sung by two choirs of singers when Our Lord the Doge is present ... or at the request of Our Lords the Procurators’.¹⁷ On St Stephen’s day, the singers are obliged to perform in two choirs ‘... unless prevented [by their duties] at the banquet of Our Lord the Doge in which case they sing in one choir’.¹⁸ *In apparitione corporis sancti Marci*, ‘... when the singers are excused by the Procurators [from singing] the Te Deum laudamus [at Matins], they sing the psalms in two choirs at first Vespers’.¹⁹ Absent from Fausti’s list is the feast of the Transfiguration (6 August), when, as Bonifacio states, ‘the psalms of second Vespers are sometimes sung by two choirs of singers, at the request ... of the Procurators, ... but normally the psalms are not sung by the singers’.²⁰ The rubric *De annunciatione B.M.V.* shows that double-choir psalms were occasionally performed during offices other than Vespers: ‘in both Vespers, all the psalms are sung most solemnly by two choirs of singers; and similarly the psalms of Compline on the day’.²¹ Finally, though this liturgically regulated, double-choir practice is primarily associated with the psalms, Bonifacio also mentions it in connection with the Te Deum, the litanies, the *Venite et plore-*

16 Ibid., fol. 29^r: ‘... cantantur psalmi á duobus choris cantorum, si placet magistro chori’.

17 Ibid., fol. 22^r: ‘cantantur psalmi ... in duobus choris propter praesentiam Domini Ducis ... vel ad instantiam dominorum Procuratorum’.

18 Ibid.: ‘si possunt quod non sint impediti ad convivium Domini Ducis, sin autem in uno choro cantantur’.

19 Ibid., fol. 28^v: ‘quando vero cantores sunt licentiati propter Te Deum laudamus á dominis Procuratoribus, loco Te Deum cantant psalmi á duobus choris in primis vespers’.

20 Ibid., fol. 30^r: ‘in secundis vespers, aliquando cantantur psalmi á duobus choris cantorum, ad petitionem ... Procuratorum, ... sed ordinarie non cantantur psalmi á cantoribus’.

21 Ibid., fol. 25^r: ‘in utrisque vespers psalmi omnes cantantur solemnissime á duobus choris cantorum, et similiter psalmi completorij diej festi’.

mus (during the procession on Good Friday), and the *Pange lingua* (during the Corpus Domini procession).²²

A general rubric in Bonifacio's *Caeremoniale* briefly refers to earlier usage and describes the composition of the two groups of performers in contemporary reality:

Of the psalms to be sung on all solemn feasts.

Formerly, on all solemn feasts, the psalms were sung by the small choir, and by the singers who sing by practice if they were available, in which case they were appointed to sing *more georgiano*. Today this practice of singing has fallen into disuse, and the singers of the greater choir sing all the psalms and whatever remains. And they sing the psalms divided in two choirs, namely four singers in one choir and all the rest in the other; since the small choir no longer exists.²³

'Ex pratica' presumably denotes improvised composition or oral tradition. In this context, it has been suggested that *more georgiano* refers to a style of simple polyphony 'very close to *cantus planus binatim*, which could be performed in three or four parts', of a kind used by the canons regular of San Giorgio in Alga.²⁴ This perhaps corresponds to what the Dutch pilgrim Arendt Willemsz heard in the ducal basilica during Vespers on the feast of Corpus Domini 1525: 'There is a bench, preciously made, which is placed squarely in the middle of the choir; here the precentors are sitting, and they alternate with one another, two together alternately intoning the psalms very pleasantly and magnificently; and they sing splendidly, partly in plainsong from the one side, and

22 See, respectively, *ibid.*, fol. 27^r (*in apparitione corporis sancti Marci*); fols. 25^v (*in translatione s. Isidori*), 26^r (*in vigilia festi s. Marci*), 28^r (*in die ss. Viti et Modesti*), 28^v (*in apparitione s. Marci*), 29^r (*in die s. Marinae*), 46^r (*in vigilia ascensionis Domini*); fol. 10^r; fol. 64^r.

23 *Ibid.*, fol. 18^r: 'De psalmis canendis in omnibus solemnitatibus. In omnibus solemnitatibus, olim psalmi cantabantur á capella parva, et á cantoribus qui ex pratica cantant, si habebantur, sic dicebantur cantare more georgiano. Hodie sic mos canendi abiit in desuetudinem, et cantores maioris capellae cantant omnes psalmos et reliqua, et psalmos cantant divisi in duobus choris, vz. quatuor cantores in uno choro, et reliqui omnes in altero, quia capella parva non extat'. The text recurs on fol. 47^r.

24 Giulio Cattin and Lucia Moro, 'Il codice 359 del Seminario di Padova (anno 1505). Canti liturgici a due voci e laude dei canonici di San Giorgio in Alga', in *Contributi per la storia della musica sacra a Padova*, ed. Giulio Cattin and Antonio Lovato (Padua, 1993), 141-89 at 184. The hypothesis is taken up by Iain Fenlon, 'Strangers in Paradise: Dutchmen in Venice in 1525', in Iain Fenlon, *Music and Culture in Late Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 2002), 24-43 at 42-43; *idem*, 'The Performance of *cori spezzati*', 91.

from the other side partly falsobordone.²⁵ Bonifacio's description of the later practice of responsorial alternation between a choir of four solo singers and another comprising 'all the rest' dovetails closely with Willemsz's observations and shows just how firmly the performance of Willaert's (and Croce's) double-choir 'salmi spezzadi' is anchored in age-old liturgical usage.

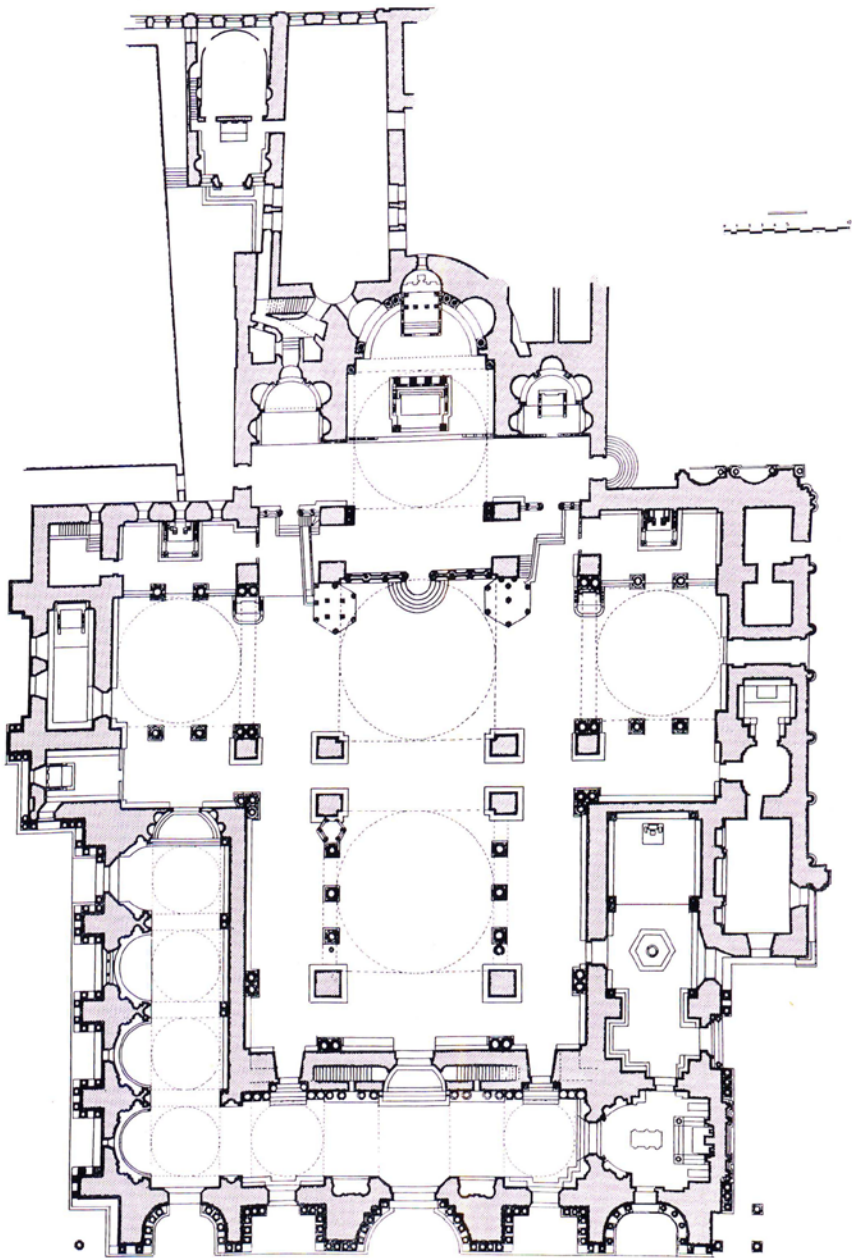
Unequivocal documentation on the location of the singers during performance of the double-choir psalms regards individual ceremonies; when generalizations occur, the kind of music performed is never specified. The following positions can be identified or, at least, inferred with some degree of certainty:

- The floor of the choir (near the high altar; see Figure 13.1). An addition to Bonifacio's *Caeremoniale* records a still recent change in ceremonial on second Vespers *in festo s. Ioannis Baptistae*: '1558. By order of the Most Serene Prince and the most illustrious Procurators ... we make a great solemnity ... The psalms are sung by the singers in two choirs ... in the choir at the high altar'.²⁶
- The *pulpitum novum lectionum*. This two-storey structure stands in the nave of the church, to the left of the iconostasis (see Figure 13.2). It is mentioned by Bonifacio in connection with the vigil of Ascension: 'The singers ... sing *alternatim*, divided in two choirs. His Serenity mounts the great pulpit and there hears Vespers ... The singers sing in the new pulpit of the lessons, although they are tight in it. Whenever our most serene lord the Doge sits in the choir, the singers are situated in the great pulpit'.²⁷

25 'Daer is een banc costelick toe bereyt die staet dwers mitsen overt choor daer sitten die vier provideer cappen op ende verposen malkanderen, intoneerende twee ghelijck per vices die psalmen, seer lusteliken ende triumphelike Ende werden ghesonghen heerliken, partim simpel van die eenre sijde ende van die ander sijde partim fabridoen', quoted in Fenlon, 'The Performance of *cori spezzati*', 84, from Arent Willemsz, *Bedevert naar Jerusalem in 1525*, ed. Cornelis Jacobus Gonnet, Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis van het bisdom van Haarlem, 11 (Haarlem, 1884), available at <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/willo67bedeo1_01/colofon.htm> (dbnl, 2006), 36.

26 I-Vnm, cod. lat. III 172 (= 2276), fol. 28^v: '1558. De ordine ser.mi Principis et ... Procuratorum ... facimus solemnitatem magnam ... Cantoribus cantantur psalmi in duobus choris ... in choro, ad altare maius' (later addition to main text, perhaps by Bonifacio).

27 Ibid., fol. 14^v: 'In vigilia vero Ascensionis cantores ... cantant divisi in duobus choris alternatim. Sua Serenitas ascendit pulpitum magnum et ibi audit vespas ... Cantores cantant in pulpito novo lectionum, licet anguste maneant in eo. Cum vero Ser.mus Dominus Dux sedet in choro tunc cantores locantur in pulpito magno ...'.



I. San Marco. Ground Plan
(Opera di San Marco)

FIGURE 13.1 *San Marco, ground plan. From Otto Demus, The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture, Washington DC, 1960*



FIGURE 13.2 *San Marco, interior, with the hexagonal pulpitum magnum cantorum to the right of the iconostasis, the two-storey pulpitum novum lectionum to the left. PHOTOGRAPH: ARCHIVIO NAYA-BÖHM*

- The *pulpitum magnum cantorum* (the ‘great pulpit’ or ‘bigonzo’), a hexagonal structure located in the nave to the right of the iconostasis, undoubtedly becomes the singers’ normal abode for performance of the double-choir psalms at Vespers (see Figure 13.3). After 1530, Doge Andrea Gritti’s illness prevented him from ascending the hexagonal pulpit, previously his normal position during church services; he thus moved to the primicerio’s seat in the chancel where, after 1535, a new ducal throne was made. What was originally the Doge’s vantage point subsequently became the *pulpitum magnum cantorum*—a location which, by 1564, was perhaps so widely accepted as the singers’ habitual position as to require nothing but the most general definition by contemporary commentators and passing reference only in exceptional circumstances. Giovanni Stringa, who succeeded Nicolò Fausti as *maestro di cerimonie* in 1598, states that ‘the Doge is presented to the people in the said pulpit following his election’,²⁸ and that ‘here, almost always, and particularly on solemn feasts and when the Signoria is present in church, the musicians sing at high mass and Vespers’.²⁹ As Zarlino’s *tarifa* shows, double-choir performance of the psalms is required on many of these occasions. A particular incident occurred on Sunday 7 October 1589 when, during first Vespers in *dedicatione ecclesiae S. Marci*, an argument broke out in church over Fausti’s demand that the psalms be performed in two choirs. The singers objected; no one could recall a single precedent for the *maestro*’s directives. Fausti, however, had his way, and so ‘the book boy brought the books for singing in two choirs to the *pergolo* ... Vespers was said, which the singers sang in two choirs’.³⁰ The thirteen musicians ‘who were then in the *pergolo*’ (evidently their usual position for this ceremony—which, however, did not normally involve the performance of *salmi spezzati*) sang four of the five psalms according to the standard, double-choir practice outlined above. The fifth psalm was sung in falsobordone, since no double-choir setting was available.

Various hypotheses regarding the performance of double-choir psalms from the organ lofts or, in more recent literature, from the two *pergoli* designed by

28 Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima, et singolare* (Venice: Salicato, 1604), fol. 44^v (where the information is added by Stringa): ‘in detto pulpito si appresenta al popolo il nuovo Doge creato’.

29 Ibid.: ‘sopra questo quasi per l’ordinario, e specialmente nelle feste solenni, e quando discende la Signoria in chiesa, cantano i musici alla messa maggiore, & al vespro gli uffici divini’.

30 I-Vas, Procuratoria de Supra, b. 91, proc. 208, fol. 22^v: ‘il zago dei libri portò in pergolo i libri per cantar a dui cori ... Fu detto il vespero che cantarono li cantori a dui cori’.

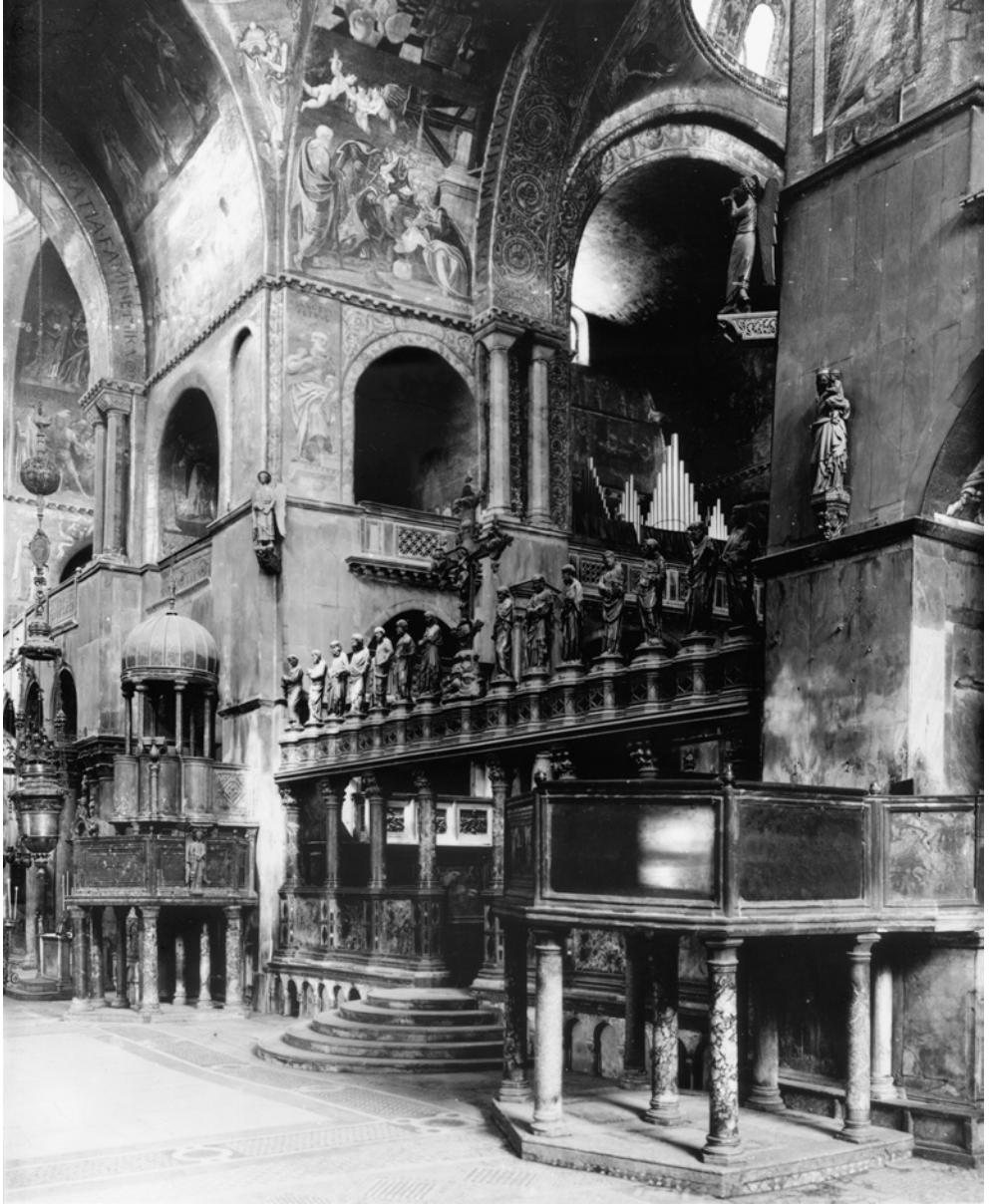


FIGURE 13.3 *San Marco, the hexagonal pulpitum magnum cantorum (right) and pulpitum novum lectionum (left). PHOTOGRAPH: ARCHIVIO NAYA-BÖHM*

Jacopo Sansovino and installed respectively in 1536-37 and 1541-44 to the right and left of the choir just inside the iconostasis perhaps draw their inspiration from Zarlino's statement that 'the choirs are placed at some distance one from the other'.³¹ These hypotheses, fascinating as they are, find no confirmation in known sixteenth-century documentation. The function of the *pergoli* is described by Jacopo's son Francesco Sansovino, who states in 1561 that 'they are used for singing the Epistle and Gospel when necessary';³² an anonymous late seventeenth-century painting of the *Consignment of the sword and pileus to Doge Francesco Morosini by Pope Alexander VIII* depicts singers and instrumentalists in the *pergoli*,³³ but its lateness as documentation and the exceptional nature of the ceremony advise against using it as a gauge of normal sixteenth-century practice. And, for the sixteenth-century, the musicians who sometimes occupied the organ lofts can be identified as vocal soloists and instrumentalists—never the singers of the *cappella*, responsible for the performance of the psalms.

San Marco: *Concerti* 'in Capella' and *Concerti* 'Super Organis'

Stylistically distinct from the double-choir psalms, though largely polychoral, is a further repertory today known principally through the *concerti* and *sacrae symphoniae* of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, Giovanni Bassano, and Giovanni Croce. Evident differences between the two groups of compositions are as follows:

- *salmi spezzati* texts are derived from the offices of Vespers, Compline, and Terce; on the contrary, *concerti* and *sacrae symphoniae* texts (many of which are not even psalms) are most frequently drawn from the liturgies of Matins and Lauds;
- whereas the texts of *salmi spezzati* are liturgically complete (including the final doxology), *concerti* texts are frequently curtailed;

31 Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (Venice: Pietro da Fino, 1558), bk. III, ch. 66, p. 268. The *pergoli* are discussed in Moretti, 'Architectural Spaces', 168-78, and Howard and Moretti, *Sound and Space*, 37-38. Further on Zarlino's comments, see below.

32 Francesco Sansovino, *Delle cose notabili che sono in Venetia* (Venice: Comin da Trino di Monferrato, 1561), fol. 26: '... servono a cantar l'Epistola e il Vangelo quando bisogna'.

33 Reproductions in Moretti, 'Architectural Spaces', 168; Howard and Moretti, *Sound and Space*, 34.

- the double-choir articulation of the *salmi spezzati* is replaced, in several *concerti* and *sacrae symphoniae*, by the use of three or even four choirs (and many compositions are not even polychoral);
- the strictly liturgical, verse-by-verse (or hemistich-by-hemistich) alternation of choirs characteristic of the *salmi spezzati* is replaced in the *concerti* and *sacrae symphoniae* by a rapid interchoir dialogue of evidently musical effect, based on the repetition of phrases and brief melodic and rhythmic modules; on the contrary, Willaert uses this technique only in the final doxology (and Croce extends its employment to a limited number of intermediate phrases);
- while a cantus firmus (in simple or elaborated form) is constantly present in Willaert's psalms, only rarely does it feature in the *concerti* and *sacrae symphoniae*.

These differences are themselves the result of distinct functional orientations. In the first place, ducal ceremonial assigns the performance of the liturgically regulated, liturgically functional *salmi spezzati* to their liturgically prescribed positions, whereas *concerti* and *sacrae symphoniae* are generally performed outside their immediate liturgical contexts at mass or Vespers, in the manner of motets.³⁴ Moreover, while Zarlino's *tarifa* associates the performance of double-choir psalms with the greatest feasts of the universal liturgical calendar (with the sole addition of St Mark, patron saint of the ducal basilica and protector of the Republic), payments for *concerti* are limited to only some of these occasions, together with a series of annual liturgical commemorations of particular events in Venetian history and a sporadic series of one-off events.³⁵ Though the two repertories are frequently confounded in modern studies,³⁶ so

34 As emerges, for example, from several of the documents transcribed in Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 563-68 (for major feast-days) and David Bryant, 'Liturgy, Ceremonial and Sacred Music in Venice at the Time of the Counter-Reformation' (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1981), 13-14 (for occasional ceremonies).

35 Baroncini (*Giovanni Gabrieli*, 272) identifies the feasts of Sts Isidore (for the discovery of Marino Faliero's plot against the Republic), Marina (for the reconquest of Padua from the league of Cambrai), and Giustina (for the naval victory of Lepanto), the feast of the Redentore (for deliverance from the plague of 1575-77) and the anniversary of a Doge's investiture as occasions on which *concerti* were performed; on the contrary, Zarlino's *tarifa* mentions several festivities on which *concerti* seem not to have been habitually performed.

36 Confusion occurs even in recent studies. See, for example, Fenlon, 'The Performance of *cori spezzati*', 93 ('The organizational principles of the Venetian *cori spezzati*, as formulated by Adrian Willaert on the basis of the existing musical practices of the basilica, in turn provided the stylistic starting point for the monumental polychoral manner of

much do they differ in function, compositional technique and—as shall emerge—sound as to leave little doubt that contemporary musicians and listeners perceived them as separate entities.

The heterogeneous nature of events when *concerti* might be performed and the relative freedom of the musical repertory from liturgical constriction find expression in a wide variety of compositional and performative practices. Thus, for example, the *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio: Gabrieli* (1587) range from a minimum of six to a maximum of sixteen parts grouped in one to four choirs; Bassano's two volumes of *Concerti ecclesiastici* (1598 and 1599) contain compositions for five to twelve parts arranged in one to three choirs; and Giovanni Gabrieli's two volumes of *Sacrae Symphoniae* (1597 and 1615) are cast in six to nineteen parts distributed in one to four choirs. The number of extra instrumentalists hired on a one-off basis for their services in *concerti* varies considerably from one feast to another;³⁷ specifically instrumental parts of different colours and ranges are present in several of Giovanni's later compositions. Variety is no less a feature of the placement of musicians in the basilica. The following locations, presumably corresponding to different ceremonial necessities and/or different levels of liturgical hierarchy, are documented during the second half of the sixteenth century, sometimes in a way that implies the existence of consolidated practices:

- 'super organis' (in the organ lofts): On 29 January 1568 the Procurators accept the offer of Girolamo Dalla Casa (da Udine) 'to provide, ... with wind instruments and with two of his brothers and other musicians, the *concerti* in the organ lofts which take place every year to the honour of the church of San Marco, when the Serenissima Signoria comes to church on the solemn feasts of Christmas and Easter and other feasts during the year'.³⁸ Evidently, even before the arrival of a regularly contracted group in the basilica, in-

Andrea Gabrieli who, beginning in the 1560s, wrote music for two and more choirs'); Moretti, 'Architectural Spaces', 177 ('Polyphonic writing for alternating choirs enhanced both colour and richness of sound, and had important consequences on subsequent developments in the art of polyphony. It was a technique adopted with increasing frequency by Willaert's successors and was to contribute to later developments, particularly at St Mark's'); Howard and Moretti, *Sound and Space*, 37 ('Later, as compositions became more complex, performance practices evolved to accommodate multiple choirs and the greater use of instruments').

37 Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 249.

38 I-Vas, Procuratoria de Supra, Terminazioni, reg. 131, fol. 65^v: 'fare ... con instrumenti di fiato et con doi soi frattelli et altri musici li concerti nelli organi quali per ordinario si sogliono fare ogni anno per honore della chiesa de San Marco quando la Serenissima Signoria

strumentalists sometimes performed *concerti* from this position. Documentation continues throughout the period of the Gabrielis' tenure as organists. The practice of inserting one or more solo voices into otherwise instrumental groups, as later described in vol. 3 of Praetorius's *Syntagma musicum*, is confirmed in Venetian documentation.³⁹

- 'in capella' (at ground-floor level): On 3 February 1580, Piero da Oderzo and three companions receive 2 *scudi* for their collaboration 'with the singers downstairs, *in capella*', at mass on the feast of the Purification.⁴⁰ On 24 February 1581, the Procurators deliberate to engage the cornettist and trombonist Francesco Da Mosto 'with the duty of playing [*super organis*] with the aforesaid Girolamo da Udene or *in capella* with Bassano in the aforesaid performances ... when the most serene Prince comes to church'.⁴¹ On 5 November 1594, instrumentalists are paid 'for *concerti* performed *in capella* during mass on All Saints day'.⁴² On 22 May 1599, a group of *sonadori*—including the organist Zuane Priuli who 'played the positive organ on the dais', presumably with the other musicians—is paid for services rendered *in capella* on first and second Vespers of Ascension.⁴³ On this and other occasions, the 'dais' probably corresponds not to the *pulpitum magnum cantorum* but to a temporary structure erected nearby or in the vicinity of the *pulpitum novum lectionum* (see below). It has been suggested that the instrumentalists *in capella* had the function of 'sustaining' the main body of

viene in chiesa al tempo delle feste solenne di Natal et Pasqua et altre feste etiam infra annum'.

- 39 Michael Praetorius, *Syntagmatis musici ... tomus tertius* (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619), 152–68. Polychoral motets by Gabriele Usper inserted in Francesco Usper's *Compositioni armoniche nelle quali si contengono motetti, sinfonie, sonate, canzoni & capricci ...* (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1619), provide pertinent musical documentation; these are discussed in Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 267. For archival documentation from San Marco, see below.
- 40 I-Vas, Procuratoria de Supra, Cassier chiesa, reg. 3, *sub data* (quoted in Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 239): 'in capella a basso con li cantori'.
- 41 I-Vas, Procuratoria de Supra, Terminazioni, reg. 135, fol. 28^r (quoted in Denis Arnold, *Giovanni Gabrieli and the Music of the Venetian High Renaissance* [Oxford, 1986], 137): 'con obbligo a lui di dover intervenir insieme co'l sopradetto ser Girolamo da Udene overo in capella con il Bassano nelle musiche sopradette ... al tempo che il serenissimo Principe entra in chiesa di volta in volta'.
- 42 I-Vas, Procuratoria de Supra, Cassier chiesa, reg. 5, *sub data* (quoted in Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 239): 'per concerti fatti in capella il giorno de Tutti li Santi a missa'.
- 43 Ibid., *sub data*: 'Zuane Priuli organista per haver sonato nel palcho l'organo portatile' (full text in Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 566).

singers on ground-floor level;⁴⁴ this may represent a simplification of a more complex reality which admits various combinations of instrumentalists, vocal soloists and choral singers in the performance of single-choir or poly-choral compositions.

- from a combination of positions on upper- and ground-floor levels: Payments of 4 January 1590 and 3 January 1598 differentiate between instrumentalists located 'nelli organi' and another list of players who perform from one or more unspecified positions⁴⁵—presumably on ground-floor level. On 19 August 1586 Giovanni Gabrieli receives 10 ducats 'to pay the *concerti* performed in the organ on the vigil of Ascension with twelve instruments, in both organ lofts and on the dais erected near the pulpit of the Gospel by reason of these extravagant pieces of music'.⁴⁶ A similar arrangement was apparently adopted for the four-choir mass performed on 29 June 1585 in honour of some visiting Japanese princes, when 'a new platform was made for the singers and a positive organ added, in order that, together with the two notable organs of the church and the other instruments, the music might sound more harmonious'.⁴⁷ The following, more general document implies that the *capella dei cantori*, when involved in performances of *concerti*, was located at some distance from the groups *in organis* (presumably in the *pulpitum magnum cantorum* or in a temporary pulpit at ground-floor level) and confirms, in the Venetian context, Praetorius's observation that at least one vocal soloist was normally present in the predominantly instrumental groupings:

April 2 [1607]. Giovanni Croce, *maestro di cappella*, ... having communicated to the most illustrious ... Procurators that, it being necessary to perform music in the organ [lofts] at such times as the most serene Prince and the most serene Signoria come to church, it is [also] necessary that there be someone of ability who serves in the organ [lofts] to beat the time, as it is regulated by this *maestro*. And because, in [Giovanni]

44 Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 239.

45 Ibid., Procuratoria de Supra, Cassier chiesa, reg. 4, *sub data* (quoted in Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 564-65).

46 Ibid., reg. 4, *sub data*: 'per pagar li concerti fatti in l'organo la vigilia della Sensa con dodeci instrumenti, così nelli organi tutti doi, come nel palco fatto far appresso il pergolo dell'Evangelio per causa di tali musiche istravaganti' (quoted in Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 563).

47 Sansovino, *Venetia* (c.1604), fol. 306^r (Stringa's addition): 'vi si era fatto un palco novo per li cantori, et aggiunto un organo portatile, accioché, insieme con li due notabili di chiesa et gli altri stromenti musicali, facesse più celebre l'armonia'.

Gabrieli's loft, there is ... Giovanni Bassano, *capo dei concerti*, who on that side [of the choir] is charged with this responsibility, and on the other side this *maestro* [i.e., Croce] is accustomed to employ ... friar Agostin, the minorite, singer in the choir, who, having left the city already some days ago, without leave, he [Croce] wished to give notice of the fact to Their Excellencies, in order that they might make that provision which seems to them best, that the music pass with that honour and public decorum which is the will of Their Excellencies.⁴⁸

Croce's appeal to the Procurators comes in the run-up to Easter (which, in 1607, fell on 15 April) and the feast of St Mark (25 April)—ceremonies of particular importance in the universal and local church calendars respectively and, as such, requiring music at the highest level of ducal ceremonial. Two supplementary conductors in the organ lofts—Fra Agostino, a member of the choir, and Giovanni Bassano, cornettist and *capo dei concerti*—were apparently entrusted with the task of relaying the beat, as indicated by Croce himself, to the musicians in their charge. The *maestro di cappella*, together with or near to a separate group of performers, must have been located at some distance from the other musicians—otherwise why the need to relay the beat? During mass on Easter Sunday, the singers normally performed at ground-floor level: according to Bonifacio's *Caeremoniale*, 'the singers ... ascend the pulpit of the Lessons, where they sing mass, because on this day the Doge ascends the great pulpit [of the singers], in which he hears mass. If the Doge hears mass in the choir, the singers ascend the great pulpit...'.⁴⁹ Though Bonifacio assigns no specific location to the singers for the ceremonies of 25 April, their duties on this occa-

48 I-Vas, Procuratia de Supra, Terminazioni, reg. 139, fol. 180^{r-v}: 'Adì 2 april. Havendo ... Zuane Croce maestro di capella raccordato all'ill.mi ... Proc.ri, che occorendo far musica sopra li organi à tempo che il s. P. et la ser.ma Sig.ria vien in chiesa è necessario, che vi sia alcuno intelligente, che serva sopra li organi à dimostrar la batuda sì come viene regolata da esso maestro. Et perché sopra l'organo del Gabrieli vi è ... Zuane Bassano capo dei concerti, il qual da quella parte ha questo carico, et dall'altra parte si solea servir esso maestro del ... fra Agostin minoritano cantor di capella, il qual essendo partito dalla città già alcuni giorni et senza licentia alcuna, ne ha voluto dar not.a a ss. ss. ill.mi acìò sia fatta quella provisione che le parerà migliore, perché le musiche passino con quell'honore, et decoro publico, che è mente di ss. ss. ill.mi'.

49 I-Vnm, cod. lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol. 12^r: 'cantores ... ascendunt pulpitem lectionum ubi cantant missam, quia hodie Dominus Dux ... ascendit pulpitem magnum in quo audit missam. Si vero Dominus Dux remanet in choro ad missam, cantores ascendunt pulpitem magnum ad canendam missam'.

sion included the performance of the litanies 'in duobus choris' during the procession—necessarily on the floor of the church. Given this situation, it is difficult to see how the *cappella dei cantori* could have performed from the organ lofts which, before the 1660s, were accessible only by means of a narrow, external raised passage at the back of the church or, alternatively, using the stairs located near the west door and the zigzag passage-ways which lead round to the galleries situated above the liturgical area of the church—indecorous and impractical routes for large bodies of musicians. Ducal ceremonial takes account of this difficulty in assigning the main body of singers to positions which do not impede the fulfilment of their obligations at ground-floor level.

The varied logistics of festive music-making in San Marco are broadly reflected in the mono- and polychoral layouts of the extant musical repertoires—though the difficulty of linking individual compositions with specific events both in the basilica and elsewhere invites caution in drawing what are necessarily unverifiable conclusions. A first group of compositions comprises single-choir motets in six, seven, eight and ten parts, presumably most suitable for ground-floor performance with minimal separation between singers and instrumentalists: for example, the extra players hired for first Vespers of Ascension 1586 are positioned 'in the dais erected near the pulpit of the Gospel', itself home to the main body of singers when the Doge ascends the *pulpitum magnum cantorum*. On the contrary, double-choir *concerti* and *sacrae symphoniae* might seem tailor-made for performance *super organis* by instrumentalists and vocal soloists (few indeed of the four-part choirs adopt the voice combinations and ranges suitable for a choir of singers). A third group of pieces for three or more choirs frequently include a unit labelled *cappella dei cantori*: the interplay between the main body of singers positioned at ground-floor level and groups comprising instrumentalists and vocal soloists in the galleries is presumably at the origins of this type of composition.

Polychoral Music in Parish and Monastic Churches

Evidently the contents of the *Salmi appertinenti alli vesperi* (1550) enjoyed some degree of popularity, for the collection was reprinted in 1557. The same can be said of Croce's eight-part Vespers psalms of 1597, reprinted in 1603, 1610, and 1625—this despite the fact that more 'modern', festive psalm compositions for two or more choirs in which short phrases are tossed backwards and forwards between groups of performers with brief, intermediate *tuttis* and a final

tutti towards the end of the doxology were by this time commonplace.⁵⁰ Further proof of significant market demand for double-choir psalms is provided by two volumes by Giovanni Matteo Asola, published respectively in 1574 and 1578.⁵¹ The 1574 collection was reprinted in 1582. Choirs 1 and 2 of the 1578 publication were published in separate editions: while choir 2 is known in only two later printings (1583 and 1596), choir 1 was republished at least six times between 1582 and 1612.⁵² Clearly, double-choir psalm performance was not a prerogative of San Marco or a limited number of major institutions, but was also common practice on major feast-days in parish and monastic churches.

Numerous archival references to the performance of festive music by two 'choirs' of singers in Venetian churches occur throughout the sixteenth century—though these are rarely unequivocal in their use of terminology. The statute⁵³ of the company formed in February 1552 by the singers of San Marco for the purpose of collectively managing their earnings on the major feast-days of churches and confraternities divides the company 'into four choirs [of four or five singers each], so that each member may know who his companions are'⁵⁴ and establishes that, 'should two choirs be required to perform at two feasts on the same day, as will very often be the case, ... each of the parts must go where requested without change of members; but, when [only] one feast in two choirs occurs, those members who are necessary for our honour and the satisfaction of those who are called may be selected from the entire body of the

50 An example is provided by Costanzo Antegnati's *Salmi a otto voci* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1592), some of whose contents had previously been performed at Vespers for the patron saint of the Benedictine nunnery of San Vittore, Meda (cf. dedicatory letter).

51 Giovanni Maria Asola, *Psalmodia ad vespertinas omnium solemnitarum horas octonis vocibus infractis decantanda: canticaque duo B. Virginis Mariae* (Venice: eredi di Girolamo Scotto, 1574; RISM A 2517); idem, *Vespertina omnium solemnitarum psalmodia, ... duoque B. Virginis cantica, ... cum quatuor vocibus ... Primus chorus. Extat etiam secundus chorus ...* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1578; RISM A 2532); idem, *Secundus chorus vespertinae omnium solemnitarum psalmodiae ... vocibus quatuor paribus concinendus* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1578; RISM A 2538).

52 Known reprints of choir 1 are RISM A 2533 (Gardano, 1582), A 2534 (Vincenti, 1586), A 2535 (Vincenti, 1590), A 2537 (Amadino, 1598); further editions were published by Amadino in 1590 and 1612. Reprints of choir 2 are RISM A 2539 (Gardano, 1583), A 2536 (Amadino, 1596).

53 I-Vas, Parti comuni, filza 59, n. 68, transcribed in Jonathan Glixon, 'A Musicians' Union in Sixteenth-Century Venice', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983), 392-421 at 415-17, and Francesco Luisi, *Laudario Giustiniano* (Venice, 1983), vol. 1, 510-11.

54 Article 6: 'et perché occorerà, benché rarissime volte, andar a cantare a uno coro solo, acciò che ogni uno sappia quali siano i suoi compagni sono stati divisi in 4 cori' (Glixon, 'A Musicians' Union', 416; Luisi, *Laudario Giustiniano*, 511).

company'.⁵⁵ Are the 'choirs' subdivisions of the company (elsewhere denominated 'parti'), do they indicate a manner of performance, or both? In 1536 and 1537, the confraternity of the Santissimo Sacramento in the parish church of San Giuliano paid 'chanttadori fo numero 8 a doi chori' for participation at mass and Vespers of Corpus Domini.⁵⁶ In 1564, the tax return of the parish church of San Polo indicates an annual expenditure of three ducats for 'singers in two choirs' and two ducats for 'players' at mass and Vespers in honour of the titular saint.⁵⁷ In 1568, 'singers and players in two choirs from San Marco' were present for the installation of a new abbess at the monastery of Sant'Antonio Abate, Torcello.⁵⁸ On 13 May 1571, the consecration of eight nuns at the Augustinian monastery of Santa Giustina occasioned payments 'to singers ... in two choirs'.⁵⁹ A memorandum of the confraternity of the Purificazione della Beata Vergine, active in the parish church of Santa Maria Formosa, describes how, on 2 February 1596, solemn mass was sung 'with the said music [*de cantorier*] at our altar of the Blessed Virgin and the solemn *piffaro* in the choir'⁶⁰—a possible reference to the splitting of performing forces. In this context, it is worth remembering that festive music may be performed in proximity to a

55 Article 5: 'occorendo di dover far due feste a dui cori in uno medesimo giorno come bene spesso occorerà, che una parte della compagnia vada a farne una e l'altra parte l'altra, et perché saranno di coloro che fanno le feste, li quali haveranno più inclinatione a una parte che a l'altra, per poterli compiacere si termina che in caso di far due feste in tal modo in un giorno, ogni una delle parti debba andare dove sarà chiamata senza altro cambio de compagni, ma occorendo fare una [sola] festa a dui cori si possino torre di tutto il corpo della compagnia quelli compagni che bisogneranno per nostro honore et per satisfatione di coloro che si chiameranno' (Glixon, 'A Musicians' Union', 416; Luisi, *Laudario Giustiniano*, 511).

56 I-Vasp, parrocchia di San Marco, scuola del Santissimo Sacramento in parrocchia di San Zulian, registri di cassa, reg. 1 (libro cassa, 1502-1688), fols. 61^r and 62^r (quoted in Glixon, "Standing al in a rowe", 281, 289).

57 I-Vas, Soprintendenti alle decime del clero, b. 33, no. 106 (quoted in Elena Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco. Organizzazione e prassi della musica nelle chiese di Venezia nel Rinascimento* [Florence, 1998], 214).

58 I-Vas, Sant'Antonio Abate di Torcello, b. 1, fasc. 2 (reg. capitoli, 1556-1647), fol. 10^r (quoted in Glixon, "Standing al in a rowe", 281, 288).

59 I-Vas, San Matteo di Murano, b. 24 (account book from Santa Giustina, 1556-73), *sub data* (quoted in Glixon, "Standing al in a rowe", 281, 288-89).

60 I-Vas, Scuole piccole e suffragi, b. 212 (confraternity of the Purificazione della Beata Vergine, present in Santa Maria Formosa), fol. 80^v: 'con detta musica [*de cantorier*] al nostro altar della Madonna col piffaro solenne nel coro grande'.

particular altar, whereas a permanent church organ can be some distance away.⁶¹

Printed musical sources offer only occasional insights. In particular, the *Harmonia sacra* (1602) by Gregorio Zucchini, a monk in the Benedictine community of San Giorgio Maggiore, contains an eight-part, double-choir motet, *Exultet omnium turba fidelium*, in honour of the founder St Benedict, and the twelve-part motet *Omnes gentes plaudite manibus* for the feast of St Anne, patron saint of another Benedictine monastery in Venice; is it significant that, alongside generic emoluments to singers and instrumentalists for their services at mass and Vespers, account books from Sant'Anna register payments 'a doi organi' in 1615 and 1616, suggesting (though not confirming) a polychoral disposition?⁶² Other motet, psalm or mass texts are too generic in nature to permit attribution to particular events. Little other evidence is presently available.

In the light of what is now known about the frequency and scale of festive music-making in Venetian parish and monastic churches, Zarlino's comments on the technique and uses of *cori spezzati* deserve attention:

Psalms are sometimes set in a manner called *coro spezzato*. These psalms are frequently used in Venice, where they are habitually sung during Vespers and the other hours of the solemn feasts; and they are organized and divided in two or three choirs, in [each of] which four voices sing. ... The choirs are placed at some distance, one from the other.⁶³

This celebrated passage is normally interpreted in the specific context of San Marco. On the contrary, Zarlino's words—if well chosen—describe what was perhaps a longstanding and widespread practice in Venetian churches at large: *coro spezzato* psalms, he states, are '*habitually* sung ... in Venice' (my italics) and not, in particular, at San Marco where, according to Zarlino's *tarifa* and Bonifacio's *Caeremoniale*, the practice occurs in connection with little more

61 For a brief discussion of the phenomenon, David Bryant, Elena Quaranta, and Francesco Trentini, 'Architecture, Musical Composition and Performance: Some Thoughts on the Multiple Forms of a Difficult Relationship', in *Architettura e musica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, 269–72.

62 I-Vas, Sant'Anna, b. 36, fols. 7^r and 28^r (quoted in Glixon, "Standing al in a rowe", 290).

63 Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, bk. III, ch. 66, p. 268: 'Accaderà alle volte di comporre alcuni salmi in una maniera, che si chiama a choro spezzato, i quali spesse volte si sogliono cantare in Vinegia nelli vesperi, et altre hore delle feste solenni; et sono ordinati et divisi in due chori, over in tre; ne i quali cantano quattro voci ... I chori si pongono alquanto lontani l'un dall'altro'.

than a score of the most solemn feasts (see above). Moreover, while ducal ceremonial describes only two-choir practice and refers almost exclusively to Vespers,⁶⁴ Zarlino speaks of two and three choirs and extends their use to 'the other hours of the solemn feasts' (thus indicating the potential consumer demand for Croce's later publications of psalms for Terce and Compline). Yet archival references to polychoral music in parish and monastic churches regard not only Vespers but also mass and other, occasional liturgies. Sheer necessity may have determined Zarlino's reference to Vespers and his choice of Willaert's 'salmi spezzadi' as examples: in 1558, when the first edition of the *Istitutioni harmoniche* was published, no other polychoral music was readily available to readers in print. In this sense, his printed comments are best understood with reference to the projected audience of his widely-circulated treatise—not, specifically, his colleagues at San Marco but musicians at large with their differing needs and experiences.

Unwritten Practices of 'Cori Spezzati'

In the 'Basso per organo' part-book of Giovanni Croce's *Sacre cantilene concertate a tre, a cinque, et sei voci, con i suoi ripieni à quattro voci* (1610), an unsigned note 'Ai virtuosi lettori' describes 'the way of concerting these pieces'.⁶⁵ Besides the solo voices, each composition contains a 'four-part *ripieno*, [which] can be doubled in two or three choirs as desired, because this makes the sweetest and most charming *concerto*'.⁶⁶ Croce's collection obviously enjoyed a degree of market popularity, for it was reprinted just two years later in 1612.⁶⁷ In the same year, Lodovico da Viadana's *Salmi a quattro chori* contains a preface with instructions on 'How to concert the said psalms', including the following note: 'whoever wishes to make a great display in 4, 5, 6, 7 or 8 choirs, as is so common today, can achieve his aim by doubling the second, third and fourth choir, without the slightest risk of error'.⁶⁸ Viadana seems never to have been regularly

64 The only documented exception is Compline *in festo annunciationis B.M.V.* (see above, fn. 21).

65 Giovanni Croce, *Sacre cantilene concertate a tre, a cinque, et sei voci, con i suoi ripieni à quattro voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1610): 'il modo di concertar queste cantilene'.

66 Ibid.: 'li ripieni a quattro a tutte le dette cantilene: quali ripieni si possono replicare in due & tre chori come si vorranno, perché fanno vaghissimo & soavissimo concerto'.

67 Idem, *Sacre cantilene concertate a tre, a cinque, et sei voci, con i suoi ripieni a quattro voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1612).

68 Lodovico Viadana, *Salmi a 4 chori per cantare, e concertare nelle gran Solennità di tutto l'anno, con il basso continuo per sonar nell'organo ... opera XXVII* (Venice: Giacomo

employed in Venice, though he was fleetingly present in nearby Concordia and, perhaps, Padua. Yet his reference to the extemporary 'multiplication' of choirs as 'so common today' can have raised few eyebrows in a city where Croce's compositions were presumably not unknown. Other roughly contemporary allusions to the phenomenon are provided by the northern Italians Adriano Banchieri (1609), Girolamo Giacobbi (1609) and Ignazio Donati (1623). In Rome, too, the phenomenon is illustrated by a sixteen-part (four-choir) Magnificat setting by Giovanni Francesco Anerio with identical music for choirs 3 and 4,⁶⁹ a triple-choir *Missa Tu es Petrus*, in which 'the three choirs simply alternate or double on basically six-voice music arranged from Palestrina's motet *Tu es Petrus* (not from the composer's own six-voice mass based on it)',⁷⁰ and an eight-part setting of *Apparuit Deus Moysi* (attributed to Abbatini), a 'substantial two-choir composition ... preserved in 19 partbooks which are arranged in four choirs ... In this adaptation, the third choir doubles the first (apart from the solo sections of the concerted voices), while the fourth choir doubles the second (likewise only in tutti sections)'.⁷¹ What was evidently widespread practice in the early seventeenth century was undoubtedly not unknown to earlier generations. Three-choir composition is mentioned in Nicola Vicentino's *Antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* of 1555 as an apparently normal means of obtaining 'an even bigger sound' than otherwise available.⁷² Intriguing is Zarlino's statement that the 'psalms ... are organized and divided in two or three choirs': in Venice, few three-choir compositions indeed predate what little was included in Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli's *Concerti* of 1587!

Vicenti, 1612): 'chi volesse fare una bella mostra come hoggidi il mondo si compiace di fare a 4, a 5, a 6, a 7, a 8 chori, radoppi il secondo, terzo e quarto choro, c'haverà l'intento suo, senza pericolo nissuno di far errore'.

69 Noel O'Regan, 'The Performance of Roman Sacred Polychoral Music in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries: Evidence from Archival Sources', in *Performance Practice Review* 8 (1995), 107-46 at 113. The manuscript is now in the library of the Conservatorio Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Rome.

70 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Fondo Cappella Giulia, XIII, 19, cited in O'Regan, 'The Performance', 115.

71 Florian Bassani Grampp, 'On a Roman Polychoral Performance in August 1665', in *Early Music* 36 (2008), 415-33 at 424.

72 Nicola Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, transl. Maria Rika Maniates (New Haven-London, 1996), 268 (from *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* [Rome, 1555], fol. 85^r).

The Frottola in the Veneto

Giovanni Zanovello

In memoriam Giulio Cattin



The Frottola at Court

Serafino told me that your lordship wishes a copy of his *capitolo* on his dream. I was thinking of not circulating it too much, but I have decided to make an exception for your lordship and to send the copy attached here and copied from the very original, which I took away from Serafino to make sure I alone had it. I beg your lordship to look after it and not to be easy to oblige others with it, indeed (if possible) not to give it to anyone, since I would be very happy to be able to have it with me for a while before it is widespread, and if I can assist you with anything else, may your lordship command and I recommend myself to you.¹

This quote from a letter of 1498 by Isabella d'Este illustrates her proprietorial attitude towards art works such as the poem by Serafino Ciminelli dell'Aquila cited in the text. Isabella had apparently requisitioned the original of Serafino's *capitolo* to have full control over it and made sure it was shared very selectively, in this case to win the goodwill of bishop Ludovico Gonzaga. This was not a

1 'M. Seraphino mi ha dicto che la S.V. desydera copia del capitulo suo dil sogno. Io, benché havessi pensato non lo dare molto fora, tamen ho voluto exceptuare la S.V. di questa deliberatione e mandargliene la qui inclusa copia tolta dal originale proprio, del quale privai Seraphino per essere io sola che l'havesse: prego ben la S.V. che lo habbia charo né sia molto facile a compiacerne altri, anzi (se lo può fare) non lo dia ad alcuno, perché sarei contenta poterlo havere presso me qualche tempo che non fosse divulgato; e se in altro posso gratificare la S.V. comandi et a lei mi raccomando.' 27 May 1498. Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere d'Isabella Gonzaga, l. 9. Transcribed in Vittorio Cian, *Un decennio della vita di M. Pietro Bembo (1521-1531)* (Turin, 1885; repr. Bologna, 1982), 233. See also Sabine Meine, *Die Frottola: Musik, Diskurs und Spiel an italienischen Höfen 1500-1530* (Turnhout, 2013), 71, with small variants.

quirk exclusive to Isabella. In the fifteenth century, rulers pursued policies of artistic prestige, in which architecture as well as visual and performing arts became parts of their propaganda and ways to reflect and legitimize their social and political rank.² Serafino was a poet but also a very skilled musician, and the two kinds of artistic production were indeed akin in certain respects, so it is not surprising that music composed at court, both secular and sacred, was treated similarly—that is, guarded with jealousy and used as a diplomatic tool.³

The special standing of secular music at courts is demonstrated by the collaborations between poets and musicians and by the continuous history of employment of the main composers in central and northern Italian duchies and marquisates.⁴ Inevitably, the rich documentation produced by the rulers' entourages—letters, musical and literary manuscripts, payment records—has led to an increasingly exclusive association of secular music (especially the frottola repertory) and courts. In addition, William Prizer and others have convincingly linked the uncomplicated style of the frottola to elements of improvisational techniques. This created a connection to what musicologist Nino Pirrotta labelled the Italian unwritten tradition of music, a conjecture that addressed the gap in musical compositions by Italians between the illustrious Trecento tradition and the last decades of the fifteenth century.⁵

- 2 Among the first scholars to define artistic prestige were Ernst H. Gombrich, 'The Early Medici as Patrons of Art: A Survey of Primary Sources', in *Italian Renaissance Studies: A Tribute to the Late Cecilia M. Ady*, ed. Ernest Fraser Jacob (New York, 1960), 279–311, and André Chastel, *Art et humanisme à Florence au temps de Laurent le Magnifique: Études sur la Renaissance et l'Humanisme platonicien* (Paris, 1961).
- 3 Serafino's texts for music are collected in Serafino Ciminelli, *Le rime di Serafino Aquilano in musica*, ed. Giuseppina La Face Bianconi and Antonio Rossi (Florence, 1999). On Serafino, see also Maria Vigilante, 'Ciminelli, Serafino (Serafino Aquilano)', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, ed. Alberto Maria Ghisalberti, vol. 25, *Chinzer-Cirni* (Rome, 1981), 526–66.
- 4 Still useful for the biography of frottolisti is Knud Jeppesen, *La Frottola: Bemerkungen zur Bibliographie der ältesten weltlichen Notendrucke in Italien* (Copenhagen, 1968), 143–63, which provides a collection of biographical sketches. For updates, consult individual composers' entries in *Grove Music Online* (accessed 3 March 2015).
- 5 The original concept of unwritten tradition was formulated in Nino Pirrotta, 'Music and Cultural Tendencies in 15th-Century Italy', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19 (1966), 127–61. Among the most significant responses see William F. Prizer, 'The Frottola and the Unwritten Tradition', in *Studi Musicali* 15 (1986), 3–37; Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge, 1993), 540–50; Lewis Lockwood, review of Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500*, in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 120 (1995), 151–62; Reinhard Strohm, 'The "Rise of European Music" and the Rights of Others', in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 121 (1996), 1–10; Margaret Bent, 'Music and the Early Veneto

Pirrotta's dichotomy between Italian native and imported repertoires was also reinforced by other perspectives. In his survey of musical patronage in early modern Italy, Claudio Annibaldi singled out singing with the lute as an example of a musical activity promoted as part of 'humanistic patronage'—exercised by rulers and aristocrats for their own pleasure—in contrast with the 'institutional patronage' meant to symbolise their social and political status:

One should however bear in mind the contrast once proposed by Nino Pirrotta between Franco-Flemish polyphony—considered as a tailpiece of medieval scholasticism—and that 'singing with the lute' favoured by Italian Quattrocento literati, taken as the musical emblem of Renaissance humanism. And this should be seen as a contrast between repertoires not only linked to two different cultures but to the two different forms of patronage that had just begun to coexist.⁶

In recent years, scholarship on Italian secular music around 1500 has further consolidated into a stable narrative, which mostly discusses the frottola repertory as an accomplishment of north Italian courts, with Mantua and Ferrara in the first rank.⁷ In this scenario, of course, one finds little room for the Serenissima and its hinterland.

Indeed, the Veneto region occupies a very ambiguous position in this history. The members of leading Venetian families that controlled the region were educated but still mostly concerned with trade. They convened in intellectual circles rather than in the courts that are normally associated with the frottola.

Humanists', in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 101 (1999), 101-30; Reinhard Strohm, 'Music, Humanism, and the Idea of a "Rebirth" of the Arts', in *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn, New Oxford History of Music 3,1 (London, 2001), 346-443.

6 'Tuttavia si rammenti la contrapposizione prospettata una volta da Nino Pirrotta fra la polifonia franco-fiamminga, considerata come propaggine dello scolasticismo medievale, e il canto 'al liuto' prediletto dai letterati italiani del '400, inteso come emblema musicale dell'umanesimo rinascimentale. E la si pensi come contrapposizione fra repertori afferenti, non che a due culture diverse, alle due diverse forme di mecenatismo musicale che avevano appena iniziato a coesistere.' Claudio Annibaldi, 'Introduzione', in *La musica e il mondo: Mecenatismo e committenza musicale in Italia tra Quattro e Settecento* (Bologna, 1993), 9-43 at 13.

7 James Haar, 'Improvvisatori and Their Relationship to Sixteenth-Century Music', in *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance, 1350-1600* (Berkeley, 1986), 76-99; William F. Prizer, 'Games of Venus: Secular Vocal Music in the Late Quattrocento and Early Cinquecento', in *The Journal of Musicology* 9 (1991), 3-56; Meine, *Die Frottola*; Tim Shephard, *Echoing Helicon: Music, Art and Identity in the Este Studioli, 1440-1530* (New York, 2014).

Yet scholars have long been aware that the history of the genre was more complicated than one can presently reconstruct—the wide circulation of the repertory, the variety in poetic forms and regional linguistic traits suggest a polycentric origin. This and the relationships between unwritten and written traditions remain insufficiently documented, to cite two among the most obvious issues. Discomfort over the neglect of the Venice region in particular was expressed with great clarity by Giulio Cattin, who already in 1980 called for a radical revision of the narrative. In his opinion, ‘the contribution of the Veneto to the birth and whirlwind expansion of the genre is imposing’ to the point of demanding a radical reassessment.⁸ As Cattin observed, a remarkable number of the frottola composers—especially the ones operating in the 1490s—were indeed born, trained, or at least active in one or more cities of the Veneto.

Frottola Composers from the Veneto

In the late fifteenth century all the major centres of the Veneto witnessed a certain degree of documented activity related to secular music. As Giulio Cattin convincingly observed, one of the most compelling phenomena has to do with the number of composers born and trained in the region or active there who engaged in the frottola repertory.⁹

Verona was the origin of many of the first frottola composers. Information about a few of them comes from ascriptions on musical sources, in which they are identified as Veronese—this is the case of Giovanni Brocco (fl. early sixteenth century), Antonio Rossetto (fl. c. 1504), and Giorgio Della Porta (fl. c. 1505). For others their birthplace is verified through archival documents. This is the case of Pellegrino Cesena (Verona, fl. 1494-1508), who served as *magister cantus* at the Cathedral of Padua, where he is named ‘Dominus presbiter Peregrinus Cesena veronensis.’¹⁰ Richer documentation exists for Marchetto Cara (Verona, 1465-Mantua, 1525), Michele Pesenti (Verona, c. 1470-1528), and Bartolomeo Tromboncino (Verona, 1470-Venice, 1534), for whom tax

8 ‘L’apporto veneto alla nascita e alla vertiginosa espansione del genere è imponente ed esige che si riveda in modo definitivo l’ancor radicata convinzione che l’asse portante e, tanto peggio, esclusivo del “fenomeno frottola” sia dato dalla linea Mantova-Ferrara.’ Giulio Cattin, ‘Formazione e attività delle cappelle polifoniche nelle cattedrali. La musica nelle città’, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 3,3: *Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, ed. Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Vicenza, 1981), 267-96 at 294.

9 See Giulio Cattin, ‘Formazione e attività’, 285-88.

10 Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare della Curia Vescovile, *Acta Capituli*, 1495, c. 34^v.

returns, last wills, court account books, and records of ecclesiastical benefices provide a more detailed picture.¹¹ This flourishing of native composers—many of them ordained priests—has traditionally and convincingly been associated with the establishment of the *scuola accolitale*, a cathedral school with a rigorous curriculum that included Latin, plainchant, and polyphonic music. Students were recruited from the middle and lower classes, received a scholarship, and were taught by twelve teachers. One of these was especially appointed to teach polyphonic music—the most illustrious person who filled this position was probably Franchino Gafori (1451-1522), who worked in Verona in 1475-76.¹²

Venice—the political and administrative centre of the region—is mostly notable for its role in enabling pioneering music publisher Ottaviano Petrucci da Fossombrone to start his printing business. The collections printed by Petrucci, as detailed below, ensured the survival of a remarkable portion of the frottola repertory.¹³ Nonetheless, the Adriatic city gave birth to or employed a few composers of frottole, like Francesco D'Ana Varoter (Venice, c. 1460-Venice, 1502/3), who held positions as organist in San Leonardo and San Marco and wrote twenty-eight frottole, as well as one motet.¹⁴ Other musicians include Giovanni Lulino, termed 'Venetus' in Petrucci's Book XI of frottoles, where he published a number of compositionally refined pieces.¹⁵ Philippus de Lurano may have been born in the Venetian territories, as was proposed by Disertori.¹⁶

11 See the biographies published in Jeppesen, *Frottola*, 143-63 and Enrico Paganuzzi, 'Notizie veronesi su Cara e Pesenti', in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 12 (1977), 7-24.

12 On the *scuola accolitale*, see Giulio Cattin, 'Formazione e attività'; Osvaldo Gambassi, *Pueri cantores' nelle cattedrali d'Italia tra Medioevo e Età moderna*, *Historiae Musicae Cultores Bibliotheca* 80 (Florence, 1997); Marco Materassi, 'La cappella musicale del duomo di Verona, 1620-1685: qualche integrazione', in *Musica e filologia*, ed. Marco Di Pasquale and Richard Pierce, *Quaderni della Società Letteraria* 1 (Verona, 1983), 115-34; Enrico Paganuzzi, 'Medioevo e Rinascimento', in *La Musica a Verona*, ed. Pierpaolo Brugnoli (Verona, 1976), 1-155; idem, 'I Maestri di Cappella della Cattedrale di Verona dal 1520 al 1562 (correzioni e aggiunte)', in *Civiltà Veronese* 4 (1991), 27-37; idem, 'Verona e la musica durante il primo dominio veneziano', in *Il primo dominio veneziano a Verona (1409-1509). Atti del Convegno, 16-17 settembre 1988* (Verona, 1991), 227-31; Alessandro Sala, *I musicisti veronesi (1500-1879): Saggio storico, critico. Conferenze lette alla Lega d'insegnamento in Verona*, facsimile ed. (Bologna, 1975); Antonio Spagnolo, 'Le scuole accolitale di grammatica e di musica in Verona', in *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia d'Agricoltura di Verona* 4-5 (1904-5), 97-330.

13 See the chapter by Sherri Bishop in this volume.

14 William F. Prizer, 'Ana, Francesco d', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 29 January 2015).

15 William F. Prizer, 'Lulinus Venetus, Johannes', in *Grove Music Online* (accessed 29 January 2015).

16 William F. Prizer, 'Lurano, Filippo de', in *Grove Music Online* (accessed 29 January 2015).

Padua was second only to Verona in the number of frottolisti. Johannes Baptista Zesso—whose compositions are featured in Petrucci's Book VII and VIII—taught music in Padua, as reported by music theorist Giovanni Del Lago, who claimed to have been his student.¹⁷ Antonio Stringari, Onofrio Antenoreo, and Niccolò Patavino de Albis were probably Paduan, based on their names.¹⁸ Rich archival documentation attests to Francesco Santacroce's Paduan origin and to the activity of a number of other composers at the city cathedral, including the above-mentioned Pellegrino Cesena, Crispin van Stappen (c. 1465-1532), Ruffino d'Assisi (c. 1490-1532), Giordano Pasetto (c. 1484-1557), and Reynaldo di Francia.¹⁹ That cathedrals in the Veneto provided favourable environments for the composition of frottole is also demonstrated by the case of Treviso, where Gerardus de Lisa, Zanin Bisan, and Francesco Santacroce operated.²⁰

The elements of uncertainty that characteristically plague studies about most composers from the fifteenth and sixteenth century also affect our understanding of many crucial details of these composers' biographies. Yet the number alone of these composers is significant, as it sheds light on the important local presence and popularity of a genre with so many practitioners.

Manuscript Evidence

Cattin's intuition, based on the composers' biographies, is substantiated by evidence found in contemporaneous musical sources, in particular the fact that some of the earliest frottola manuscripts from the 1490s were produced in the Veneto. The illuminated *strambotto* collection now in Modena (Biblioteca Estense ed Universitaria, Ms. α .F.9.9, henceforth ModE), for example, was produced in Padua in 1496.²¹

17 Knud Jeppesen, 'Eine musiktheoretische Korrespondenz des früheren Cinquecento', in *Acta Musicologica* 13 (1941), 3-39 at 4; Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Oxford-New York, 2006), 298-99.

18 Elizabeth Elmi, 'Onofrio Antenoreo (Patavino)', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, ed. Raffaele Romanelli, vol. 79, *Nursio-Ottolini Visconti* (Rome, 2013), 356-58 and William F. Prizer, 'Stringari, Antonio', in *Grove Music Online* (accessed 29 January 2015); idem, 'Niccolò Patavino', in *Grove Music Online* (accessed 29 January 2015).

19 Raffaele Casimiri, *Musica e musicisti nella cattedrale di Padova nei secc. XIV, XV, XVI: Contributo per una storia* (Roma, 1942).

20 Giovanni D'Alessi, *La cappella musicale del Duomo di Treviso* (Treviso, 1954).

21 See *Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, MS alpha F.9.9*, ed. Frank A. D'Accone, *Renaissance Music in Facsimile* 13 (New York-London, 1987); Giuseppina La Face Bianconi, *Gli strambotti nel codice estense α .F.9.9* (Florence, 1990); Giovanni Zanovello, "'With Tempered Notes, in the Green Hills, and Among Rivers': Music, Learning, and the

The Paduan manuscript in Modena stands out among song sources for its lavish decoration—composed of plants and insects depicted in great naturalistic detail (see Figure 14.1)—and for the special vellum fascicle bound at the beginning. This pre-text contains a small collection of poems and passage in praise of music from ancient authors, followed by a dedicatory sonnet copied in coloured inks. In the poem—one of fairly mediocre quality—the ‘Pierians of magister Johannes’, the donor and compiler, address Francesco, the recipient of the gift, praising him for his devotion to the arts and inviting him to use the manuscript for outdoor performances. This dedication is noteworthy, since its presence is an exceedingly rare occurrence in music manuscripts.²² As surprisingly, perhaps, this songbook is conspicuously homogeneous in terms of poetic form. Even from a cursory look, the almost exclusive use of the *strambotto* stands out. The *strambotto*—a series of four couplets of eleven-syllable lines with alternate rhymes (AB AB AB CC)²³—appears in contemporary collections of Italian secular music, though never in such an exclusive way—at least ninety-eight out of 104 compositions in the Modena manuscript are *strambotti*.²⁴ Collections of *strambotti* are found in late-fifteenth-century Neapolitan and Florentine collections, yet magister Johannes appears unique in his almost

Symbolic Space of Recreation in the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Alpha.F.9.9’, in *The Music Room in Early Modern France and Italy: Sound, Space and Object*, ed. Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti, Proceedings of the British Academy 176 (Oxford, 2012), 163-75. Another manuscript has been associated with the region of the Serenissima: Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana e Archivio Storico Civico (Castello Sforzesco), Ms. 55 (*olim* I 107).

22 Zanollo, ‘With Tempered Notes’, 169-71 and Thomas Schmidt-Beste, ‘Dedicating Music Manuscripts: On Function and Form of Paratexts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Sources’, in ‘*Cui dono lepidum novum libellum?*’ *Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Academia Belgica, Rome, 18-20 August 2005*, ed. Ignace Bossuyt et al., Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia 23 (Leuven, 2008), 81-108 at 81, 87-90.

23 For a more complete definition of the *strambotto* and a discussion of the poetic aspects of the Paduan collection, see La Face Bianconi, *Gli strambotti*, 137-41. More in general on *strambotto* in the poetic and musical repertory see Alberto Mario Cirese, *Ragioni metriche: Versificazione e tradizioni orali* (Palermo, 1988), 115-46; Prizer, *Courtly Pastimes*, 64-65, 107-10; Nino Pirrotta and Elena Povoledo, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi* (Cambridge, MA, 1982), 3-36; Luca Zuliani, *Poesia e versi per musica: L’evoluzione dei metri italiani* (Bologna, 2009), 59-62, 136-46.

24 Due to the loss of a number of folios, several compositions are now lacking. Their incipits survive in the table of contents but do not permit a precise classification in the case of *unica*, which appear to constitute almost 80% of the compositions.

obsessive focus on the poetic form.²⁵ Manuscripts copied in the decade after ModE reveal that a keen interest in musical *strambotti* was not unusual in northern Italy. Settings of these poems account for roughly half of the pieces in three collections—Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana e Archivio Storico Civico (Castello Sforzesco), Ms. 55 (*olim* 1 107), probably compiled in the Veneto like ModE, and the Mantuan Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département de la Musique, Rés. Vm⁷ 676. One print seems to conform to the same ideal, Ottaviano Petrucci's fourth book of Frottole of 1505, significantly entitled *Strambotti, ode, frottole, sonetti et modo de cantar versi latini e capituli*.²⁶ After this time, the ratio of *strambotti* in musical collections seems to decrease to roughly ten percent.²⁷

Ottaviano Petrucci's Anthologies

Ottaviano Petrucci developed a triple-impression technique to print vocal music and operated in Venice from 1501 to 1509 before moving back to his native Fossombrone, in central Italy. During his Venetian years Petrucci printed a remarkable amount of music, including eight books of frottole.

As Stanley Boorman has proposed, the series of frottola collections printed by Petrucci were likely backed by different promoters, who provided him with the music. Boorman has grouped Petrucci's books into four specific phases: (1) the first three books, mostly devoted to composers of the Veneto; (2) book IV-VI with a different approach; (3) books VII-VIII, similar to the first ones, and (4) books IX-XI, which reflect a changed situation as the printer left Venice to return to his birthplace in central Italy. For our purposes, the collections that yield the most significant information are books I-III, which show unity of intent in the choice of composers—regularly indicated in the top part of each composition—and in the way these are arranged through the books. That they were based on one large collection of pieces is suggested by their serial titles and very close dates of publication—*Frottole libro primo* is dated 28 November

25 Blake Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence: The 'cantasi come' Tradition* (1375-1550) (Florence, 2009), 128-43.

26 See Boorman, *Catalogue*, 288-91, 596-601.

27 As especially evident in the remaining books of frottole printed by Petrucci. See Ottaviano Petrucci, *Frottole libro sexto: Venezia 1505 [more veneto 1506]*, ed. Antonio Lovato (Padua, 2004); idem, *Frottole libro septimo: Venezia 1507*, ed. Lucia Boscolo (Padua, 2006); idem, *Frottole libro octavo: Venezia 1507*, ed. Lucia Boscolo (Padua, 1999); idem, *Frottole libro nono: Venezia 1508 (ma 1509)*, ed. Francesco Facchin and Giovanni Zanovello (Padua, 1999); idem, *Frottole libro undecimo: Fossombrone, 1514*, ed. Francesco Luisi and Giovanni Zanovello (Padua, 1997).

1504, *Frottole libro secondo* 8 January 1505 (modern dating), and *Frottole libro tertio* 6 February 1505 (modern dating). According to Boorman they were printed consecutively between the editions of *Motetti C* and a reprint of *Motetti A numero trentatre*.²⁸ The first two gatherings of Book I and II reflect the tightest organisation, starting both with a single-composer collection with insertions by another composer at the beginning and the end. In Book I, Giovanni Brocco's *Alma svegliate hormai* opens the collection and is followed by sixteen compositions by Marchetto Cara, all attributed.²⁹ The *Libro secondo* opens with *Da poi che'l tuo bel viso* by R[ossinus] M[antuanus] (A2^r), followed by a substantial group of compositions, partly anonymous, partly attributed to Francesco D'Ana Varoter ('Franciscus Venetus Orga[nista]'), with a couple of insertions by Pellegrino Cesena. The group closes with a 'porters' shawm playing' ('sonar de piva in fachinesco') entitled *Lirum bililirim* (D7^v-D8^r) and with Bartolomeo Tromboncino's *Gli occhi toi m'han posto* (D8^v-E1^r). The remaining three gatherings are entirely made up of anonymous compositions.³⁰ The third book of frottole shows less organisation, besides short series of compositions by the same author, such as the six Tromboncino songs at the beginning of the third gathering and the six by Cara at the end of the fourth.

An additional level of organisation is linked to the geographical origin of composers, already noted by various scholars. With the exception of the miscellaneous group in the last gathering, all the authors chosen for Book I are connected to Verona—among them Giovanni Brocco, Marchetto Cara, Bartolomeo Tromboncino, and Michele Pesenti. The choice is made explicit in the attributions: Marcus Cara Vero[nensis] (A2^v), Ioannes Brocchus Vero[nensis] (B8^r), Bartholomeus Trumboncinus Vero[nensis] (B8^v), and Michael Pesentus Vero[nensis] (D8^v).³¹ Similarly, Book II contains a sizeable group of compositions by Venetian Francesco D'Ana Varoter (gatherings A and B), followed by anonymous frottole (gathering C), and by gathering D mostly populated by Pellegrino Cesena. The remaining fascicles are anonymous in the

28 Boorman, *Catalogue*, 549-76.

29 *Oimé el cor, oimé la testa* (fol. A2^v-A3^r) bears the inscription Marcus Cara Vero[nensis], whereas the remaining compositions in this group bear the initials 'M.C.' (A3^v-B7^v).

30 Boorman, *Catalogue*, 570-71. See 573-75 for the next sentence.

31 *Frottole libro primo* is an extreme case even within Petrucci's output, in that every composition is attributed. In general, however, Petrucci provides many more attributions than one normally finds in contemporaneous sources. See Boorman, *Catalogue*, 251-53, 568. On Petrucci's (or his editors') related penchant for providing titles, see Honey Meconi, 'Petrucci's Mass Prints and the Naming of Things', in *Venezia 1501: Petrucci e la stampa musicale (Atti del Convegno internazionale, Venezia, Palazzo Giustinian Lolin, 10-13 ottobre 2001)*, ed. Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (Venice, 2005), 397-414.

1505 edition, but the last two ones (F and G) turn out to be collections of music by Paduan composers Onofrio Antenoreo and Nicolò Patavino thanks to the attributions in the 1508 reprint,³² which confirms both the underlying geographical criterion and the rich circulation of frottola material in early sixteenth-century Veneto.

If these facts do not contradict the importance of the courts of Ferrara and Mantua for the development of the genre, they certainly show that the Venice region was part of its history. The historical continuity between cities of the Veneto and northern Italian courts is corroborated by the mobility of composers and the relatively free circulation of repertory. And indeed, the promoters of Petrucci volumes show at the very least that the frottola continued circulating in the Veneto and that even composers who had secured lucrative positions in some of the top courts of central Italy maintained enough contact with their places of origins to allow music lovers to collect their works.

Frottola Styles in the Veneto

The wide circulation of both texts and music belonging to the Italian song repertory makes it difficult to pin down regional styles. Certain large phenomena are helpful—for example the different strambotto structures in southern and northern Italy, the former ending with a fourth AB couplet and the latter with a new rhyme CC. In general, however, the dissemination of this kind of songs was such that almost all sources seem to contain compositions of various provenances. A manuscript like ModE probably reflects the preferences and taste of a small group of musically educated people, very likely connected with the Paduan cathedral.³³ Petrucci's Book 1 features a range of *frottola* styles. The opening group of compositions by Marchetto Cara remains within the boundaries of plain, essentially homophonic and text-generated writing that are often mentioned as typical features of the genre.

A more varied compositional approach is found in the long series of songs by Michele Pesenti. This composer is especially interesting because—unlike Cara and Tromboncino, who had left the Veneto—he was still in the region in

32 Boorman, *Catalogue*, 678–81. The biographical information on the two composers is very sparse. On Nicolò see Prizer, 'Niccolò Patavino'. On Onofrio see Elizabeth Elmi, 'Onofrio Antenoreo'.

33 As proposed in Giovanni Zanovello, "'You Will Take This Sacred Book': The Musical Strambotto as a Humanistic Gift", in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 141 (2016), 1–26.

1504, when Petrucci printed his first frottola collection.³⁴ Certain pieces appear fairly typical of the style, like *L'acqua vale al mio gran foco* (fols. 29^v-30^r). In this composition a substantially homophonic and syllabic texture is crossed by runs of shorter notes in the various parts and with a slightly more ornate setting of the fourth or fifth syllable at the centre of the *ottonario*, thus offering a competent but rather monotonous scansion of the poetic lines.

Poiché 'l ciel e la fortuna is a response to Bartolomeo Tromboncino's *Non val acqua al mio gran foco*,³⁵ in which Pesenti features a number of compositional techniques more distinctive of music belonging to Franco-Flemish repertoires of the 1480s and 90s than of frottole (see Example 14.1). The composition alternates homophonic sections with contrapuntal ones, the most striking of the latter being the double canon in the first nine *tempora*. The outer voices sing a very declamatory three-note gesture ('Poiché 'l ciel')—slightly altered in the Bassus—at the twelfth (bb. 1-4), followed by a descending motif in the Bassus imitated at the octave by the Superius (bb. 5-7) before moving to the cadence. Meanwhile, the inner voices intone a more florid passage in unison *alla breve* (bb. 1-3), after which their free counterpoint provides melodic momentum to connect to the second entry of the outer voices as well as a richer texture that works as a backdrop to the imitative gesture of the Superius and Bassus (bb. 4-9). The descending motif of bb. 5-7 returns in parallel tenths at bb. 10-12, in various transformations at bb. 23-27, and is possibly alluded to in the ubiquitous descending figures at bb. 35-38. The variety of compositional approaches as well as the substantial unity of the main melodic elements—especially the pervasiveness and varied treatment of the descending step-wise gesture—bear witness to a respectable compositional skill. This is not an isolated case,

34 As documented by a 1504 letter from Pesenti to Cardinal Ippolito d'Este. Pesenti, then in Venice, promises to join Ippolito's retinue in Ferrara. Payments to him appear in court records beginning in 1506. See William F. Prizer, 'Pesenti, Michele', in *Grove Music Online* (accessed 3 February 2015).

35 As Prizer notes, 'Pesenti also seems to have delighted in musical and textual repartee with his contemporaries: his *Io son de gabbia* forms a part of a complex of 'bird-song' *strambotti*; his *Io son l'ocel che con le debil ali* includes as its fully texted tenor the cantus of Cara's *Io son l'ocel che sopra i rami d'oro*, and is also a part of the complex; and his *L'acqua vale al mio gran foco* is a *risposta* to Tromboncino's *Non val acqua al mio gran foco*, adopting Tromboncino's cantus as its bassus.' See Prizer, 'Pesenti, Michele.' On bird-song *strambotti* see also *Poetry and Music at the Courts of Mantua and Ferrara*, ed. Gioia Filocamo, vol. 1: *Bird Music, Music by Marchetto Cara, Michele Pesenti, Bartolomeo Tromboncino* (Bologna, 2003), and *Poetry and Music at the Courts of Mantua and Ferrara*, ed. Gioia Filocamo, vol. 2: *Water Music. Music by Marchetto Cara, Michele Pesenti, Bartolomeo Tromboncino* (Bologna, 2003).

EXAMPLE 14.1 *Michele Pesenti, Poiché 'l ciel e la fortuna, bb. 1-25*

[Cantus] Poi - ché 'l ciel e la for - tu - na

Altus Poi ché 'l ciel e la fortuna

Tenor Poi ché 'l ciel e la fortuna

Bassus Poi ché 'l ciel e la fortuna

5 C. han con - ver - so in fumo e in pol - ve

A.

T.

B.

10 C. quel - la che 'l mio ben ri - sol -

A.

T.

B.

15 C. ve in u - na - spra e cru - del

A.

T.

B.

EXAMPLE 14.1 Michele Pesenti, Poiché 'l ciel e la fortuna, *bb. 1-25 (cont.)*

20
C. guer - ra non fia mai so - pra la ter - ra
A.
T. 8
B.

even within Pesenti's group of compositions in Petrucci's Book 1. *O Dio che la brunetta mia*, for example, features an initial four-voice canon *alla breve* and many instances of imitation throughout.

These 'international' compositional traits—which seem very consistent with the training presumably imparted by the Franco-Flemish music teachers hired at the *scuola accolitale* in Verona, where Pesenti and Cara very likely learned music—are complemented by a completely different approach found in two of Pesenti's pieces setting classical Latin texts and also published in Petrucci's first frottola collection. These are *Inhospitas per alpes*, which sets an otherwise unknown text, and Horace's celebrated, *Integer vitae scelerisque purus* (see Figure 14.2). It has been noticed that these musical settings are very sensitive to the original Latin accents,³⁶ but the links between music and verse run arguably deeper. These are polyphonic *aere*, or *modi*, that is, musical formulas suitable for singing to a given verse type, as more explicitly acknowledged in *Ben mille volte al dì*, labelled 'Modus dicendi capitula'. The music offered can fit the given text, but can also be used as a generic intonation for any *capitolo*, or series of eleven-syllable tercets. *Inhospitas per alpes* is based on stanzas of catalectic iambic dimeters, or hemiambics.³⁷ In keeping with the frottola tradition the accentual pattern is closely modelled on the first strophe and works less well with the other ones.

In *Integer vitae* Pesenti sets Horace's famous text of *Odes*, 1.22 and takes a completely different approach. Prizer has claimed that the setting is very sensitive to the correct accents of Latin, and this is certainly true. The pattern of the first line (IN-te-ger VI-tae SCE-le-RIS-que PU-rus) is perfectly captured by the

36 Prizer, 'Pesenti, Michele'.

37 See James W. Halporn, Martin Ostwald, and Thomas G. Rosenmeyer, *The Meters of Greek and Latin Poetry*, revised ed. (Indianapolis, IN, 1994), 130 and David Sebastian Raven, *Latin Metre: An Introduction* (London, 1965), 66, 68 and note 40.

MICHA.

N hospitas p alpes Der horridos recessus Merenti pede fessis euagabor Merenti pede fessis euagabor

In hospitas

In hospitas

In hospitas

Feras ibi ad precabor
Mouebo aues uolantis
Sylue frondicomantis
Ad cacumen
Recens ubiq; flumen
Agent oculi & ora
Semper multicauiora
Et querele
Loco ultime medele
Dios cauebo cetus
Et crudelia letus
Affabo

Volens perida adibo
Vixis Herculisq;
Nam moos grata leuissq;
Et apta uicto
Adesse derelicto
Lupa Vria Linx Leena
Alee Tygis Hiera
Dorcas Hytrix
Alumna Tartari strux
Phalanx tenebrosa
Bubo Nictimene oia
Aues minutas

Celeno aello acutas
Dedis rapatores
Iras ferre & odoris
Huc mephrytim
Bicomium uinitim
Cohors ueni proterua
Nec non torua cactua
Capricruum
Atrox agresse durum
Genus Crabro Locusta
Me per singula frusta
Dissipate

Sed hinc & inde frate
Gemunt fere Nemiussq;
Singulantibus usq;
Murmurillis
Puffq; turmillis
Sonant salicta anheia
Iam fiet me philomela
Pro nepote
At at magis remote
Plage oculus petende
Trans te phasi tremende
Et acua rhemi

Tenor Altus Bassus

MICHA.

Neger uitae scelerisq; purus Nō eger mauris iaculis nec arcu. Nec uenenatis grauida sagittis Fufce pharetra

Integer uitae

Integer uitae

Integer uitae

Sue per fides iter cufosus
Sine laetibus per inhospitalem
Caucasum uel quae loca fabulosas
Lambit idaspes
Nanq; me Sylua lupus in fabina
Dum meum canto lalagem & ultra
Terminum curis uigor expeditus
Fugit inermem

Quale portentum neq; militaris
Daunias latis alit esculetis
Nec tunc tellus generat leonum
Arrida nutrit
Pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
Arbor estua recreatur umbra
Quod latus mundi nebulae malusq;
Iuppiter urget

Donec sub curru nimium propinqua
Solis in terra domibus negata
Dulce ndentem lalagem amabo
Dulce ndentem

Tenor Altus Bassus

FIGURE 14.2 *Michele Pesenti, Inhospitas per alpes and Integer vitae scelerisque purus, in Frottole libro primo (Venice: Petrucci, 1504). BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK MÜNCHEN, RAR. 878-1/9#1, FOLS. 43^v-44^r, URN:NBN:DE:BVB:12-BSB00082307-7*

EXAMPLE 14.2 Michele Pesenti, *Integer vitae, bb. 1-14*

[Cantus] In - te - ger vi - tae sce - le - ris - que pu - rus

Tenor Integer vitae

Altus Integer vitae

Bassus Integer vitae

5. C. Non e - get mau - ris ia - cu - lis nec ar - cu. Ne ve - ne -

T.

A.

B.

10. C. na - tis gra - vi - da sa - git - tis fus - ce pha - re - tra.

T.

A.

B.

constant $\diamond \diamond \diamond \diamond \diamond \diamond \diamond \diamond \diamond \diamond$ rhythm (see Example 14.2). There is more to this rhythm, however. Competent accentual patterns do not require the reduction of note values to the binary system, long/short, characteristic of classic metre and rendered in Pesenti's music through a strict alternation of *semibrevis* and *minima*. This is not a real instance of *musique mesurée avant la lettre*—the short and long notes do not exactly match the quantity of the syl-

lables in Latin. There is, however, a certain sensitivity to the celebrated Sapphic verse that Horace chose for this poem. The musical setting suggests that Pesenti can hear the Sapphic verse, outlined here:

Īn-tě-gēr vī-tāē scē-lě-rīs-quē pū-rūs

In particular, the poet's formula in the third and fourth feet on '(vi)tāē scēlě-rīs-quē'—which features the characteristic dactyl / trochee contrast—seems to inspire Pesenti's sequence of short and long notes that amounts to a varied repetition of this idea.³⁸

Inhospitas per alpes is in some respects associated with Horace's *Ode* (see Example 14.3). Luisi and others have claimed that this poem—regularly juxtaposed to *Integer vitae* by Petrucci—occupies a position between Latin and Italian Ode composition.³⁹ The Italian side is certainly present in the internal rhyme and in the *settenario* pattern. It would be a mistake, however, to underestimate the powerful classicising gestures evoked by the poet. This openly imitates the general structure of the Sapphic stanza, replacing the hendecasyllabic verses with hemiambi and the final Adonic with a trochee. The hemiambus is a very peculiar meter, used sparingly and mostly by Greek and Latin imitators of the ancient poet Anacreon (c. 582-c. 485 BC).⁴⁰ The anonymous poet aligns metrical and word accents, at least in the first stanza.⁴¹ Pesenti bends the music to fit the hemiambic meter for the four consecutive lines—this was a challenge because it required an alternation of weak accents and strong ones,

38 Similar conclusions are reached by Fiorella Brancacci in her rich analysis of Italian settings of the Sapphic verse. See Fiorella Brancacci, 'Dal canto umanistico su versi latini alla frottola. La tradizione dell'ode saffica', in *Studi Musicali* 34 (2005), 267-318, esp. 288-91.

39 For editions and an Italian translation of the text, with a detailed interpretation of its content, see Francesco Luisi, *Del cantar a libro ... o sulla viola. La musica vocale nel Rinascimento: Studi sulla musica vocale profana in Italia nei secoli XV e XVI* (Rome, 1977), 363-72 and Claudio Gallico, 'Oda è canto. Livelli musicali di Umanesimo', in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 34 (1999), 207-29, now in idem, *Sopra li fondamenti della verità: Musica italiana fra XV e XVII secolo* (Rome, 2001), 405-28. Although Luisi, Gallico and others have followed Disertori's tentative attribution of the text to Tebaldeo, I found this doubtful due to the chronological reasons explained above.

40 See *Greek Lyric*, vol. 2: *Anacreon, Anacreontea, Choral lyric from Olympus to Alcman*, ed. David A. Campbell, Loeb Classical Library 143 (Cambridge, MA, 1982), 8-9 and Paolo d'Alessandro, *Varrone e la tradizione metrica antica*, Spudasmata 143 (Zurich, 2012), 194-96.

41 One cannot exclude the possibility that Pesenti himself wrote the poetry, though it appears less likely in light of the many pieces in Petrucci's first Book bearing the indication 'Michael [made] words and music'. See Boorman, *Catalogue*, 566.

EXAMPLE 14.3 Michele Pesenti, *Inhospitas per alpes*, bb. 1-8

[Cantus] In - hos - pi - tas per al - pes per hor - ri -

Tenor Inhospitas

Altus Inhospitas

Bassus Inhospitas

3. dos re - ces - sus me - ren - ti pe - de fes - sus e - va - ga -

6. bor me - ren - ti pe - de fes - sus e - va - ga - bor

contrary to what music normally has. Because this is a complicated procedure very little doubt exists about its intentionality. Pesenti opens the composition by inserting a rest at the beginning in all voices, the only purpose of which is to move the strong accent from the first note to the second one (and from the first to the second syllable). In the next *tempus* he prolongs the note on 'al(pes)' so that once again the next line will start on a thesis (see Table 14.1). The composer inserts again a minim rest right after the third line, whereas the trochee at the end of the stanza did not require any adjustment.

TABLE 14.1 *Metre and rhythm in Michele Pesenti, Inhospitas per alpes*

x	—	U	—	U	—	—
In- ⊥ ◇	hos- ◇ .	pi- ◆	tas ◇	per ◇	al- ◇	pes ◇
Per ◇	hor- ◇ .	ri- ◆	dos ◇	re- ◇	ces- ◇	sus ◇
Me- ⊥ ◇	ren- ◇	ti ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆	pe- ◆	de ◆	fes- ◇	sus ◇
—	U	—	U			
e- ◇ ◇	ua- ◇	ga- ◇	bor ◇			

These very different examples—all taken from Petrucci's Book 1—reflect the number of musical and literary stimuli to which Pesenti and presumably many other composers trained in the Veneto were exposed. By the date of publication of the Venetian print Pesenti had not yet been employed in any court, nor had he left his native region. An analysis of his early compositions opens the possibility that Pesenti and other composers of his generation were exploring the relationship between music and ancient culture already during their education. If this were demonstrated, one could claim that the cathedral schools established by Pope Eugene IV contributed to the social mobility of boys with a middle- or lower-class background and perhaps to establishing the new course taken by Italian secular music at the end of the fifteenth century.

Conclusions

The more active role of the Veneto in the development and transmission of frottola proposed in this essay significantly revises some aspects of the narrative on Italian song that have progressively taken hold. More importantly, however, it may become an element in a more radical reconstruction of a polycentric origin of the repertoires that composed the songscape of late-fifteenth-century Italy. As I have claimed, cathedrals played a bigger role than

generally acknowledged in the case of the Veneto. They allowed working-class youths to receive a musical and general education and prepared them for an ecclesiastical career, which for some—like Marchetto Cara and Michele Pesenti—became a stepping-stone to a comfortable integration in the retinues of powerful rulers operating in sixteenth-century Italy.

One could argue, however, that in other cities and regions different circumstances and institutions brought together the same control of notational literacy and singing technique with a knowledge of and interest in Italian native music, mostly unwritten, and prompted a parallel creation of a new kind of musical repertory. Once we have traced these sub-histories, we will be closer to understanding more fully the relationships among the different types of music that Ottaviano Petrucci conflated under the rubric 'frottola'.⁴²

42 For methodological models see William F. Prizer, 'Petrucci and the Carnival song: On the Origins and Dissemination of a Genre', in *Venezia 1501: Petrucci e la stampa musicale (Atti del Convegno internazionale, Venezia, Palazzo Giustinian Lolin, 10-13 ottobre 2001)*, ed. Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (Venice, 2005), 215-51.

Venetian Instrumental Music in the Sixteenth Century

Eleanor Selfridge-Field

Venice was at the vortex of a revolution in the production of instrumental music during the sixteenth century. The recent development of music printing played a significant role in this revolution.¹ The ‘Venetia’ imprimatur prompted the later belief that most music published in Venice was composed and performed there, but this was mistaken. Some composers whose music was published in Venice came from distant points in and outside of Italy. ‘Venetia’ could also refer to the whole of the Venetian Republic, which stretched from the Alps to the Po, from Bergamo through Udine, to the Adriatic coast, and the array of Venetian holdings that stretched into the Aegean. Because of its political stature in the sixteenth century, Venice was a Mecca for musicians. They arrived under the sponsorship of noted patrons—bishops, ambassadors, and noblemen, who were often the dedicatees of printed music.²

Musicians in the service of the Doge (which included those employed at San Marco) devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the Doge and his immediate retinue, among whom the French ambassador and the Receiver of Malta (representing Venice’s major allies in the Fourth Crusade of 1204) were the most important. Appeals to its glorious past were thought to enhance Venice’s image. The sixteenth century was the most unruffled one in the Republic’s history, being bracketed by the battle of Agnadello (1509), which brought the *terraferma* to its maximum extent, and the victory at Lepanto (1571), which filled the Holy League with self-satisfaction.

The Social and Intellectual Framework of Instrumental Music

Printers and Patrons, Performers and Listeners

Much published music involved both voices and instruments. The role of instruments was at first limited to short pieces, often for lute, and then to

1 See also the chapter by Sherri Bishop in this volume.

2 This chapter has been improved in various ways by John R. Ahern, Bonnie J. Blackburn, Ilias Chrissochoidis, Jeffrey Kurtzman, and Craig Stuart Sapp, to all of whom I here express my cordial thanks.

ensemble transcriptions of chansons. Among alternative venues for printing, Nuremburg (from the 1540s) was the first one of significance. There was a surprising degree of similarity between the repertories printed in each. Overall the lute received even more attention in Germany (where a somewhat different tablature was employed) and sacred vocal music less. Music published in Venice was normally presented in mensural notation in a series of partbooks. A single typesetter could set, on average, two pages of moveable type a day. Few Venetians worked as many days as would be customary today, because so many feasts dotted the calendar. Additionally, tasks involving reading and writing were heavily dependent on daylight, which was far more plentiful in summer than in winter, when the expenses of candle wax and lamp oil reduced the numbering of working hours. The great benefit of printing was that the creators of music now had the rudiments of an industrial-strength production system through which their music could become known to a broader audience and performed in a variety of ways.

Venetians were surrounded by music throughout their lives. They heard it in churches, *campi*, *palazzi*, *scuole*, salons, *ospedali*, in gondolas, and at any open window. There was no such thing as a non-musical space in Venice. Because of Venice's vigorous trade with the Levant, there could be overlays of more eastern sounds. Trade with the transalpine Continent delivered a substantial presence of instrument makers near the Rialto.³ String-instrument makers came especially from southern Bavaria and the Inn River valley in Austria. For musical staffs in ducal service, the Procurators often relied on the recommendations of regents and ambassadors. A number of important instrumentalists came from the Bresciano and Veronese regions. Wind and brass instruments were cultivated within family dynasties, among which the Dalla Casa (from Udine) and the Bassano (originally from the like-named town) were especially noted. Most of the Bassanos were transplanted to the court of Henry VIII in England, where they served as musicians for three generations before pursuing other careers.

Script, Transcription, Embellishment, and Improvisation

The phrase *per ogni sorte di stromento*, so prevalent in music prints from the sixteenth century, suggests a generic product intended to accommodate anyone. While this flexibility must be borne in mind, there was a general inclination over time towards specialization. However, movement towards it was not

3 See Michael J. Levin and Steven Zohn, 'Don Juan de Austria and the Venetian Music Trade', in *Early Music* 33 (2005), 439-46. See also the chapters by Bonnie J. Blackburn and Jeffrey Kurtzman in this volume.

uniform. Diverse threads of musical development yielded not only the fully scripted score but also selective embellishments, diminutions, and a wide array of transcriptions and arrangements. Some of the most influential innovations of the century arose from these processes of differentiation. If instrumentation was ever more clearly specified, the authority of a text was progressively liberated. The balance between these factors was constantly varying.

Much of the lute and keyboard repertory suggests an improvised practice (prior to 1600) in which the performer invented as he/she performed. The possibility of a growing interchange between what was written and what was performed should be entertained in solo repertoires. In polyphonic pieces the dynamics again vary with the context and the period. On balance the direction was from a meandering kind of improvisation to highly articulate methods of embellishment. By the end of the century deviation from the script would itself be scripted by rules rather than by printed texts—whether the music was texted; whether an individual part moved in minims, crotchets, or quavers; whether it progressed by step or by leap. This amazing series of advances within the last three quarters of the century attests to the highly analytical minds that were honed by the intellectual intensity of the time.

Genre

The Ricercar

The *ricercar* existed first as a genre for lute, in which it might be said to consist of musings on some kind of initial phrase. Within a generation it moved to the organ and became more elaborate, with greater imitation between voices and a tendency to open with a dotted figure (e.g. a dotted semibreve followed by a crochet). The ground underneath the *ricercar* shifted constantly, however, and individual approaches predominate over a standard model. All approaches held in common an exploration of imitative techniques. By the start of the seventeenth century, a prospective organist's audition at San Marco consisted of improvising new pieces on a cantus firmus selected by the *maestro di cappella* and then playing before the Procurators, who made the final choice. We do not know what the Procurators valued most, but hints of skill at improvised counterpoint surface from time to time. The earliest printed music associated with an organist active in Venice is Marco Antonio Cavazzoni's *Recerchari, motetti, canzoni* of 1523. Cavazzoni (c. 1490-c. 1560), a Bolognese, provides the eight earliest *ricercars* for organ. Giulio Segni (1498-1561), who served as organist at San Marco for roughly two years from late 1530, contributed 13 *ricercars* (noted for their clear points of imitation) to *Musica nova* (Venice, 1540). Segni

was considered by many to have been the best organist of his generation, but the Procurators were unsuccessful in luring him back to Venice in 1541. Cavazzoni's son Girolamo (1525-after 1577), following his father's example, produced a volume of *Ricercari, canzoni, himni* (Venice, 1543) which are noted for a certain austerity but also bring continuity to the still little-known ricercar repertory. The younger Cavazzoni had greater loyalties to the church of Santa Barbara in Mantua than to San Marco. He supervised the building of Graziadio Antegnati's organ (1565), which was noted for its chromatic capabilities, and remained there until at least 1577.

A truly accomplished master of the keyboard ricercar was Jacques Buus (c. 1500-65), a Fleming who served as organist at San Marco (1541-51). During his Venetian tenure he produced two volumes of canzoni (1543, 1550) and two of ricercars (1547, 1549). His ricercars offer a useful basis for comparison of multiple approaches to the genre, as they are variously monothematic; polythematic with a succession of points of imitation; and polythematic with some recapitulation of early points towards the end of the work. The two latter approaches demonstrate a thorough mastery of Flemish counterpoint. Buus's works are noted for their exceptional length.

In the hands of less systematic composers, the complementarity between instrumental and vocal pieces was often apparent. Cavazzoni, Adrian Willaert (c. 1490-1562), and Cipriano de Rore (c. 1515/1516-65) are all represented in the Gardano anthology of *Fantasie, ricercari, contrapunti* (Venice, 1551). (The fantasia may have been derived from the ricercar but became subsumed by abstract titles into the orbit of solmization.) De Rore was a pupil of Willaert, whose *Musica nova* (1540) had been a seminal work. Although de Rore did not compose any significant quantity of ricercars, transcriptions of his madrigals appeared profusely in countless collections from 1548 until the end of the century.

Four-voice ricercars gravitate towards the bolder ensembles of the later sixteenth century. The first book of ricercars (1556) by Annibale Padovano (1527-75), who worked intermittently in Graz, is a good example. Willaert and de Rore figure again in Girolamo Scotto's anthology of three-voice pieces, *Fantesie et recerchari ... accomodate da cantare et sonare per ogni instrumento* (Venice, 1549). The fantasia, which can be considered a species of ricercar, is discussed below under 'Virtual Institutions.'

The Canzone

The ricercar and canzone dominated the ensemble repertory in later decades of the century. A slight difficulty in following and differentiating their histories arises from the fact that while Venetian printers' anthologies were very popular

in the mid-sixteenth century, the composers and arrangers of such collections often came from outside the Veneto. Joan Maria's *Intabolatura de lauto di ricercari, canzon francese, motetti, madrigali, padoane, e saltarelli* (Venice, 1546) is a pertinent example. As the century progressed, a core repertory of favourite pieces emerged from these anthologies and became 'must learn' pieces. This suited the canzone for instrumental ensemble, which had its origins in the transcriptions of French chansons. Starting from a strict transfer from vocal parts to instrumental ones in the 1530s, the canzone soon enjoyed an ever-growing freedom that enabled its migration from organ to ensemble and back. Because of the growing importance of diminution and ornamentation the canzone eventually became a platform for experimentation.

Like *ricercars*, canzones came in several varieties, but their categories were more obvious. (1) As ensemble pieces they could be polychoral works for two, three, or four groups of instruments. Each group could be composed of different timbres and/or be playing in contrasting ranges (the terms *grave* and *acuto* might distinguish them). (2) They could, alternatively, be four-voice (non-polychoral) works or organ works, in which case they leaned away from homophonic textures towards imitative ones. (3) As a platform for elaboration, it was the canzone that usually provided the basis for the functional distinction of individual voices through different levels of elaboration. That is, the balance between voices was roughly equal in the original conception of the work for voices, but towards the end of the century instrumental adaptations sometimes privileged the treble or bass.

The Toccata

The toccata was exclusively a work for organ, *cembalo* or lute. It rarely had a title apart from a mode specification, suggesting that toccatas were not viewed so much as individual works as they were instances of a genre. Venetians did not produce a lot of toccatas, at least not on paper. Some of what survives is preserved in German organ tablatures, leaving open the question of whether the demand for them was greater in south German court chapels than in Venetian churches. This is true not only for the Gabriellis, who spent time at the Bavarian court, but also for Claudio Merulo (1533-1604), who is not known to have set foot north of the Alps. (Merulo, however, was an adventurer of a different kind: he operated his own print shop from 1566 to 1571.⁴)

4 Further on Merulo see Rebecca Edwards, 'Claudio Merulo: Servant of the State and Musical Entrepreneur in Sixteenth-Century Venice' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1990) and occasional writings in Italian such as *Messer Claudio, musico: Le arti molteplici di Claudio Merulo*

Balli

Tracing the history of dance music in the sixteenth-century suffers from a lack of musical evidence. Surviving keyboard instruments give witness to a strong presence. Proficient builders of *cembali* were also long remembered. Period accounts mention numerous *balli* in private palaces and courtyards for weddings, inaugurations, and the last days of Carnival. When it comes to music, though, the surviving contributions amount to Marco Facoli's *Secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo, pass'e mezzì, saltarelli, padouane et alcuni aeri* (Venice, 1588) and Gio. Maria Radino's similarly titled volume of 1592. Facoli (whose first volume of *balli* is lost) rightly emphasizes 'ogni sorte di rima' because the works clearly arise from arias performed in the context of *commedie*. He offers what otherwise seems a predictable collection of saltarellos and pavanés after an initial *passemazzo* 'in six modes' coupled with a pavane in four.⁵ Radino, a Paduan church organist, acknowledges a German patron in his much slimmer volume.

Rudiments of Instrumental Pedagogy

An important contribution to the development of instrumental music in Venice came from diligent pedagogy, codified in a series of manuals. Composition *per se*, particularly in one of the learned imitative styles, was only as important as the creator's ability to demonstrate his musical 'idea'. Silvestro Ganassi (1492-1565) was a pedagogical pioneer. He apparently played the recorder and various string instruments, the use of which he explains in two pedagogical books—*Opera intitulata Fontegara* (1535) for winds and the *Regola Rubertina* (1542), with its *Lettione seconda* (1543), for bowed strings. From 1517 he was a *piffaro* (and contralto) in ducal service.

La Fontegara was something entirely new: a manual with many fingering charts to demonstrate 'how to play the flute [*flauto dolce*] and any other instrument, especially with diminutions ...'.⁶ Two *cornetti*, three viols, and a lute are

da Correggio (1533-1604) tra Venezia e Parma, ed. Marco Capra (Venice, 2006), 324ff. See also the chapter by Sherri Bishop in the present volume.

5 Drew Edward Davies, 'On Music fit for a Courtesan: Representations of the Courtesan and her Music in Sixteenth-Century Italy', in *The Courtesan's Arts: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Martha Feldman and Bonnie Gordon (New York-Oxford, 2006), 144-58 at 148-150, notes the discovery of Nino Pirrotta and others that the titles of Facoli's rhymes recognized specific courtesans. See Pirrotta's 'Commedia dell'Arte and Opera', in *The Musical Quarterly* 41 (1955), 305-24, and Berthe Dedoyard, 'Des Musiques pour arpicordo de Marco Facoli à la découverte d'un testament inconnu', in *Revue belge de musicologie* 41 (1987), 63-74.

6 *Opera intitulata Fontegara laquale isegna asonare di flauto cho [=con] tutta l'arte opportuna aesso istrumento massime il diminuire il quale sara utile ad ogni istrumento difiato et chorde, et*

shown on the title page (shown as Figure 9.2 in the chapter by Bonnie J. Blackburn). Ganassi was the archetypal player of 'all kinds of instruments' to which so much instrumental music of the time appealed. The notation in musical examples is crude, with beams that zigzag from note to note. However, Ganassi is systematic in his instruction, showing a short note sequence (seconds ascending, seconds descending), then showing its elaboration through prescribed means. He considers thirds, turning figures, and leaps by turns. In a countercurrent to the rules of counterpoint, passing tones were produced in great profusion as a by-product of the diminution process.

The *Regola Rubertina* concentrates on tuning systems and modes as understood by a viol player (frets are visible in the cover illustration—see Figure 15.1). Alternative instrumentation in tablature is given in some cases. In the *Letzione seconda* Ganassi shows in proper Renaissance form the numerical ratios that result from the careful placement of frets across the neck of the instrument (thus underpinning tuning) and offers instruction on bowing and fingering. In both volumes he offers a few *ricercars* more to show the applicability of his advice than to recommend the pieces themselves.

Instruments and Their Repertories⁷

Each major feast had its own flavour and particular requirements. All that was new in Venetian instrumental music had to operate within the context of ritu-

a[n]chora a chi si diletta di canto. *Grove Music Online* (consulted on 26 August 2015) indicates that a manuscript copy of the manual in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 3.3 Musica contains a large number of additional diminutions in Ganassi's hand (see <<http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/3-3-musica/start.htm>>).

7 In pinning down details of genre development, instrumentation, and the profile of individual composers the fundamental resources are bibliographical: Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, MA, 1965) and Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana stampata in italiano fino al 1700*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1952 and 1968). At the time they were published there were neither facsimiles nor modern editions of most works. The internet did not exist. Today there is a reasonable chance of gaining access to the music quickly once one has an accurate citation. That both sources include much that is not strictly Venetian (other than through an imprimatur) is only a minor inconvenience. Other details can also be found in Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)* (New York-Oxford, 1998) and *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (Oxford, 2001), and Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer 1538-1569: A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study*, 3 vols. (New York, 1988-2005). The importance of Venetian contributions is reinforced by the large proportion of entries that pertain, in whole or in part, to Venice.



FIGURE 15.1 Title page of Silvestro Ganassi, *Regola Rubertina* (Venice, 1542)

als that were old. At San Marco (discussed further down) instrumental ensembles were required on several feasts; they performed at particular inflection points of mass and Vespers services. Their performances were carefully prescribed. However, the increasing emphasis on improvisatory skill, musical arrangement, and novel combinations of instruments served to alleviate the sense of rigidity that conventional forms of liturgical observance imposed.

The Lute

We can deduce from Claudio Sartori's information that the lute was used in San Marco, although (again following numerous entries in Sartori for the early years of the sixteenth century and from Arthur J. Ness's voluminous bibliography⁸) that its main role was in private and academic music-making, and particularly (at first) in self-accompaniment by singers. One early impact of printing was to greatly increase the amount of lute music in circulation in the first decades of the century.⁹ Francesco Spinacino's *Intabulatura de lauto*

8 *The Lute Music of Francesco Canova da Milano (1497-1543)*, ed. Arthur J. Ness (Cambridge, MA, 1970), vols. 3-4.

9 Among sources published in Venice, Marco dall'Aquila (1505) was the first to receive a ducal privilege to publish an *Intavolatura de lauto* (1505). The *Libro primo* of Francesco Spinacino's

(Venice, 1507) is not so much a new departure as a review of national and regional styles. It employs the practice, in vogue until the early seventeenth century, of entitling works with personal names (sometimes thought to be of specific women but in many instances derived from the surnames of noble families): 'La Mora', 'La Bernardina', and so forth, although the works are mainly arrangements of pre-existing works by noted masters of polyphony. A striking work is the 'Recercare de tutti li Toni', which may be the earliest conscious example of a cycle through the full roster of modes then in use. The seventeen *ricercars* in Spinacino's volume establish a baseline for a genre that persisted throughout the century, though its characteristics changed from generation to generation. Notable contributions to the lute literature had begun with Joan Ambrosio Dalza's *Intabolatura de lauto* (Venice, 1508), which offered linked pavaues and saltarellos. Works for solo lute often appeared at the end of publications otherwise consisting mainly of texted songs.

More than the importance of Venetian exemplars, early music printing demonstrated a reciprocal influence from place to place that suggest a quest for international exposure. Luis da Milan's *El maestro* for vihuela (Valencia, 1536) included pavaues and villancicos together with 40 *fantasie* on the church modes and Italian sonnets set to music. Efforts to internationalize the repertory through the assembly of generic collections were also conspicuous in Germany. Hans Newsiedler's *Neugeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch* (Nuremburg, 1536) was an extensive collection (73 pieces in the first volume, 47 more in the second) that appeared in the same year as Milan's. In France Philippe Verdelot's *Intavolatura de li madrigali ... da cantare et sonare* (1536) for a single voice required accompaniment by lute, but the tablature itself was by 'Messer Adriano' [Willaert].

The lute repertory was largely aimed at well-off gentlemen. As other kinds of instrumental music were developed, the role of lute gradually declined, but there would be no way to get a sense of the aesthetics of instrumental music in

similar *Intavolatura* (1507) contained 38 works. His *Libro secondo* of the same year included 43 works of similar diversity, while Joan Ambrosio Dalza's *Quarto libro* (earlier volumes cannot be documented) particularly emphasized dances. Collectively they established a prototypical publication for lutenists that was soon imitated and extended in Germany. However, the lute as an instrument worthy of its own publications threaded its way persistently through the ever-expanding repertories for organ and ensemble that appeared as the century progressed. In the context of lute playing the '*cantar et sonar*' practice documented in publications of this century was still in evidence in individual hires into the choir of San Marco in the seventeenth (see Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi* [New York, 31994]), Appendix F, 335-49 of the 1994 edition).

Northern Italy in the early decades of the century without acknowledging the important role of the lute. Lute playing—marked by a probing attitude towards melodic line and a delicate ear for articulation among others—was undoubtedly a stimulus to much that followed in other repertoires.

The Organ and Harpsichord

Italian organs of the sixteenth century were single-manual instruments, usually with eight or fewer registers, but the array of timbres and dynamic range they could produce far exceeded what their modest description suggests. (Dalla Libera documented 143 Venetian organs a half century ago.¹⁰) The modest physical scope of period instruments may explain why printed notation seems modest and pieces short. In contrast to the lute, which was a chamber instrument *par excellence*, the roles the organ played in churches and convents were clearly defined and, given the strictures of the Council of Trent (1545-63), purposely restrained (at least on paper).

The distinction between the first and second organists at San Marco was redefined in the later sixteenth century. The verbal difference, which dates from the fourteenth-century distinction between an *organum magnum* (in the north-facing loft, where it would not block daylight), and an *organum parvum* (in the south-facing loft), recognized a musical differentiation that owed principally to the height of organ pipes.¹¹ From it we can deduce that the larger organ was better accommodated in the north loft than the south one, where the pipes would have blocked light in the autumn and winter. This practical distinction took on added meaning after the establishment of an instrumental ensemble (1568): the first organist worked closely with the *maestro di cappella* and thus with choral and concerted music. He was responsible for the *coro*, which was viewed as the mainstay of the *cappella*'s music. Notable *first* organists included Padovano (1552-65), Merulo (1565-84), and Paolo Giusto (1591-c. 1624). Merulo exemplifies the most sophisticated of the breed: he served for two decades, was a prolific composer, and closely emulated the intellectual rigors of the time. He exhibited great clarity of mind both in his compositions and, we read in Diruta's *Transilvano*, in his pedagogy.¹² He was a valued teacher whose influence spread far and wide. Throughout his tenure the *maestro di*

10 Sandro Dalla Libera, *L'Arte degli Organi a Venezia* (Florence, 1962).

11 See Eleanor Selfridge-Field, 'Gabrieli and the Organ', in *Organ Yearbook* 8 (1977), 2-19, and eadem, *Venetian Instrumental Music*, 8-16 (1994 edition).

12 For more detail see Edwards, 'Claudio Merulo: Servant of the State and Musical Entrepreneur'.

cappella was the greatly respected Gioseffo Zarlino (1565-90), a mathematician and astronomer as well as a musician and composer.

The Instrumental Ensemble

The duty of the *second* organist (situated in the south loft) was to direct the instrumental ensemble, a prospect that proved to be an enormous stimulus to the instrumental imagination. In the context of solo performance there was much for an organist to master, since even at the first organ a working knowledge of ornamentation was expected. The second organist worked directly with the *maestro de' concerti*, the leader of the band of instrumentalists. The scope of the first and second organists can be readily appreciated by comparing the musical legacies of the second organists Andrea (1566-86) and Giovanni Gabrieli (1586-1612) with Merulo, a first organist.¹³ The Gabriellis returned from Bavaria with full ability to score for brasses and woodwinds. The fledgling orchestra—consisting of players of *cornetto*, trombones in multiple sizes, *violone*, and dulcian (*fagotto*)—was established. Instrumentalists' skills were not usually well defined. Most played multiple instruments. This gave great elasticity to scoring. Treble instruments including violin were officially added from 1603 but were clearly in use earlier at the Scuola Grande di San Rocco. San Marco's substantial trombone section began to diminish after the plague of 1630-31.

The position of *maestro di concerti* was initially filled by two figures who were enormously influential as pedagogues—Girolamo Dalla Casa (1568-1601) and Giovanni Bassano (1601-17). While Merulo had taken a systematic approach to ornamentation, not unlike Ganassi's, by showing single melodic intervals and short passages before and after elaboration, Dalla Casa and Bassano elaborated entire compositions (see Ensemble Pedagogy below).

Winds, Brasses, and Tamburi

The growing importance of wind instruments is clearly documented by the large amount of pedagogical material that cites them, but the umbrella term 'ogni sorte di stromento' hides their identities. Marino Sanuto's *Diarii* (1496-1533) give detailed accounts of a wide range of social activities—variously diplomatic, social, and political—that included instrumental numbers. Andrea Calmo's *Lettere* from later in the century focus less on society at large but more on musical components of academic gatherings. Woodwinds are cited in many

13 It should be noted, however, that there was little difference in the salaries of the first and second organists (a fact that has led to confusion about who was which). In relation to the functional difference in the two posts, this correspondence suggests a similar level of appreciation for each.

private entertainments even before the start of the sixteenth century, but details of what they played are elusive. Evidence for viol and woodwind combinations are available through iconographical sources.

The Gabrielis and several other instrumentalists later active in Venice had been with Orlando di Lasso in Munich for the wedding of Wilhelm V, duke of Bavaria, to Renate of Lorraine in the spring of 1568. The Gabrielis seem to have remained there for a number of years. Their stay in Munich surely contributed to Giovanni's indulgence of brass instruments, although Venice had multiple companies of *piffari* earlier. The difference was again one of musical function. Three kinds of groups could be cited as *piffari*. The officially appointed ducal *piffari* we see in Gentile Bellini's *Procession in Piazza San Marco* (1496) is the one usually referenced. Groups of more heterogeneous composition and less formality are also cited in documentation of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They could include tamburi, shawms, and a modest number of bowed strings (adapted for processions by the addition of a shoulder strap). Tamburi and instruments of a miscellaneous nature could also play on *campi* for feasts, but they were required to finish playing by nightfall.

Venues

San Marco

Most accounts of Venetian music focus on the ducal chapel, San Marco. Glorification of Venice's patron saint was a form of political promotion as much as it was a sign of religious observation. The basilica (as it came to be called in later times) had its own rites, and the kinds of instrumental music heard within it were very closely prescribed. The introduction of a regular group of instrumentalists in the *cappella* from 1568 had its main impact on a few designated feasts. Their salaries were minimal because their responsibilities were few. The unnamed predecessors who had played on special occasions earlier in the century may not have been significantly different from the group initially chartered. They would have performed on families of instruments of varying sizes.

From a musical perspective the feasts that were most lavishly celebrated were those of St Mark (25 April); those that fell on a date commemorating a famous Venetian battle (there were several of these); and feasts recognizing Venetian martyrs. Being closely allied with the Doge, San Marco was a patriotic institution. Other feasts on which all orchestral instrumentalists performed included the Annunciation (25 March), St Anthony of Padua (13 June), Assumption (15 August), Christmas Eve, Christmas, and Easter. Masses for the

coronation of a Doge and for an anniversary of a coronation also called for a full complement of musicians. On feasts of intermediate stature half the orchestra and one choir sufficed. This practice was refined over time. On most days of the year no music apart from chant was heard.

The instrumental ensemble was heard after the reading of the Epistle on certain feasts for which the mass was performed *a cappella*—Epiphany (6 January), Purification (2 February), St Isidore (16 April), the Apparition of St Mark (25 June), All Saints' (1 November), and Corpus Domini (moveable). After the Epistle a canzone (by organ with or without instruments) was the usual choice in the sixteenth century. A *ricercar* was preferred for the Offertory. Most surviving Venetian masses lack musical settings of the Sanctus and Benedictus. Various theories of instrumental substitution have been proposed, but ambiguities and inconsistencies in documentation can only be fully resolved in the seventeenth century, when a violin solo was performed during the Elevation of the Host.

Other Physical Institutions

Over recent decades our knowledge of the musical practices and personalities in other Venetian institutions has been greatly extended. This is especially true for the four *ospedali* (the Derelitti, Incurabili, Mendicanti, and Pietà), although in the sixteenth century the organ seems to have been the only instrument regularly used. In contrast, the *scuole grandi* were very active. They were funded by wealthy merchants, and Venice had an abundant supply of them. Many were German, Dutch, or Flemish and this dynamic introduces interesting possibilities for the less well documented musical practices of Venice. The *fabbrica* (*fontego* in Venetian dialect) of the German merchants near the Rialto was close to the shops of the best-known German instrument makers (Tieffenbrucker et al.). The Scuola Grande di San Rocco, near the Franciscan monastery of the Frari, became famous for its great *salone*, the walls of which were covered with Tintoretto's cycle on the life of Christ. San Rocco attracted many of the best chamber instrumentalists towards the end of the century—Giovanni Gabrieli among them. Gabrieli's famous *Sonata pian' e forte*¹⁴ was performed at San Rocco prior to its publication (1597).

Music of significant extent was rarer in the *scuole piccole*, of which hundreds are described by Gastone Vio.¹⁵ These *scuole* represented Venice's guilds.

14 For violin, cornetto, and six trombones. It appeared in the *Sacrae Symphoniae*, which contained works for varying numbers of instruments ranging from seven to sixteen.

15 Gastone Vio, *Le Scuole Piccole nella Venezia dei Dogi. Note d'archivio per la storia delle confraternite veneziane* (Costabissara, 2004).

Each guild had a shrine in one of Venice's churches. On the annual feast of the church's patron saint (or in some cases the patron of a chapel within the church), the allied guild made provision for the celebration. For instrumental musicians the guild shrine was at the church of San Silvestro. However, few records survive from before 1660.

Virtual Institutions

Virtual institutions consisted of groups of amorphous composition that convened for particular occasions but not necessarily in a fixed location. They included academies, gentlemen's clubs (such as the *calze*), and networks of patrons with specific interests.¹⁶ They often had obvious links to particular kinds of music.

Among these academies it was rare for any one to survive for more than one generation. Music of any kind was incidental to a wider array of interests considered by individual members and sometimes by invited guests. They reflected the high intellectual callings of the Renaissance, extending to enquiries in mathematics, poetry and drama, and most of all debate on a specified subject. Some of the leading musical figures were undoubtedly invited to academies from time to time. The Accademia Venier, which in c. 1550 counted the organist Girolamo Parabosco (c. 1524-57) among its members, and the Accademia della Fama, which was headed by Bernardo Tasso (1557-61), the father of the later famous poet Torquato, were the best known in the sixteenth century. Parabosco's involvement probably owed to his activities as a poet and dramatist¹⁷ rather than to his musical skills. He served as organist at San Marco for the last six years of his life.

While there is no genre that is predominately associated with academies and informal gatherings of learned persons, instances of most genres can be associated in particular cases with academic settings. The *ricercar* was migratory in its social attachments. Ensemble canzonas, although absorbed into the San Marco repertory towards the end of the century, were often composed with other, more secular venues in mind. Learned allusions, such as the solmized titles of fantasias and ornamented versions of madrigals whose texts came from respected poets, are suggestive of performance in academies. This

¹⁶ For the academies, see the chapters by Iain Fenlon and Rodolfo Baroncini in this volume.

¹⁷ Among his surviving *commedie* are *Il Hermafrodito* (1546), *I Marinaio* (1560), *Il Pellegrino* (1560), *Il viluppo* (1568), and *La Notte* (reprinted 1586). Most of these were posthumous. Among his acquaintances were Francesco Cortecchia (Florence) and Tiziano Vecellio (Titian) in Venice.

practice was prevalent at mid-century. In the Scotto anthology of 1549¹⁸ in which, for example, we find such subjects as 'Ut re mi fa sol la', 'La sol fa mi fa re la', 'Re ut fa re fa sol la' and so forth. Instances continue into the next century.

We find early instances of the instrumental (*aria di*) *battaglia* (a stylized reminiscence of battle inspired by Clément Janequin's *La guerre*) in geographically scattered sources from the later sixteenth century, but this subgenre is associated in Venice with Annibale Padovano and the Gabrielis. Their *Concerti ... continenti musica di Chiesa, madrigali, & altro, per voci, & stromenti musicali* à 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, & 16 (Venice, 1587), collected by Giovanni and published with a dedication to Jacob Fugger, included both a *battaglia a 8* and a *ricercar a 8* by the recently deceased Andrea. Giovanni's dedication leaves no doubt of the enormous esteem in which he held his nominal uncle. He lists as Andrea's strengths his 'rare inventions' (*rare inuentioni*), 'new manners' (*maniere noue*), and his understanding of the 'true movement of the affects' (*i veri mouimenti d'affetti*); he then notes that Andrea was 'singular in imitation' (*singolare nell'imitatione*) and in capturing the meaning of words in texted music. Other settings can be found throughout Europe, for which reason the *battaglia* seems to have had no fixed social context.

Clubs for gentlemen (differentiated by the patterns of their stockings, whence comes the nickname *calze*), cultivated group interests in drama, poetry, and festivity at certain prescribed times of year. The *calze* played an important role in festivities occasioned by weddings, Carnival, and political rites of passage. They also engaged in sports from time to time. Otherwise young gentlemen were encouraged (with varying support from government bodies) to learn fencing and social dancing (the latter consisting mainly of precise choreographies for groups rather couples).

Elsewhere in the Veneto

Venetian instrumental music benefitted enormously from the talents of musicians trained on the mainland. Among the provincial capitals (Bergamo, Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Udine as well as Dubrovnik and Split) Brescia was the most influential because of its prominent role in the development of string instruments. Rodolfo Baroncini has traced instruments called *violons* (in Savoy) and *violini* (in Vercelli, Turin, Brescia, Milan, and Mantua) as far back as 1523. Extensive information on three centuries of Brescian

18 *Fantasie et ricercari a tre voci, accomodate da cantare et sonare per ogni instrumento*. Giuliano Tiburtino is the composer of the titles cited. Other contributors were Baldassare Donato, Cipriano de Rore, Adrian Willaert, and 'Nadal' (not further identified).

string-instrument makers can be found at Ugo Ravasio's website.¹⁹ Among early violinists from Brescia the first one known as a composer was Biagio Marini (1594-1663), who was the first violinist to be regularly employed by the San Marco orchestra (1615-c. 1620). Bergamo, to the northwest of Brescia, was associated with cornettists, some of whom emigrated to Germany towards the end of the century. Brescia's golden period as a centre for bowed strings endured until the plague of 1630-31, after which Cremona became the centre of violin-making.

The art of organ-building was equally well developed in Brescia, where the monastic church of San Giuseppe houses a restored instrument made by Graziadio Antegnati (1525-after 1590), whose son Costanzo (1549-1624) was the author of the organ manual *L'Antegnata: Intavolatura de ricercari d'organo* (Venice, 1608).²⁰ Giulio Ongaro has detailed an agreement whereby Marco Antonio Cavazzoni was given the rent from the *constabellaria* of the Porta S. Alessandro (the guard's house at the south gate into the city) in Brescia as a supplement to his pay from San Marco (1524-69), suggesting that the organist-composer had previous ties to Brescia.²¹ Florenzio Maschera, organist of the Brescia Cathedral, composed the widely observed and imitated *Canzoni da suonare (a 4)* published in Brescia by Vincenzo Sabbio in 1584. Floriano Canal served as a priest and organist at San Giovanni Evangelista (1581-1603), which was located in a neighbourhood of violin makers.²² His volume of *Canzoni da sonare* for four to eight instruments was issued in 1600 by Giacomo Vincenti in Venice. Pietro Lappi, *maestro di cappella* at Santa Maria delle Grazie, offered a well-respected set of *Canzoni da suonare* for four to thirteen voices (Venice: Gardano, 1616).

Verona stood at the (ancient) crossroads between north-south and east-west traffic, such that travellers between Rome and German-speaking lands intersected with those between Venice and Milan. Its most important contribution to the development of instrumental music was its fostering of the celebrated Accademia Filarmonica (founded in 1543). The academicians collected wind and string instruments of every description. They also sponsored

19 Ugo Ravasio, *Liuteria bresciana* <<http://www.liuteriabresciana.it>>.

20 Among Antegnati's other surviving organs of note are those of Santa Barbara, Mantua (mentioned above) and Santo Spirito, Bergamo.

21 Giulio M., '16th-Century Wind Instrument Makers and their Clients', in *Early Music* 13 (1985), 391-97.

22 The rise of Cremona as a center for string-instrument manufacture came about partly as a response to the devastating loss of population (50%) of Brescia in the plague of 1630-31. Some sense of the losses to the Brescian school can be glimpsed in Ugo Ravasio's online database, *Liuteria Bresciana*.

the painting of murals showing details of instruments presumed today to have been in use in the sixteenth century. A recurring calendar of events from 1604 provided for public concerts every Wednesday.²³ *Balli* in February were sponsored in the later sixteenth century, when it retained an organist, a lutenist, and a violinist.

Andrea Palladio's Teatro Olimpico at Vicenza, opened in 1585, had no match in Venice, although it found many imitations in the villas that sprang up in the Veneto over the next century. In Vicenza, Padua, and the hills that lay between them, learned academies flourished throughout the sixteenth century, although many had died out by 1650. One can imagine stimulating cross-conversations between these academies and the villas' ephemeral residents, but villa life was a private affair. What information has been found comes from family archives. However, the fruits of many academic discussions can be located by a trained eye. For example, the outcomes of learned discussions of tuning systems are visible in surviving harpsichords and a few restored organs. The keyboard collection of Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini in Bologna and the restored (single-manual) contains not only period pieces but also experimental instruments suited to enharmonically notated repertoires. (There was no equal temperament in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, but in addition the shorter keyboards might omit a few notes from the lowest octave.) The recently restored organ built by Vincenzo Colombo (1523-33) in the cathedral of Valvasone is the closest model for the organs that Merulo and the Gabriellis played at San Marco that may ever exist.

Ensemble Pedagogy

The first organ/second organ bifurcation at San Marco accommodated a slight division of instrumental labours (see above). Those aiming to be organists had to master diverse imitative practices. The rise of instrumental pedagogues later in the sixteenth century enabled specialization by instrument. It paved the way to virtuosity and led in the 1620s to the emergence of the sonata.²⁴ The sonata highlighted solo episodes, which are not evident on paper in the six-

23 See the chapter 'Zum Musikleben der Accademia Filarmonica in Verona 1600-1634' in Inga Mai Groote, *Musik in italienischen Akademien. Studien zur institutionellen Musikpflege 1543-1666*, *Analecta musicologica* 37 (Laaber, 2005), 57-84.

24 Don Harrán, 'Dedication and Labelling Practices in Seventeenth-Century Instrumental Music: The Case of Marco Uccellini', in *RMA Research Chronicle* 45 (2014), 1-25.

teenth century.²⁵ Otherwise discerning the features that differentiated a late canzone from an early sonata could be elusive. The bifurcation between flowing polyphony and gravitational pull towards one voice finds less direct evident in pedagogical writings than published pieces, but the combined impact of differentiation and detailed pedagogy was profound.²⁶ The dominating figures for ensemble instruments were Girolamo Dalla Casa, who as concert-master of the Signoria's wind players ('capo de concerti delli stromenti di fiato della Illustriss. Signoria di Venetia') considered the cornetto 'the most perfect instrument after the human voice',²⁷ and Giovanni Bassano. Girolamo Diruta was the leading spokesman for the organ subculture.

Girolamo Dalla Casa

That Dalla Casa enjoyed the respect of all the *capella's* musicians is easily understood. The first volume of his *Il vero modo di diminuir con tutte le sorti di stromenti* (Venice, 1584) was valuable to wind players (especially cornettists) in dealing with tonguing and the ornamentation of *passaggi* and cadences. The player was instructed to learn such tonguing patterns as *le-re le-re le-re*, *te-re te-re te-re*, *te-che te-che te-che*, and *de-re de-re de-re*. He inserted these mnemonics as lyrics into his musical examples to show how they were to be applied to melodic patterns (see Figure 15.2). In his Second Book (same year) he saw the mastery of diminutions (in four species—crotchets, quavers, semiquavers, and demisemiquavers) as one that required the further step of rendering what were then unfamiliar passages *a tempo*. 'Everyone should beat [mark] the

25 We know from the prefaces to several printed collections (1610-20), especially that of Giovanni Ghizzolo's *Messa salmi lettanie B.V. falsibordoni et Gloria Patri concertati a cinque, o nove voci, servendosi del secondo choro à beneplacito, con il basso per l'organo* (Venice, 1619), that some works offered for a substantial ensemble could also be performed by fewer when there was a 'penuria di cantori'.

26 A significant resource for the full reach of pedagogy particularly relevant to virtuosio detail is Ulrike Engelke's bilingual *Musik und Sprache. Interpretation der Frühen Musik nach alten Regeln/Music and Language: Interpretation of Early Music according to Traditional Rules* (rev. edn., Münster, 2012). Its 232 facsimile snippets of tutorial detail, supplemented by 17 tables, allows each pedagogue to speak for himself. The reader can form a synoptic view of many threads of development very quickly.

27 *Il vero modo di diminuir con tutte le sorti di stromenti di fiato, & corda, & di voce humana* (Venice 1584), bk. 1, unnumbered prefatory page under the heading 'Del cornetto': 'De gli Stromenti di fiato il piu eccellente è il Cornetto per imitar la uoce humana piu de gli altri stromenti. Questo stromento si adopera piano, & forte, & in ogni sorte di Tuono, si come fa la voce.'



FIGURE 15.2 *Girolamo Dalla Casa, Il vero modo di diminuir, libro primo (Venice, 1584), p. 1, second example of 'all the tonguing possibilities for quavers on each degree in [substitution for] semibreves' ('de semibreve de grado de tutte le lingue che si possono far de croma')*

tempo when practicing,' he wrote. 'If you do not do this every time you practice,' he continued, 'you will not have a good result'.²⁸

Giovanni Bassano

At San Marco one good deed often begat another. Giovanni Bassano sent to press his own *Ricercate, passaggi, et cadentie per potersi essercitar nel diminuir terminatamente con ogni sorte d'Istrumento: & anco diuersi passaggi per la semplice voce* in 1585, perhaps in anticipation of Dalla Casa's departure. Because the publication was dedicated to 'an excellent orator', Luigi Balbi, we can be sure that Bassano viewed music as a close ally of grammar. Some of his raw *passaggi* include leaps and dotted figures. His distinction between *passaggi* and cadences was also notable, but one must deduce his message from his examples, for Bassano provided no commentary. For both Dalla Casa and Bassano wind instruments could appropriately be accompanied by *viole* (Dalla Casa calls for a *viola bastarda* in a few places).

Bassano's contribution continued with his *Motetti, madrigali, et canzoni francese ... diminuiti per sonar con ogni sorte di stromenti ...* (Venice, 1591). We see as much in Bassano's works as in Dalla Casa's that the art of diminution was developed on a secure grammatical foundation. Both place equal weight on madrigals and chansons as models for diminution, not only in their commentary but also in the musical examples they select. Dalla Casa stresses regularity

28 Dalla Casa, *Il vero modo di diminuir* (Venice, 1584), bk. 2, 'Alli lettori', unnumbered page facing p. 1, under the subheading 'Del portar la minuta in tempo': 'Dico esser cosa difficile lo portar la minuta à tempo, & questa è la maggior importanza ad ogn'uno, che facci questa professione del diminuir con tutte le sorti de stromenti. Dunque ciascheduno auertisca nello studio suo di batter il tempo, & e di non studiar mai senza questo ordine, & e habituarsi alla battura; perche facendo altrimenti non farebbe cosa buona'.

in his elaborations: given a series of minims, the performer should substitute running quavers; given crotchets, he would choose semiquavers, and so forth. Bassano's diminutions tended to flow in long sweeps up or down. While Dalla Casa's figures could be mechanical, with mordent-like turning shapes on every minim, Bassano's contain variety from beat to beat, with intermittent dotted notes occurring from time to time (see Example 15.1). Although Dalla Casa gets high marks for demonstrating continuous elaboration, he still subscribed to the categorical retention of one rhythmic value throughout long phrases (all quavers, all semiquavers etc.). Bassano displayed a more flexible approach and when using vocal models takes a madrigalesque approach to elaboration by highlighting particular words with florid runs of semiquavers or with dotted patterns within *passaggi*. The *passaggi* that the player is instructed to study offer detailed sequences for simple, short, and otherwise non-descript melodic segments that were common in vocal repertoires of the time. Both allow that these modes of ornamentation can be used by vocalists as well as instrumentalists.

Girolamo Diruta

Girolamo Diruta (c. 1554-1610) studied in the early 1580s with Zarlino, Merulo, and Costanza Porta. He became organist of the cathedral in Chioggia (Zarlino's hometown). His fame rests on two works. The first was the *Dialoghi musicali*, an anthology of instrumental pieces for seven to twelve instruments (Venice, 1592) with contributions by the Gabrielis, Merulo, and Padovano. The second was *Il Transilvano: Il vero modo di sonar organi e istromenti da penna* (Venice, 1597). The title honoured the dedicatee, a Transylvanian. This first comprehensive manual on organ playing is cast as a dialogue between teacher and pupil. *Il Transilvano* demonstrates Diruta's comprehensive knowledge of organ playing in northern Italy. It contains generous explanations of ornamented cadences, examples of tremolos, and the author's efforts to transcribe what different masters actually played at the keyboard. Diruta (among others) shows that new mannerisms associated with the early seventeenth century were already well known and apparently widely used.

Diruta's virtual dialogue (a popular rhetorical approach at the time) was founded on a gradually unfolding grammar of procedures and their applications. The enquiring scholar goads the learned teacher into giving long expositions of rules and principles. In his presentation of the *tremolo* and *tremoletto* Diruta discusses their application to passages in minims and crotchets in a systematic way that builds on the approach established by his Venetian predecessors. According to Diruta, Merulo recommended *tremoletti* when the model descended by step (see Example 15.2a and b) Merulo,

EXAMPLE 15.1 *Diminutions on the madrigal Io canterei d'amor by Cipriano de Rore, as 'diminished' by Girolamo Dalla Casa (Il vero modo di diminuir, con tutte le sorti di stromenti [Venice, 1584], 7) and by Giovanni Bassano (Motetti, madrigali, et canzoni francese ... diminuiti per sonar con ogni sorte di stromenti [Venice, 1591], 6)*

The image displays a musical score for three different versions of the madrigal 'Io canterei d'amor'. The score is organized into six systems, each containing three staves. The top staff in each system is labeled 'De Rore', the middle 'Dalla Casa', and the bottom 'Bassano'. All staves are in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first system shows the beginning of the piece. The second system shows a melodic line in the middle staff with a descending eighth-note pattern. The third system shows a similar pattern in the middle staff. The fourth system shows a more complex rhythmic pattern in the bottom staff. The fifth system shows a melodic line in the middle staff. The sixth system shows a melodic line in the middle staff. The score is written in a clear, legible font, with notes and rests clearly visible on the staves.

EXAMPLE 15.2a/b *Girolamo Diruta's differentiation between a) conventional tremoletti and b) Merulo's more carefully articulated ones, from Il Transilvano (Venice, 1593), 20*



according to Diruta, allowed invertibility (upper-lower vs. lower-upper figurations) in his formulae for substitution for minims and crochets. The dialogue in which these examples are embedded continues in this manner:

Student: These *tremoletti* seem more difficult than the first ones.

Master: You speak the truth While we are speaking of *tremoletti*, in particular those of Claudio Merulo in his *canzoni alla francese*, they will seem very difficult at first, but if you follow the rules for *tremolo*, you will find them very easy.

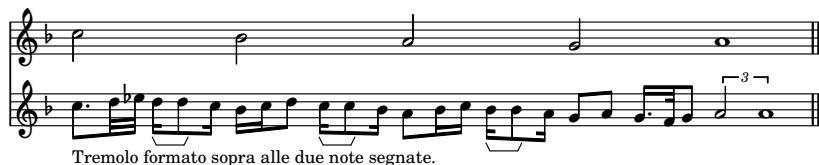
Giovanni Battista Bovicelli

Although it is not a direct product of the Venetian school, Bovicelli's *Regole, passaggi di musica, madrigal, et motetti passeggiati* (Venice, 1594) is essential reading on diminutions and *passaggi* because of its integral approach. Bovicelli tells us that he is from Assisi and is a musician in the Milan cathedral. He gives numerous examples of fully elaborated pieces by a range of masters of the time.²⁹ The author first demonstrates the application of his techniques to short phrases of texted works, then moves on to 'diversi modi di diminuir,' and finally to fully re-composed pieces by Palestrina, de Rore, Merulo, and others. Like Dalla Casa he organizes his instructions by upward or downward motion and by intervallic size. Like Bassano he shows mixed rhythmic values and also indicates by a carat sign (reproduced in Example 15.3) where the repetition of a pitch invited a *tremolo*.

Bovicelli distinguishes between the separate articulation of each note in a series and a smooth glissando, which he states should be used only in specific textual and musical contexts. Leaps belonged to the province of instrumental music.

29 A modern, more extensive set of elaborations can be found in Richard Erig's and Veronika Guttman's comparative edition, *Italienische Diminutionen: die zwischen 1553 und 1638 mehrmals bearbeiteten Sätze* (Winterthur, 1979).

EXAMPLE 15.3 *Gio. Battista Bovicelli's passage showing the articulation of a line of descending minims (Regole, passaggi di musica [Venice, 1594], 13). Bovicelli's note reads 'Tremolo formato sopra alle due note segnate' ('the tremolo occurs on the two marked notes')^a*



- a The two final notes of the diminution are in black notation. They are not marked for tremolo treatment, which otherwise pertains to successive notes on the same pitch.

From Old Values to New

The defining value of instrumental music in sixteenth-century Venice was its malleability. Irrespective of descriptive information in title-pages, almost any piece of music could be transformed into a work suited to a different situation. The issues engendered by such mutability are obvious. As deduced from performance a stylistic idiom could not be clearly attributed to a composer, a patron, or a venue, though all of them contributed to the achievements of the time.

The practice of elaboration encountered one stumbling block: in performing imitative works it was impractical to ornament all voices to the same degree, and one voice (usually the treble) eventually came to serve as the voice to be used as a foundation for highly ornamented passagework. The *viola bastarda* took a lower voice as its model. The lute could wander between voices in an independent manner. In practice, and in opposition to what we may see on the page, it was inevitable that as the treble grew in prominence, the mid-range voices receded in importance. This was not evident until the seventeenth century, when what appeared to be new approaches rapidly came to the fore.

This approaching change can be inferred from small clues in title-pages, prefaces, advice from authors, and general cues in organ partbooks. Howard Mayer Brown compiled a listing of works (1575-1600) that contained such cues.³⁰ As the new century approached, performers came to differentiate between music that was exclusively intended for playing (i.e. Giovanni Gabrieli's *Sonata pian' e forte* and *Sonata octavi toni* in the *Sacrae Symphoniae* (Venice, 1597) and that for singing (i.e. the cantata, from 1621 onward). In these

30 Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600*, 439f.

works a growing divide separated ensemble players from ‘foundation’ players such as organists and *violone* players.

One tangent of musical development completely obscured by this growing absorption in refining instrumental music was the modular approach of polychoral pieces.³¹ Without the Gabrieli the Venetian contribution would have been far smaller than it is, and despite the seeming ubiquity of their music today, a few little-known works of massive proportions are found in manuscripts rather than prints. In addition to the *Concerti* (Venice, 1587) and the *Sacrae Symphoniae*, the posthumous collection of his *Canzoni e sonate* for three to twenty-two instruments (Venice, 1615) testifies to the continuing expansion of the genre. In his works sonorities were often contrasted by timbre (string vs. wind) or by range (*acuto* vs. *grave*). The organists accompanying these groups (which included portative players if there were more than two groups of instrumentalists) normally found only the lowest voice of a *coro* transcribed in the *organo* partbook. Cues to gross differences of timbre or range occasionally included modular indications (cues for Coro 1, Coro 2 et al.).

In instrumental contexts, polychoral practice contributed one little-mentioned feature to later Venetian instrumental music. This was the echo effect, which gained traction during Monteverdi’s era but was an inherent possibility in the robust pieces of Gabrieli’s. To get from a simple polychoral idea to a substantial musical piece, it was necessary only to conjugate a polyphonic phrase through all its permutations—by exact repetition, repetition with contrast between registers, repetition with contrast between timbres, and so forth. Differentiated repetition was slowly mutated into paraphrases and extensions, forming the principle elements of the musical grammar of antecedents and consequents. Through the combination of this evolving grammar with contrasts of texture and timbre, the vocabulary of the early concerto was in gestation.

Meanwhile the fledgling violinists (for whom Gabrieli also composed) and other string players were steeped in the present—in the kind of minutiae Diruta addressed but also in techniques of tonguing and bowing capable of producing subtle differences of articulation. They were architects of sound,

31 Polychoral music was conservative in style and ceremonial in function. The reliance on trombones in concerted music owed partly to the acoustics of San Marco, which had a long reverberation time. The instruments themselves were agile, but their parts tend to be written in flowing minims to reduce the layering of tones that would result in accidental dissonances. Further on Venetian acoustics see Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice: Architecture, Music, Acoustics* (New Haven-London, 2009) and *Architettura e musica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, ed. Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti (Milan, 2006).

not (like some organists) of the correctness of signs on a page. Broadly considered, the details of virtuosic content were not typically specified in print until the 1620s, when Dario Castello filled page after page with long runs of *tremoletti* and other acrobatic devices in *passaggi*. A wind player himself, Castello is likely to have emerged from the wind community of Venice in the 1580s and have been cognizant of the examples of Dalla Casa and Bassano's books. Yet, in parallel to Gabrieli, he demonstrated to an unprecedented degree the ways in which soloists within the group could enhance the music with almost unbridled abandon. Meanwhile it is likely to have been Bassano who most clearly paved the way from the sixteenth century to the seventeenth during his sixteen-year tenure as *maestro de' concerti* at San Marco, which ended with his death in 1617.

Language, Style, and Subgenre in Venetian-Language Polyphony

Daniel Donnelly

In the fourth book of his *Istitutioni harmoniche*, Zarlino describes Venetian dialect songs as being distinct from the equivalent traditions in other parts of Italy:

And not only does one find among different nations such differences [in musical traditions], but even within the same nation, as one can see in Italy: for those Songs which are called Villotte are sung in one manner in the area around Venice, and in another manner in Tuscany and in the Kingdom of Naples....¹

Unfortunately Zarlino does not elaborate on the precise manner in which Venetian *villotte* differ from *villotte* elsewhere. The remark is merely an aside in a larger discussion about the necessity of appropriately matching musical expression to textual forms, in this case along geographic lines. Later in the same discussion, Zarlino observes that in traditions where text and music are closely linked, essential structural or aesthetic conflicts emerge from attempts to mix styles or genres—a situation that leads inevitably to aesthetic failure.² Zarlino's evocation of the villotte in this kind of discussion is telling: it indicates not only that he perceived Venetian poetry and musical settings of that poetry as essentially different from the Tuscan and Neapolitan genres with which they are contrasted, but also that he thought these differences would

1 'Et non solamente si trova tra diverse nationi tali differenze: ma anco in una istessa natione, & in una istessa patria; come si può vedere nella Italia: percioche in una maniera si cantano le Canzoni, che si chiamano Villotte ne i luoghi vicini a Vinegia, & in un'altra maniera nella Thoscana, & nel Reame di Napoli ...'. Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le institutioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1558), bk. iv, ch. 1, 297. Translation mine.

2 Ibid., 296-97. The example Zarlino gives of this problem is Aristotle's account of Philoxenus of Cythera attempting to compose a dithyramb in the Dorian mode: finding the Dorian ill-suited to his endeavour, Philoxenus finds himself unable to progress without returning to the usual Phrygian. This story is related by Aristotle in the *Politics*, Book VIII, section 1342b; see also Martin L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 1992), 364-65.

have been so clear to his intended audience that no further elaboration was required in order to make his point.

This chapter will explore the surviving corpus of Venetian-language song from the 1560s and '70s, and in so doing attempt to clarify what Zarlino might have meant by his distinction between Venetian-language music and songs from other regions. In this search for what factors might set Venetian music apart, I will first briefly describe the most important genres of Venetian-language music, after which I will draw attention to the ways in which the borders between these genres have served to complicate our view of their musical and historical relationships. Dividing the corpus according to musical style, on the other hand, aids in teasing out those features that might be seen to stand for musical *venezianità* and allows one to trace their appearance in a variety of different works.

Historical Varieties of Venetian-Language Song

Generally speaking, Italian Renaissance music printers favoured language and text type over musical characteristics in their classification systems for musical genre. In many cases, musical genres were classified on *purely* linguistic grounds, taking their names either from the language they employed or from the name of a particular speech community. Music printers were also incredibly exacting when it came to ensuring that these linguistic and generic differences were properly noted in music prints, either by listing the different genres included in a volume on its title page or by using rubrics to mark individual pieces that somehow depart from a volume's expected contents.³

If we are to judge by Italian music printers' own practices, the Venetian-language corpus includes four specific generic labels, along with a single collection of works that bear no such label. Of these, by far the most numerous examples are the *giustiniane* and the *greghesche*, both of which appear in multiple print sources. To these we must add two *canzone* marked 'alla venetiana' and a single *zorziana*, which also appears in a concordant source as a *giustiniana*. The works with no generic appellation appear in the Ferrarese composer Lodovico Agostini's 1567 collection of so-called 'Bizzarre rime', based on a collection of poems of the same name. For reference, Table 16.1 provides the complete printed corpus of Venetian-language polyphony from 1564-75, organ-

3 This point is elaborated in much greater detail in the first chapter of my dissertation. See Daniel Donnelly, 'Cantar à la venessiana: Venetian-Language Polyphony in the Secondo Cinquecento' (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 2014), vol. 1, 35-46.

TABLE 16.1 *All works belonging to the Venetian-language corpus, 1564-75, categorised by print genre*

Giustiniane	Greghesche	Unnamed ('Bizzarre rime')
RISM 1570 ¹⁷ (Scotto, ed. V. Bellavere) Primo libro delle Iustiniane à 3	RISM G 64 (Gardano, 1571) Greghesche et Iustiniane à 3 di A. Gabrieli <i>Zentil donn'e segnuri</i> (p. 2) <i>Tria gerundas</i> (p. 6) <i>O mia canzun</i> (p. 9) <i>Chie val haver cavallo</i> (p. 12) <i>Aldi vel prego amandi</i> (p. 15) <i>Manoli chie faremo</i> (p. 19) (Dialogo) <i>O mia morusa</i> (p. 22)	RISM A 401 (Pozzo, 1567) Musica ... sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo (Agostini) <i>All works, except:</i> <i>Amor m'ha bastonat</i> (p. 16) (Bergamasco)
RISM 1575 ¹⁴ (Scotto, ed. G. Policreti) Secondo libro delle Iustiniane à 3	<i>All works</i>	<i>Canzone alla venetiana</i>
RISM G 64 (Gardano, 1571) Greghesche et Iustiniane à 3 di A. Gabrieli	RISM 1564 ¹⁶ (Gardano) Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche <i>All works</i>	RISM 1565 ¹² (Scotto) Canzone napoletane à 3 di Bonagiunta, Lib. I <i>Daspuò ch' al mio dolor</i> (p. 30) <i>E vorave saver colonna mia</i> (p. 31)
<i>O agnima morusa</i> (p. 26) <i>O agapimù glichi</i> (p. 28) <i>Fame pur canto mal</i> (p. 30) <i>Chiraces nu la semo</i> (p. 32) <i>Perche madonna</i> (p. 35) <i>Chi'nde dara le bose</i> (p. 38) 2.a parte <i>U tre mi</i> (p. 40) <i>Anchor che col partire</i> (p. 42) <i>Forestier inamorao</i> (p. 44)	RISM 1566 ³ Il desiderio. Secondo libro ... à 4 di Bonagiunta <i>La mia Chirazza tando mi contenda</i> (p. 22) (Ivo de Vento)	<i>Zorziane</i>
RISM 1566 ⁷ (Scotto) Canzone napoletane à 3 di Bonagiunta, Lib. II	RISM M 2947 (Merulo, 1568) I dilettevoli madrigali a 4 voci (Molino) <i>Donna zendila</i> (p. 3) <i>Perche de la virtù</i> (p. 12) 2.a parte <i>Varda chel gran philosopho</i> (p. 13) <i>Al vostro nascimendo</i> (p. 19)	RISM 1570 ²¹ (Gardano) Villotte alla napoletana à 3, Lib. VI <i>Dionorea vien te priego</i> (p. 45) (Gabrieli)
<i>Nu semo tre vechiuti</i> (p. 28) 2.a parte <i>Cantemo Zazerin</i> (p. 30)	RISM 1574 ⁹ (Gardano) Il primo libro di madrigali à 4 (Spalenza) <i>Como viver mil posso</i> (p. 22) (Maffon)	

ised according to the traditional linguistically derived genre categories used by sixteenth-century printers and most contemporary scholarship. It will be followed by brief descriptions of the three main categories and their contents, so as to better contextualise the critical re-evaluation of the text-based scheme in the next section.

The Giustiniane

The largest of the three Venetian-language genres, the giustiniane, are named after the early fifteenth-century poet Leonardo Giustiniani, whose poetic output was long associated with an unwritten tradition of improvised song.⁴ The precise nature of the musical practice to which the term refers appears to have shifted considerably over its nearly two centuries of use, starting out with florid settings of Giustiniani's own *canzonette* and ending up with Artusi's 1603 description of a genre that gives pleasure by 'induc[ing] men to laughter and mockery' rather than by stimulating the intellect.⁵ Despite the genre's august origins, even the original significance of its name appears to have been lost at some point along the way: in his *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597) Thomas Morley makes no mention of Giustiniani, writing instead that the term was derived from the name of a woman.⁶

4 The most comprehensive treatment of the giustiniana to date is Shawn M. Keener, 'The Giustiniana Phenomenon and Venetian Cultural Memory, 1400-1600' (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2014). On the name of the genre, see especially pp. 32-50. Keener has also discussed the history of the giustiniana in two articles: 'Love alla veneziana: Singing Giustiniane on Stage and off', in *Proceedings of the International Symposium: 'Amor Docet Musicam' Università Osnabrück*, ed. Dieter Helms and Sabine Meine (Hildesheim, 2012), and eadem, 'Virtue, Illusion, Venezianità: Vocal Bravura and the Early Cortigiana Onesta', in *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women: Many-Headed Melodies*, ed. Thomasin LaMay (Aldershot, 2005), 119-34.

5 'Questo desiderio si può intendere in due maniere, overo che nasce nell'huomo, perche l'udito ne sente infinito piacere, e l'intelletto ne gode ... et altri tanti, e tanti, overo che l'udito le desidera per sentime un certo modo piacevole, che induce l'huomo alle risa, et à burlarsene; come quelle Giustiniane alla Venetiana...' Giovanni Maria Artusi, *L'Artusi overo delle imperfezioni della moderna musica*, facsimile ed. Giuseppe Vecchi, (Bologna, 1968), vol. 2, 26.

6 'There is likewise a kind of songs ... called Justinianas, and all are written in the Bergamasca language: a wanton and crude kind of musicke it is, and like enough to carrie the name of some noble Curtisan of the Citie of Bergama, for no man will deny that Justiniana is the name of a woman.' Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597), 295. Praetorius writes along the same lines in *Syntagma musicum* that they are 'courting songs (called rude and wanton by some) mostly set for three voices in the Bergamasque dialect about a noble courtesan from Bergamo' ('[Giustiniani] sind etliche Buhlenliedlein (*rudis* &

The Canzon 'Alla Venetiana'

Bonagiunta's *Daspuò ch'al mio dolor no ghe ceroto* and *E vorave saver, colonna mia* are the only surviving works with the appellation 'alla venetiana'. They were published together in Scotto's *Primo libro de canzon napoletane a tre voci, con due alla venetiana* in 1565 and exhibit the predominantly homophonic style associated with villotte of the period, and make no use of the nasal stutter that defines the giustiniane.

The Greghesche

The most varied historical sub-group of the Venetian-language corpus is that of the greghesche, so named because the language they use is designed to approximate the effect of a native Greek speaking Venetian. This effect is produced through a combination of simple vocabulary substitutions, like trading Greek *psicchì* (ψυχή) for Venetian *mente*, and regular phonetic alterations meant to reflect the Greek 'accent'.⁸ The texts for all surviving greghesche can be securely attributed to a single person: the poet, actor, and musician Antonio Molino (c. 1495? - after 1571). Molino, who published a number of literary works under his theatrical pseudonym Manoli Blessi, was also popularly known by the moniker 'il Burchiella'.⁹

Despite their shared linguistic features and the unifying authorial voice of Molino, musically speaking the greghesche are quite diverse, and there are few musical characteristics that can be said to apply to the genre as a whole. The most important stylistic differences within the genre are largely coterminous with the three volumes in which they were published, resulting in three relatively distinct sub-genres. The largest of these sub-genres corresponds to the landmark 1564 *Primo libro delle greghesche*, an anthology of thirty compositions for four, five, and six voices that garnered the participation of twenty different composers from both Venice and elsewhere.¹⁰ Most of the works in

8 The precise alterations and a positive evaluation of their accuracy are given in Lucia Lazzarini, 'Il "greghesco" a Venezia tra realtà e ludus. Saggio sulla commedia poliglotta del Cinquecento', in *Studi di filologia italiana* 35 (1977), 29-95 at 52-66.

9 The most complete biography of Molino can now be found in Linda Carroll's and Anthony Cummings' introduction to the modern edition of his first book of madrigals. See Antonio Molino, *Delightful Madrigals for four voices*, ed. Linda Carroll et al. (Rome, 2012), 3-26. On his moniker, see Ann Sheldon West Vivarelli, 'On the Nickname Burchiello and Related Questions', in *Modern Language Notes* 77 (1972), 123-34 at 133.

10 Counting individual *parti* the number of compositions comes to thirty-nine.

this collection employ a light madrigalian style, with frequent use of imitation and long melismatic passages.¹¹

The second sub-group of *greghesche* is much smaller, consisting of only three works. These are, however, notable for being the only examples of *greghesche* composed by Molino himself. Published in Molino's first book of madrigals in 1568, they share his madrigals' primarily homophonic textures and frequent chromatic alterations to produce major thirds above the bass wherever possible.¹² The stylistic unity of Molino's madrigals and his *greghesche* is further underlined by the fact that the latter are neither mentioned on the title page of the collection nor are they marked by rubrics. Instead, and decidedly contrary to prevailing norms among music printers, they are simply included at various points in the collection without any acknowledgement of their difference.

The last sub-group of *greghesche* comprises a number of three-voice examples composed by Andrea Gabrieli and published in 1571 alongside reprints of his *giustiniane*. Although this print survives only in a single partbook, complete concordant sources for all the *giustiniane* effectively render this a problem only for the *greghesche* in the collection. Based on similarities in the tenor writing, however, it can be assumed with some confidence that the *greghesche* in this collection were stylistically very close to the *giustiniane*, possibly differing only by their use of the Greek idiom and their avoidance of the nasal stutter.

The 'Bizarre Rime'

To the genres described above must be added another category, represented by a single print that cannot reasonably be seen as belonging to any of them: the collection of so-called *Bizarre rime* published in 1567 by the Ferrarese composer Lodovico Agostini (1534-90).¹³ The collection takes its name and approximately half of its texts from an eponymous 1553 collection of Venetian-

11 The only complete modern edition of the anthology can be found in Siro Cisilino, *Greghesche libro primo (1564). 39 composizioni di diversi autori su testi poetici di Manoli Blessi detto il Burchiella* (Padua, 1974), though some individual composers' contributions appear in their own collected works.

12 A modern edition of Molino's first book with polyphonic restoration of the missing alto part by Philip Weller has recently been published in *Delightful Madrigals for Four Voices*. Alternate reconstructions of the three *greghesche* in the collection can be found in Donnelly, 'Cantar à la venessiana', vol. 2, 82-92.

13 A complete modern edition of this volume can be found in Donnelly, 'Cantar à la venessiana', vol. 2, 1-37.

8

E me pe-lo da fame e si nò ma-gno,
 E me pe-lo da fame e si nò ma-gno,
 E me pe-lo da fame e si nò ma-gno,
 E me pe-lo da fame e si nò ma-gno,

EXAMPLE 16.2

Lodovico Agostini, Paxe no trovo, bb. 8-n. From Musica di Lodovico Agostini ... sopra le rime bizzarre (Milan: Pozzo, 1567). Note especially the outline of a diminished fourth in the tenor line (F to C \sharp , bb. 8-10), an augmented fourth in the bass line (E \flat -A, bb. 9-10), and the heavy use of cross-relations that results in the presence of all twelve pitch classes in the space of four measures.

language verse by the poet and playwright Andrea Calmo (1510-71). Perhaps because of the collection's unifying theme, its Milanese printer Cesare Pozzo seems to have thought it unnecessary to include any kind of generic appellation on its title page. This creates something of a problem, as it is clear that Agostini's compositions can be considered neither giustiniane nor greghesche, as they employ an unmarked or 'standard' variety of Venetian that is free of any accent or stutter.

Musically, Agostini's *Bizzarre rime* are most similar to his other four-voice works, including the works in his *Libro secondo de madrigali à quattro voci* (1572)—no record of a first book survives—and his one contribution to Barré's *Terzo libro delle muse a quattro voci* (1562). While the *Rime* maintain these other works' connection to the predominantly homophonic *arioso* tradition, they depart quite radically in Agostini's heavy use of chromaticism.¹⁴ Writing to Calmo in the dedication, Agostini compares his use of sharps and flats to piquant sauces, added with the intention of producing a 'halfway flavourful meal'.¹⁵ Example 16.2 shows one of the more striking passages in the collection, in which Agostini manages to fit all twelve pitch classes into the space of four measures.

In its use of homorhythmic textures, breaks between phrases, and frequent chromatic alteration Agostini's musical language in the *Rime* bears more than a passing resemblance to that employed by Molino in his first book of

14 On the *madrigale arioso* see James Haar, 'The "Madrigale Arioso": A Mid-Century Development in the Italian Madrigal', in *Studi Musicali* 12 (1983), 203-19 and Howard Mayer Brown, 'Verso una definizione dell'armonia nel sedicesimo secolo: Sui "madrigali ariosi" di Antonio Barré', in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 25 (1990), 18-60.

15 The original text of the dedication and a complete translation can be found in Donnelly, 'Cantar à la venessiana', vol. 1, 173-74.

madrigals. Indeed, just like the much older Molino, it seems possible that Agostini used his first published collection to intentionally elide the boundary between Venetian-language song and the madrigal. As there is nothing to indicate that Agostini published any four-voice collections other than the *Rime* prior to his second book of four-voice madrigals in 1572, it seems quite possible that, rather than having been lost, Agostini's first book has been hiding in the *Rime* all along.

Stylistic Varieties of Venetian-Language Song

As the above descriptions show, the text-oriented generic categories used by Italian Renaissance music printers do not typically result in the formation of musically or stylistically coherent sub-groups within the larger Venetian-language corpus. The descriptive weakness of the system is most obvious in the case of the *greghesche*, due to that genre's stylistic diversity. The problem is perhaps less obvious in the case of the *giustiniane* or 'bizzarre rime', since their overall stylistic homogeneity masks the fact that they are grouped together for reasons entirely orthogonal to their musical features.

Just as the linguistically-derived category of 'pieces that imitate Greeks speaking Venetian' is clearly overbroad, the linguistically-derived categories of 'uses nasal stuttering' and 'uses or imitates poetry by Calmo' may also be overly narrow, excluding pieces that match up with them very well on stylistic grounds but do not meet their specific textual criteria. A critical re-evaluation of the Venetian-language corpus as a whole not only shows this to be the case, but also allows for a musical redefinition of these categories that allows them to incorporate the minority of *greghesche* that resemble them. The *giustiniane* are thus complemented by the stylistically identical three-voice *greghesche*, and Agostini's arioso-like 'bizzarre rime' are able to accommodate Molino's *greghesche* in the same style. This new disposition of Venetian-language polyphonic works is reflected in Table 16.2.

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to more in-depth discussion of the Venetian-language corpus that is informed by these stylistic groupings, with particular attention to the ways in which this conceptual reorganisation of the Venetian-language corpus allows us to better understand the environment within which these works were written and performed.

TABLE 16.2 *All works belonging to the Venetian-language corpus, 1564-75, categorised by musical style*

Villotta-style works	Arioso-style works	Madrigal-style works
RISM 1570 ¹⁷ (Scotto, ed. V. Bellavere) Primo libro delle Iustiniane à 3 <i>All works</i>	RISM A 401 (Pozzo, 1567) Musica ... sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo (Agostini) <i>All works, except: Amorm'ha bastonat</i> (p. 16) (Bergamasco)	RISM 1564 ¹⁶ (Gardano) Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche <i>All works</i>
RISM 1575 ¹⁴ (Scotto, ed. G. Policreti) Secondo libro delle Iustiniane à 3 <i>All works</i>	RISM M 2947 (Merulo, 1568) I dilettevoli madrigali a 4 voci ... libro primo (Molino) <i>Donna zendila</i> (p. 3) <i>Perche de la vertu</i> (p. 12) 2.a parte <i>Varda chel gran philosopho</i> (p. 13) <i>Al vostro nascimendo</i> (p. 19)	RISM 1566 ³ Il desiderio. Secondo libro ... à 4 di Bonagiunta <i>La mia Chirazza tando mi contenda</i> (p. 22) (Ivo de Vento)
RISM G 64 (Gardano, 1571) Greghesche et Iustiniane à 3 di A. Gabrieli <i>All works</i>	RISM 1566 ⁷ (Scotto) Canzone napolitane à 3 di Bonagiunta, Lib. II <i>Nu semo tre vecchieti</i> (p. 28) (Bellavere) 2.a parte <i>Cantemo Zazerin</i> (p. 30)	RISM 1574 ⁹ (Gardano) Il primo libro di madrigali à 4 (Spalenza) <i>Como viver mil posso</i> (p. 22) (Maffon)
RISM 1565 ¹² (Scotto) Canzone napoletane à 3 di Bonagiunta, Lib. I <i>Daspuò ch'el mio dolor</i> (p. 30) <i>E vorave saver colonna mia</i> (p. 31)		
RISM 1570 ²¹ (Gardano) Villotte alla napoletana à 3, Lib. VI <i>Dionorea vien te priego</i> (p. 45) (Gabrieli)		

Structural Differences between Venetian and Neapolitan Villotte

When viewed as a unified group, the *greghesche* and *giustiniane* differ from their Neapolitan counterparts in a number of important ways. Perhaps the greatest difference between the two styles can be found in their structure: Neapolitan villotte are overwhelmingly more repetitive than their Venetian equivalents. To take a concrete example, every piece in the six anthologies of *villotte alla napoletana* issued by Gardano in the years up to 1571 contains significant internal repeats.¹⁶ The most common arrangement for the stanza is that of a series of rhyming couplets with a *ripresa* inserted after the couplet's second line. The first line is usually repeated once, and the second line repeated with the *ripresa*, resulting in a form resembling |: a :||: b C C :||: d :||: e C C :|. C normally returns with the same text each time, though it often differs for the last verse. This internal repetition was one of the defining features of the 'light' Neapolitan style, and had its origins in the repetitive rhyme-scheme of the once-popular *strambotto*.¹⁷

In all six of Gardano's prints the C section is normally set off from the first two sections with a dividing line in order to make this distinction clear. The full text of the *ripresa* is also not usually given for subsequent stanzas. Figure 16.1 gives a sample napoletana that employs this structure in order to demonstrate its particular *mise-en-page*.

While the fifteenth-century *giustiniana* also had important ties to the *strambotto*, it appears that the Venetian tradition did not embrace phrase repetition in the same manner. Three-voice *greghesche* and *giustiniane* tend to consist of through-composed stanzas, even in cases where the poetic structure still follows the old *strambotto* schema of ab ab ab cc.

Venetian-style villotte are also much more varied texturally than their Neapolitan equivalents. Most of the pieces in Gardano's 1570 *Primo libro delle Iustiniane* begin with imitation, and frequently employ short imitative or canonic sections. Even in cases where the upper two voices progress for long stretches in parallel thirds, the bass is normally given a distinct melodic and rhythmic profile that helps to avoid the characteristic parallel fifths caused by the homophonic, triadic style of the napoletane. While the partial survival of the three-voice *greghesche* makes it difficult to discuss their texture in any great detail, a number of the pieces do begin with rests in the tenor part that suggest the use of imitation, and also contain a few instances of longer breaks

16 These are, in order from *primo* to *sesto*, RISM 1571¹⁵, 1571¹⁶, 1567¹⁷, 1571¹⁷, and 1570²¹.

17 Ruth DeFord, 'Musical Relationships Between the Italian Madrigal and Light Genres in the Sixteenth Century', in *Musica Disciplina* 34 (1985), 107–68 at 110.

TENORE 41

T

V m'arobissi Tu m'arobissi al primo guarda il core
 Et mi tirassi come callamira Pieta Pieta Pieta se la pica
 la non e sbandila Pieta Pieta pieta se la pica non e sbandila.

SOPRANO 42

S

Et m'acendessli al pietto tanto ardore,
 Ch'è di nero penfier l'empia fenita, Pieta pieta.
 Tal che la notte il giorno a tutte l'hore
 Sto contemplando tua belta infinita, Pieta pieta
 Al fin il mio penar me ha dato in forte
 Madonna mia andar gridando forte,
 Dami la uita o mi finisca morte.

FIGURE 16.1 Anonymous, *villotta alla napoletana*, Tu m'arobissi, showing internal repeat structure. Note the repeat signs at the end of the first and third systems and the vertical dividing line in the middle of the second system that signals the beginning of the ripresa. Image scanned from Gardano's *Primo libro delle villotte alla napoletana* (Venice, 1571). LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY 53.A.24 (1), 41.
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between phrases that probably indicate either imitative entries or other kinds of textural variation.

Venetian Song on the Stage

The greghesche and giustiniane also differ from the Neapolitan repertoire in their strong connection the theatre and even to specific theatrical personas. Marco Materassi was the first scholar to connect the sixteenth-century giustiniane to stage performances by Andrea Calmo, in which the actor used the culturally elevated giustiniana tradition as fodder for burlesque gags and parody.¹⁸ In the time since then, Paolo Fabbri, Giorgio Brunello, and most recently Shawn Keener have fleshed out this connection with reflections on oral tradition, the use of dialect, the evolving relationship between the giustiniana and the other types of Venetian-language song, and above all the ways in which the genre reflects social negotiations surrounding the very nature of Venetian society and 'venezianità'.¹⁹

It is certainly difficult to find a more revered theatrical distillation of 'venezianità' than Calmo's *magnifico*, a wealthy and lecherous old Venetian, usually called Pantalone in later productions, whose gags and plots often revolve around his age-inappropriate desire for beautiful young girls.²⁰ No less an authority than Castiglione explains to us the mechanism by which Calmo's comic appropriation of the giustiniana gains its power to amuse, writing that 'it is indeed unbecoming and most unsightly for a man of any station, who is old, grey, toothless, and wrinkled, to be seen lute in hand, playing and singing in a company of ladies, even though he may do this tolerably well'.²¹ 'In old

18 Marco Materassi, 'La giustiniana nel XVI secolo: Testi poetici e musiche della "canzon veneziana" rinascimentale', in *La Cartellina* 14 (1980), 4-9, and *Il primo libro delle giustiniane a tre voci*, ed. Marco Materassi (Milan, 1985), vii and xiv-xvi.

19 Paolo Fabbri, 'Andrea Gabrieli e le composizioni su diversi linguaggi: La giustiniana', in *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo. Atti del convegno internazionale (Venezia 16-18 settembre 1985)*, ed. Francesco Degradà (Florence, 1987), 249-72; Giorgio Brunello, 'Considerazioni sulla giustiniana del Cinquecento e il contributo di Andrea Gabrieli', in *La musica nel Veneto dal XVI al XVIII secolo*, ed. Francesco Passadore (Adria, 1984), 47-87; Keener, 'The Giustiniana Phenomenon' and eadem, 'Love alla veneziana'.

20 Paul C. Castagno, 'Mente teatrale: Andrea Calmo and the Victory of the Performance Text in Cinquecento *commedia*', in *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism* 8 (1994), 37-57 at 45-46.

21 '[C]hé in vero non si conviene e dispare assai vedere un omo di qualche grado, vecchio canuto e senza denti, pien di rughe, con una viola in braccio sonando, cantare in mezzo

men love is a ridiculous thing' (ne' vecchi l'amor è cosa ridicola), he continues, and as Jane Hatter has shown in her own work on music, time, and aging, the proper thing for an old man like the *magnifico* to do is to shut his mouth.²² And so, of course, he sings.

To treat this part of the giustiniana's history on its own, however, is to run the risk of missing the other half of its story. Calmo was, without a doubt, a very important figure on the mid-century Venetian stage, and he played a critical role in the giustiniana's transformation. But just as the giustiniana and the three-voice greghesca are intimately connected in style and publication history, so too is Calmo's career bound up with Molino's.²³ The two almost certainly collaborated in a live performance of Calmo's 1549 *La Spagnolas*, with Molino playing his own trademark Greek captain (the *stradioto*) alongside Calmo as his classic *magnifico*.²⁴ It is reasonable to assume on this basis that Molino was drawing upon the very same tradition, his appropriation of the giustiniana rendered comic not through age, but by virtue of his character's foreign birth—ironically the very same quality which precluded their publication as anything but greghesche.

From a musical standpoint, however Gabrieli's three-voice greghesche are clearly giustiniane at heart. At the very same places where Calmo's *magnifico* might sputter away on his nasal syllable, the three-voice greghesche sport long, scalar melismas of the type seen in Figure 16.2.

Long melismas of this kind—with or without the giustiniana's stammering underlay—are not especially common in the three-voice repertoire of the period. We can therefore attribute their presence in nearly every phrase of the giustiniane and three-voice greghesche to one of two factors: either they serve some unknown theatrical purpose and derive from the performance of these works on the stage, or they form a unique stylistic trait of the Venetian-style

d'una compagnia di donne, avvenga ancor che mediocrement lo facesse...'. Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier: the Singleton Translation*, ed. Daniel Javitch (New York, 2002), 77.

22 Jane Hatter, 'Col tempo: Musical Time, Aging, and Sexuality in 16th-Century Venetian Paintings', in *Early Music* 39 (2011), 1-12 at 7.

23 On Calmo's and Molino's relationship, see Maria Luisa Uberti, "'Un conzontao in openion' di Andrea Calmo: Antonio Molin il Burchiella', in *Quaderni veneti* 16 (1992), 59-98, and Piernario Vescovo, 'L'Accademia e "la fantasia dei brighenti." Ipotesi sul teatro dei "Liquidi" (Andrea Calmo, Antonio Molin, Gigio Artemio Giancarli)', in *Biblioteca teatrale* 5 (1987), 53-86.

24 Anya Peterson Royce, 'The Venetian commedia: Actors and Masques in the Development of the *commedia dell'arte*', in *Theatre Survey* 27 (1987), 69-87 at 72-73.

The image shows a page from a musical manuscript, specifically a tenor part. It consists of two staves of music, numbered 22 and 23. The title 'TENORE' is written above the staves. The lyrics are written below the staves. The music is written in a style typical of the 16th century, with a single melodic line on a five-line staff. The lyrics are in Italian and include some musical notation (e.g., 'Zuec=', 'bel=', 'la', 'na', 'E plio uisija').

FIGURE 16.2 *Andrea Gabrieli, O mia morusa bella, tenor part, from Greghesche et Iustiniane ... à tre voci (Venice: Gardano, 1577). Note the long scalar melismas. LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY 53.A.24 (6), 22. © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD, 53.A.24*

EXAMPLE 16.3 *Petrucchi/Anon., Aime sospiri, bb, 1-9. From Frottole: libro sexto (Venice: Petrucci, 1505). Transcribed from Walter H. Rubsamen, 'The Justiniane', 180-82.*

Ai - - - me sos - - - pi - ri, - - -

- ai - me sos - pi - ri non tro - - -

vo pa - ce

villotta and therefore one of the characteristics to which Zarlino is referring in the quote that opens this chapter.

With Zarlino unavailable to answer, we must turn instead to what evidence survives from the unwritten tradition of 'serious' giustiniane that Calmo and Molino were presumably seeking to hijack for a laugh. Example 16.3 shows the opening of the fifteenth-century giustiniana *Ayme sospiri* as presented by Rubsamen in his article on the genre.²⁵

As we can see from the example, most salient characteristics of the giustiniane preserved by Petrucci is the florid upper voice. In comparing the Petrucci version of *Ayme sospiri* to the much simpler polyphonic framework appearing in the *Cancionero de El Escorial* (Example 16.4) Rubsamen persuasively argues

25 Walter H. Rubsamen, 'The Justiniane or Viniziane of the 15th Century', in *Acta Musicologica* 29 (1957), 172-84 at 180-82. I have not transcribed all Rubsamen's ficta in the examples.

EXAMPLE 16.4 *Anon., Ay me sospiri, bb. 1-9. Cancionero de El Escorial (Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS IV.a.24), fol. 85^v. Transcribed in Walter H. Rubsamen, 'The Justiniane', 180-82.*

The musical score is written for three voices: Soprano, Alto, and Bass. It is in 3/2 time and B-flat major. The lyrics are in Italian. The first system shows the beginning of the piece, and the second system shows a continuation with a key signature change to C major.

First system lyrics: Ay - me so - spi - ri ay - me so - spi - ri

Second system lyrics: ay - me so - spi - ri non tro - vo pa - ce

that the Petrucci version demonstrates a kind of pre-fabricated realisation of fifteenth-century improviser-performers' vocal embellishments.²⁶

It seems very likely that the extended melismatic passages of the sixteenth-century *greghesche* and *giustiniane* were meant by Molino and Calmo to evoke a still-active component of the continuing tradition of Venetian-language song. While the sixteenth-century examples differ from those given by Petrucci in the spread of the melisma to the lower two voices, this can be attributed to shifting textural norms in the intervening decades that emphasised more equality of voices in printed three-voice polyphony, even in cases where the works in question likely originated in self-accompanied song.

Although it was the theatrical innovation of the nasal stutter that eventually came to characterise the *giustiniana* in the minds of sixteenth-century printers, it seems clear the primary marker of musical 'venezianità' in these works was not the stutter, but in fact the melisma on which it was built. Perhaps counterintuitively, this is precisely why the melismas could be left intact in the *greghesche*: in a piece like Gabrieli's *Tria gerundas*, the three old Greeks' accent is more than sufficient to subvert the genre's highbrow associations, while in Bellavere's *giustiniana Nu semo tre vechiet'i* the advanced age of the three *magnifici*—upon which, *per* Castiglione, the comedy relies—is communicated

26 Rubsamen, 'The Justiniane', 176-79.

through the stutter. The performance of the melisma with or without the stutter, therefore, depends entirely on who is doing the singing.

The use of the nasal stutter as a theatrical indicator of age raises an interesting question in the case of Gabrieli's *Dionorea vien te priego*, which was published both with the stutter (as a giustiniana) and without (as a zorziana). The narrator of 'Dionorea' refers to himself boastfully as a dashing, well dressed youth with positively cherubic features, a seemingly inappropriate figure for such treatment.²⁷ Shawn Keener has shown, however, that in this case we are actually faced with an old man *playing* at youth, his 'fashionable' clothes decades out of date.²⁸ The appellation zorziana, she argues, is an ironic one that plays on several meanings of the Venetian phrase 'fare el zorzi' (playing the Giorgio), which can refer not only not only to love-stuck boasting, but also to trickery and deceit.²⁹

In this light, the zorziana's conspicuous lack of nasal stutter is curious. After all, it seems like it ought to have been an integral part of the gag: the *magnifico's* dogged insistence on his own youth and vigour consistently undermined by the weakness of his aged voice. While it is unlikely that Gardano simply missed the joke, it is possible that conventions around the printing of the genre had not yet solidified. Only two giustiniane had gone to press prior to 1570, printed by Scotto in Bonagiunta's second book of *canzone napoletane*. Gardano's choice not to use the stutter and even his choice of zorziana as a label may well have been informed by a desire not to emulate Scotto's edition.

After Scotto's publication of the *Primo libro delle Iustiniane*, however, it is likely that the convention of including the stutter had become too established to ignore, and Gardano was sure to include the stutter in his publication of Gabrieli's *Greghesche et Iustiniane* in following year. It may even have been the success or influence of the 1570 collection that inspired its publication. As Gabrieli writes in the introduction to that volume:

As M. Antonio Molino, called 'Burchiella', has always been a gentleman and a father to me due to his singular virtue, and as I had already composed, several years ago, some music for a few of his Greek Madrigals ['madrigali grechi'], which were published by Gardano under the name Manoli Blessi, it occurred to the above-mentioned M. Antonio recently to present me with some books of *terzi* which I had composed, some of

27 On this see also Nino Pirrotta and Elena Povoledo, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi* (Cambridge, MA, 1982), 103, n. 56

28 Keener, 'The Giustiniana Phenomenon', 91-95.

29 Ibid., 92.

[whose texts] had been written by him in that pleasing Greek manner. And he thus asked me to have them printed....³⁰

After holding onto these old pieces for so many years, Molino's sudden insistence that they be published only a year after the 1570 giustiniane is telling. While it is possible that Molino may simply have found the success of the volume encouraging, it is also possible that the inclusion of Gabrieli's *Dionorea* in the Scotto collection may have raised other concerns. Vincenzo Bellavere, the editor of the 1570 giustiniana collection, had been one of the contributors to the 1564 *Primo libro delle greghesche*. Molino may have feared that Bellavere had saved and intended to publish other works dating from the period of their collaboration on these 'madrigali grechi', and urged Gabrieli to beat him to the punch. In any case, it is to these 'Greek' madrigals, and to their relationship with the three-voice style, that we must now turn.

The Madrigalian Style

As we have seen, Gabrieli uses the term 'madrigali grechi' to distinguish his previous collaborations with Molino from the three-voice compositions, which he calls instead 'terzi'. Indeed, the four- and five-voice works of the 1564 *Primo libro delle greghesche* are consistently more evocative of the high madrigalian style than their three-voice cousins. First and foremost they tend to be much longer, due in no small part to their frequent use of longer poetic forms like *madrigali*, *ottave*, and sonnets. They also employ regular alternation between homophonic and more imitative passages that is typical of madrigals of the period, but less characteristic of the three-voice *greghesche* and *giustiniane*. Unlike the frequently strophic three-voice works, they are also entirely through-composed, employing phrase repetition only for the last line of text and music in typical madrigalian fashion.

The madrigalistic *greghesche* do, however, share an important feature with the three-voice repertoire, and that is the use of the extended melisma. They employ this figure especially frequently in their opening phrases, but many pieces also introduce them later on in the work. Of the thirty compositions in the 1564 *Primo libro delle greghesche*, ten open with a melismatic gesture (when

30 The full text and translation of the dedication can be found in Donnelly, 'Cantar à la venessiana', vol. 1, 191.

EXAMPLE 16.5 *Costanzo Porta, O chyrazza glicchi, bb. 1-6. From Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche (Venice: Gardano, 1564). Note the extended melisma on the first syllable, as seen also in Figure 16.2.*

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a polyphonic setting. Each system consists of four staves. The top staff of each system is a vocal line, and the bottom staff is an instrumental line. The lyrics are written below the staves. In the first system, the vocal line has a long melisma on the syllable 'O' (O) and a corresponding instrumental line. The lyrics are: 'O chyr - raz - za glic - chi'. In the second system, the vocal line has a long melisma on the syllable 'O' (O) and a corresponding instrumental line. The lyrics are: 'O chyr - raz - za glic - chi'.

defined as six or more notes on a syllable).³¹ In these cases, the melisma is frequently presented in paired duos or with some other kind of imitative technique. Example 16.5 shows a typical opening for the volume, in this case Costanzo Porta's *O chyrazza glicchi*, which begins with a long melisma on the first syllable (a trait it shares with Gabrieli's *O mia canzun*, seen below in Figure 16.3).

A further nine greghesche make use of such a melisma somewhere other than the first phrase. Eleven pieces make no use of the extended melisma at all, but they are often outliers in other ways as well: Merulo's *Donna se l'occhio mio* and Gabrieli's *Como viver mil posso* are unusually short, as is Padovano's *Benedetta la gregaria*, which in addition to being only five lines is set in triple metre throughout.

Another exception to the use of the extended melisma is Alvise Willaert's musical lament for his uncle, who died after contributing only one compo-

31 For the purposes of this discussion, pieces with more than one *parte* are counted as a single piece.

Figure 16.3 shows two pages of a musical score for Tenor, labeled 8 and 9. The score is for 'O mia canzun' by Andrea Gabrieli. The lyrics are in Venetian. The notation includes a large 'O' at the start of staff 9, and various musical symbols like clefs, notes, and rests.

Page 8:

TENORE

8

e brada da marcia
ni mariani
gandone! carizze u robordia
Fa in noſtre burſe puo e pu
caccia me caccia i) me caccia in

Page 9:

TENORE

9

O mia canzun O
ma de chy ſane
O mia canzun O
mia canzun in ma de chy ſane

FIGURE 16.3 *Andrea Gabrieli, O mia canzun, tenor part, from Gregheſche et Iuſtiniane ... à tre voci (Venice: Gardano, 1571). Note the four uses of the 'Venetian trill' in the ſpace of a page. LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY 53.A.24 (6), 9. © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD, 53.A.24*

sition to the anthology. Andrea Gabrieli's lament for Willaert, by contrast, employs the melismatic style quite extensively, so its absence in Alvisi's piece could conceivably be the result of a relative unfamiliarity with the style and its usual features. Alvisi may, however, have found the melismatic gestures inappropriate to the more sustained funereal affect of his lament: even Gabrieli's lament for Willaert avoids the use of extended melismas when the name of the deceased is first introduced, even if they return later on in the work. Willaert's own contribution to the volume makes frequent use of extended melismas, though it does not open with one. The homophonic invocation he does use is not typical of the *greghesca* style, but is used for narrative reasons to represent the ghostly call of a dead dog to its master.³²

The 'Venetian Trill'

An important subset of the extended melismas found in Venetian-language repertoire is what I will call the 'Venetian trill', a rocking gesture that alternates between two neighbouring pitches and frequently coincides with a cadence or the end of a phrase (Example 16.6). It is distinct from the so-called 'fake suspension' which produces a similar trill-like gesture, in that the upper neighbour does not produce a dissonance with the bass due to the motion of all voices.³³ This gesture appears in both the *giustiniana* above and in a number of Gabrieli's three-voice *greghesche* during their typical melismatic passages. The trills used in the *greghesche*, in fact, tend to be significantly longer and more exaggerated.

The *greghesca* *O mia canzun* from Gabrieli's 1571 *Greghesche et Iustiniane* employs several such exaggerated 'trill' gestures, as seen in Figure 16.3. The 'Venetian trill' can also be found in several works in the 1564 *Primo libro delle*

32 On Willaert's contribution to the volume and the two laments for the composer, see Katelijne Schiltz, 'Giunto Adrian fra l'anime beate: Une quintuple déploration sur la mort d'Adrien Willaert', in *Musurgia: Analyse et pratique musicales* 10 (2003), 7-33; eadem, "'Mi ho scritto e scrivo greghe rime galande.'" Sprachwitz und Musik in der venezianischen *Greghesca*', in *Wiener Quellen der älteren Musikgeschichte zum Sprechen gebracht. Eine Ringvorlesung*, ed. Birgit Lodes (Tutzing, 2007), 361-80; and eadem, 'Tod in Venedig: Adrian Willaert als Rezipient burlesker Lamenti', in *Tod in Musik und Kultur. Zum 500. Todestag Philipps des Schönen*, ed. Stefan Gasch and Birgit Lodes (Tutzing, 2007), 359-76. My own recent work on this topic can be found in Donnelly, 'Cantar à la venessiana', vol. 1, 132-38 and 150-56.

33 On the fake suspension see Peter Schubert, *Modal Counterpoint, Renaissance Style* (New York, 2008), 78.

EXAMPLE 16.6 *Andrea Gabrieli, Ancor che col partire, bb. 14-16. From Il Primo libro delle Iustiniane, ed. Marco Materassi, 24. Note the 'Venetian trill' used at a cadence in b. 15. NB: Materassi's note values are half the original.*

14

gno - ra, o - gno - ro'o - gni mo-me - nene - nenen - to;
 gno - ra, o - gno - ro'o - gni mo-me - nene - nenen - to;
 gno - ra, o - gno - ro'o - gni mo-me - nene - nenen - to;

EXAMPLE 16.7 *Francesco Bonardo, Amur se mi til dao, bb. 36-39. From Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche (Venice: Gardano, 1564). Note the 'Venetian trill' embedded within a larger melisma in b. 36 of the canto, with additional melismas in the lower parts.*

36

chie nol pos - - - so pan - dir
 [pos] - - - so pan - dir plio pen'
 [pos] - so pan - dir plio pen'
 [pos] - - - so pan - - - dir

greghesche. Although it is less common there than it is in the three-voice repertoire, it is nonetheless frequently enough to indicate that composers participating in the volume viewed it as part of the musical language of the genre. Indeed, based on its appearances in that collection it seems to have been especially associated with the vocabulary of physical desire, frustration, and longing.

Francesco Bonardo employs it in just this manner in his four-voice *greghesca* *Amur se mi til dao*, where it sets the text 'nol posso [pandir plio pen e danni]' (I cannot [bear more pain and suffering]). This usage can be in Example 16.7, where it is embedded within a much longer melisma in the top voice.

EXAMPLE 16.8 *Pietro Taglia, Donna curtese e bella, bb. 51-53. From Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche (Venice: Gardano, 1564). Note the participation of the 'trill' in a repeated cadential figure.*

51

don-na mi - a de vu don-na mi-
[re]trat - to de vu don-na mi - a, de vu don-
[re]trat - to de vu don-na mi-
[re]trat - to de vu don - na mi - a, de vu don - na
de vu don-na mi - a

EXAMPLE 16.9 *Giaches de Wert, Chel bello Epithimia, bb. 65-67. From Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche (Venice: Gardano, 1564)*

65

mi - a.
mi - a.
[mi] a.
[mi] a.

A similar usage can be seen in Pietro Taglia's five-voice *Donna curtese e bella*, where it sets the text '[xe la retratto] de vu donna mia' ([it's the image] of you my lady) and serves in a repeated cadential figure (Example 16.8).

One further use of the cadential version of the figure can be seen in Giaches de Wert's four-voice greghesca *Chel bello Epithimia* (Example 16.9). Wert's piece is particularly notable for its frequent use of the figure on passages related to narrator's perception of the beloved, giving the impression of a kind of contrapuntal leitmotif depicting his emotional state.

As these numerous examples show, the frequent use of both the 'Venetian trill' and the extended melisma in general provide strong musical links between the three-voice greghesca and giustiniana repertoire and the much more

20

The musical score consists of four staves. The first staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: -vi e pa - li - ca - ri. The second staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: -vi e pa - li - ca - ri. The third staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: -vi e pa - li - ca - ri. The fourth staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: -vi e pa - li - ca - ri.

EXAMPLE 16.10

Antonio Molino, *Perche de la vertù nol manchi gnende*, bb. 20-23. From *I dilettevoli madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice: Correggio [Merulo], 1568). Alto reconstruction mine.

madrigalian greghesche for four and five voices. As emblems of musical ‘venezianità’ drawn from a much older Venetian performing tradition, they also help to reinforce the status of the greghesche as essentially Venetian works: though the accent may be foreign, they could be sung nowhere else.

The Arioso Style

The last group of Venetian-language works is stylistically quite distinct from the three-voice theatrical repertoire and the more sophisticated greghesche of the 1564 anthology, but nonetheless shares a number of other important commonalities through the figures of Calmo and Molino. Musical connections are not entirely absent, however: Molino himself seems to have at least referenced the extended melisma in one of his three greghesche, as this kind of gesture is otherwise not particularly prevalent in his compositional style (Example 16.10). It perhaps gains additional significance from the fact that the piece in question, *Perche de la vertù nol manchi gnende*, is agreed by most sources to reflect an autobiographical account of Molino’s own turn to music in old age.³⁴

In the case of Agostini’s *Bizzarre rime*, however, the most important connection to the rest of the Venetian-language corpus comes predominantly through the figure of Calmo, whose 1553 collection of *Bizzarre, faconde, et ingegnose rime pescatorie* provided not only the name of Agostini’s collection, but also nearly half the texts he set. The rest were, if not written by Calmo himself, at least meant to emulate his style: they contain clear and direct thematic refer-

34 On this see Paolo Fabbri, ‘Fatti e prodezze di Manoli Blessi’, in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 11 (1976), 182-96 at 187, and Linda Carroll’s and Anthony Cumming’s introduction to *Delightful Madrigals*, 4-5 and 42.

ences to Calmo's work, and even contain whole metrical and syntactic units lifted directly out of the source material.³⁵ They are, in this sense, a kind of Calmian pastiche. The very first text set in Agostini's collection serves as good example of this process, as it is quite clearly a reduction of the first sonnet of the 1553 *Rime* into the form of a madrigal:³⁶

Andrea Calmo: 'Non ve maravegiè' (1553)

Non ve <i>maravegiè</i> , cari signori ,	Don't be surprised, dear sirs,
si son intrà a far sta bizzaria	If I've begun to make this bizarritty
che—per no dirve ponto de busia—	which—indeed to tell you no lie—
vedo che 'l mondo vuol de sti saori .	I see that the world desires these flavours.
So che dirà çerti compositori	I know that certain writers will say
che son vergogna a Donna Poesia;	That I'm an embarrassment to Lady Poetry;
ma se i sapesse la mia fantasia	But if they knew my fancy
i sarave i mie primi deffensori.	They would be my first defenders.
Me par ch'ognun pol far del so	It seems to me that everyone can do with
çervelo	his mind
zo ghe piase, al sagamento mio!	Whatever he likes, for goodness sake!
E chi nol crede si vaga al bordello.	And whoever doesn't think so can shove it.
L'è pezo haver el lavezzo scachio	It's worse to have an empty pot
e le calze fru[àe] co[m'] el mantel,	And worn-out shoes and coat
ch'a far el grandò dottorà a Lio.	Than to be a great scholar on the shore.

Pseudo-Calmo / Agostini: 'Sapiè cari Signori' (1567)

<i>Sapiè</i> , cari Signori ,	Know, dear Sirs,
Che queste bizzarie	That these bizarrities
E xè de varij autori,	Are by various authors,
Che per contento sol de li so cori	Who just for their hearts' satisfaction
S'ha tolto spasso con ste fantasie	Have taken up diversion with these fantasies,
Cose digand'andar de più saori .	Which they say come in many flavours.

Andrea Bombi refers to this process as a kind of 'deformation and banalisation' of the source text, but in doing so misses an important aspect of Agostini's agenda in publishing the *Rime*.³⁷ Just what this agenda might be is strongly hinted at in the text reproduced above: the 'various authors' are amus-

35 Andrea Bombi, "Una satisfaction di mezo saor". La "musica sopra le rime bizzarre di messer Andrea Calmo", in *Quaderni veneti* 22 (1996), 31-70 at 37.

36 Bold type is used to highlight material common to both versions.

37 Bombi, 'Una satisfaction', 37 and 41.

EXAMPLE 16.11 *Lodovico Agostini, Varde qua drento, bb. 14-19. From Musica di Lodovico Agostini ... sopra le rime bizzarre (Milan: Pozzo, 1567). Note the final rest, unique among the pieces in this collection, inviting the production of a final sound effect.*

The musical score is written for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system (measures 14-16) shows the vocal lines with lyrics: '-rì tra - gan - do un pe - to. Che per in-sir di -'. The second system (measures 17-19) continues the vocal lines with lyrics: 'sten - to Mo - rì tra - gan - do un pe - to.' The final measure (19) ends with a whole rest, indicating a final sound effect.

ing themselves by inventing new poems based on Calmo's models and then performing them aloud in the arioso style, which in this case might be taken to suggest self-accompanied recitation. It is therefore more appropriate to view Agostini's *Rime* collection not as a strict musical adaptation of Calmo's 1553 collection, but as a looser reflection of the kinds of musical performance that Calmo's work would have inspired.

In fact, given its alternation between verbatim settings of its source material and depictions of improvised responses to that material, it could even be seen as a model programme for an evening of entertainment, wherein the performer-participants enjoy the freedom to interject their own creations as inspiration strikes. A good example of the process can be seen in the Calmo's epitaph 'Chi lexe qua considera ben tutto', which is followed immediately in Agostini's collection by the clearly derivative 'Varde qua drento'. As an improvised response to the former piece, 'Varde qua drento' is an excellent example of in-the-moment creativity, right down to improvisor's addition of the appropriate sound effect at the end (Example 16.11):

Calmo / Agostini: 'Chi lexe qua' (1553 and 1567)

Chi lexe quà considera ben tutto,	Whoever reads this consider well
A che muodo se muor miseramente	The manner of miserable death
Choè stao costu, che xè in st'arca	That befell the man who is here in this
presente	tomb:
Allegreto Galdin tragando un rutto.	Cheerful Galdin who let loose a belch.

Pseudo-Calmo / Agostini: 'Vardè quà drento' (1567)

Vardè quà drento,	Look in here,
Che 'l ghe xè ser Gregheto,	There is a Greek gentleman
Che per insir di stento	Who to escape from his suffering
Morì tragando un peto.	Died breaking wind.

Between Agostini's evocation of informal performances of Calmo's poetry and Molino's own contributions to the arioso-style Venetian-language works, it is perhaps best to view them as the more informal counterpart to the more obviously theatrical *greghesche* and *giustiniane*. These are the kinds of works one might have been most likely to see or hear at a social gathering, as poets and musicians came together to share their latest creations and perform a few favourites in between.

A Return to Zarlino's Comparison

The preceding exercise has been a fruitful one, I think, for showing the important and sometimes obscure connections among the principle groups of Venetian-language works. As we can see, nearly the entire corpus can be connected in one way or another to two major figures, Molino and Calmo, both of whom were in the final decades of their long and illustrious careers when all these works went to press in the 1560s and '70s. While the authorship of these two men was almost certainly not what Zarlino had in mind when he contrasted the Venetian and Neapolitan traditions, it seems likely that their musical influence was already felt at the time of his writing in 1558.

The Venetian-language repertoire of this period is also unique in its diversity: no other Italian 'dialect' and few other vernaculars supported such a broad variety of musical styles, from the three-voice theatrical music to the madrigalian *greghesche* of 1564 to the more intimate arioso-style works that are suggestive of salon performance. Even so, the clearest embodiment of musical

'venezianità' is to be found in the extended melisma, both due to its diffusion within the Venetian-language repertoire and because of its origin as a deliberate marker of an even older, elevated tradition. It is surely this, along with the structural differences in the three-voice repertoire, that Zarlino was thinking of in the quote that opens the chapter. That such a musically important city as Venice should have such a rich tradition to distinguish it is hardly surprising, but it is worthy of note. It is, furthermore, an excellent counterexample to the very point Zarlino was trying to make: for Venetian song, in particular, borrowing from other genres was the recipe for success.

Jewish Art Music in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Italy

Don Harrán

How can we sing the song of the Lord
in a foreign land?

PSALM 137:4



The title of this book is *A Companion to Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice*. But, as it turns out, other cities competed with Venice in encouraging Jewish composers to write art music, among them Mantua and possibly Trieste. Why Italy and not Germany or France? Though Jews of Ashkenazi origin flocked to Italy in the fifteenth century as did Jews from France mainly through Germany, the only Jewish composers known by name were Italians from the later sixteenth century.

Jewish vocal and instrumental art music was practised in the First and Second Temples. David was considered ‘the master of the science’ and the Levites, his trainees, its ‘experts’.¹ With the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, and the exile of the Jews, this ‘science’, along with philosophy, literature, etc., was lost. What remained was not art music, but in the European countries, in which the Jews amassed, the cantillation of Scriptures and the singing of prayers and *piyyutim* (post-biblical religious hymns) in the synagogue. This cantillation consisted in parsing and intoning texts with motives or melodies transmitted through oral tradition. According to a persistent medieval myth, music in the Ancient Temple, though gradually forgotten by the Jews in their wanderings, was preserved in other cultures.² Maimonides (d. 1204) wrote that ‘the many sciences that our nation had for [understanding] matters were lost in the course of time and as a result of our being dominated

- 1 Abraham Portaleone (d. 1612) wrote that the Levite musicians learned ‘the rules of the proper and pleasant practical song (*shir melakhuti*)’ from David and his students; *Sefer shiltei ha-gibborim* [Book of the Shields of Heroes] (Mantua: printed in the author’s house, 1612), fol. 4^v.
- 2 See Abraham Melamed, *Rakkaḥot ve-tabbaḥot: ha-mitos ‘al mekor ha-ḥokhmot* [The Myth of the Jewish Origins of Philosophy and Science: A History] (Haifa-Jerusalem, 2010).

by foolish nations'.³ Judah Moscato (d. 1590) was more specific: via the humanist conceit of *translatio studii* he noted that 'the roots and contents of all the sciences were taken from us first to the Chaldeans, then to Persia and Media, then to Greece, and then to Rome, and in the course of time and with the many [changing] aggregations [of knowledge] it was not mentioned that these sciences were taken from the Hebrews, but rather from the Greeks and Romans'.⁴ The sciences included music, about which Immanuel Haromi (d. 1328) wrote: 'What does the science of *niggun* (music) say to the Christians? "I was stolen, yes stolen from the land of the Hebrews"' (the portion 'I was stolen ... Hebrews' from Genesis 40:15).⁵

No Jewish composers are known from the Middle Ages, except for the thirteenth-century trouvère Mahieu Le Juif and the minnesinger Süsskind of Trimberg with few songs to their name—both, under pressure, converted to Christianity. Circumstances were favorable to the renewal of art music among the Jews particularly at the Gonzaga court in Mantua starting with Duke Guglielmo (ruled 1550-87) and continuing with his son Duke Vincenzo I (ruled 1587-1612) and three of his own sons Duke Francesco IV (ruled 1612), Duke Ferdinando (ruled 1612-26), and Duke Vincenzo II (ruled 1626-27). It was, in fact, in the later sixteenth century that Jews renewed the composition of art music for which their ancestors were famed in the Temple. Four Jews composed polyphonic works after ancient example: in order of appearance of their first published collection, these are Davide Sacerdote, Salamone Rossi, Davit Civita, and Allegro Porto. To these one should add an anonymous collection of twenty-one works for eight voices from around 1628-29. The difference between them is that Rossi wrote 313 works, 150 of them vocal, 129 instrumental, whereas the remaining composers including those in the anonymous collection wrote vocal works only, ninety-three in all.⁶

3 Maimonides, *Moreh ha-nevukhim* [Guide for the Perplexed], translated from Arabic into Hebrew by Samuel ibn Tibbon (d. 1132) (Sabbioneta, 1553), 1.71, fol. 53^r.

4 Moscato, *Sefer nefutzot Yehudah* [The Book of the Dispersed of Judah] (Venice: Zuan Degara, 1589), fol. 30^v, in a recent edition and annotated translation as Judah Moscato, *Sermons: Volume One*, ed. Giuseppe Veltri and Gianfranco Miletto in conjunction with Giacomo Corazzol, Regina Grundmann, Don Harrán (Sermon 1), Yonatan Meroz, Brian Ogren, and Adam Shear (Leiden-Boston, 2011), 63-123 (English), 11-25 (Hebrew), at 254.

5 Immanuel Haromi, *Sefer mahbarot* [Book of Notebooks] (Brescia: Gershom ben Moses Soncino, 1492), ed. Dov Yarden, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1957), notebook 6, line 341, fol. 34^v.

6 They will be published under the title *Fragmenta judaeorum polyphonica: The Fragmentary Remains and Partial Reconstruction of Polyphonic Works in Collections of Italian Jewish Composers from the Later Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Don Harrán, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 6 vols. (forthcoming).

Davide Sacerdote

In 1575 Sacerdote (born perhaps around 1556, date of death unknown) published a collection of Italian madrigals for six voices, of which only the quinto remains. He dedicated it to the marquis Alfonso del Vasto, a minor figure at the Mantuan court. It is not clear how Sacerdote acquired his musical learning. Not only did he flaunt it by writing long, demanding works for a no less demanding ensemble of six voices, but he also strove to impress the dedicatee by referring, in the dedication, to cosmic numbers and to music as a comprehensive science. He writes:

Number and measure, the proper subjects of music, are in themselves so noble that many have thought they occurred in the mind of Divine Providence before any other things. ... The opinion of the Platonists is, above all, that one cannot deal with music without first having mastered all the other sciences embraced by it and included in it.⁷

Though the composer hoped the marquis would ask him for further compositions ('I will consider it my greatest recompense ... to offer you, in time, still riper fruits of my uncultivated talent'), his appeal fell on deaf ears. This is the last one hears of him beyond reports on his services as a loan banker.⁸

Regarding the Marquis del Vasto, Sacerdote and his father appear to have served the marquis's parents (Don Fernando and his wife) and their son on various occasions. In the dedication to the marquis, Sacerdote mentions the

7 '... perchè il numero, & la misura, propri soggetti della Musica, sono per sè tanto nobili, che da molti è stato giudicato, quelli esser caduti nella mente della divina provvidenza, prima di tutte l'altre cose ... essendo massime opinione de Platonici, che non si possa trattare della Musica se prima non si ottengono tutte le altre scienze, da quelle abbracciate, & in quella comprese'; Sacerdote, *Il primo libro di madrigali a sei voci* (Venice: appresso li figliuoli di Antonio Gardano, 1575), fol. [2]^v.

8 See Salvatore Foà, *Gli ebrei nel Monferrato nei secoli XVI e XVII* (Alessandria, 1914; repr. Bologna, 1966), 73-74 (for the years 1576-79), 76-77 (for the years 1585-86), and 48-49 (for 1587); and *The Jews in Piedmont*, ed. Renata Segre, 3 vols. (Jerusalem, 1988-90), vol. 2, 737-38 (document 1511), 914 (document 1876). In 1576 Sacerdote was granted a permit, together with his brother Leon, to run a loan bank in Casale; their names appear in a further notation from Casale for 1579. On 28 June 1587 the brothers had their permit renewed, but David, because of his involvement in other business affairs, asked to sublease his interest in the bank to Leone Verona and Elzaphan Sacerdote, his brother's partners. Sacerdote may have left Casale Monferrato as early as 1579, settling in the domains of Savoy, first in Acqui, then in Cortemiglia, where he ran a bank, together with his relative Ventura de' Gachi, in the years thereafter.

favors his father received in the past and continues to receive in the present from the parents and his own wish 'as a pledge and token of his desire and duty' to serve their son.⁹ Beyond the patron mentioned on the title page and in a work dedicated to him, Sacerdote underscores his connections with Mantua by dedicating six works variously to the Duke of Mantua, the 'Gonzaga dynasty', the Prior of Barletta (traditionally a Gonzaga), and three noblewomen: Isabella Madrucci from Mantua, Portia della Vale from Casale, and Zanna Vialarda from Casale (Casale was under the rule of the Gonzagas from 1536 to 1745).¹⁰

To what extent is Sacerdote Jewish in his music? Sacerdote did not write music for prayer services. Yet he acted as a Jew in preparing the collection: it probably constituted, for him, another dimension of his service to his Christian employers as a Jewish moneylender or intermediary in financial dealings. Though Sacerdote said nothing about being Jewish, he was doubtless regarded and treated as Jewish by non-Jews, hence the designation *hebreo* in the title to his collection (as customary in all Italian printed works by Jewish authors as a designation of their alterity), and also the reference to King David in the first two quatrains of a dedicatory sonnet to Sacerdote by Signor N. Nuvolone, a member of the Accademia degl'Invaghiti, at the opening of the collection, of which the first two quatrains read:

Just as, at the sound of a heavenly lyre,
That king, of whom you retain the lofty name,
Could rejoice, lifting his fine thought
To praise forever the ruler of the ether,
So your muse (whose effect is to soften,
Whatever wild, mountain spirit hears it),
While conferring on another a welcome and true honor,
Obtains for itself immortal glory.¹¹

9 'per pegno, & arra, del desiderio, & dell'obbligo ... & sì anco per la benignità & clemenza che ha usato l'Invittissimo S.[ignor] Marchese suo genitore verso il padre mio, & che giornalmente egli riceve dalla Illustrissima, & Eccellentissima Signora Marchesa sua Madre'; dedication to *Il primo libro di madrigali a sei voci*, sig. [R ii]^r.

10 The Marquis del Vasto, no. 2; Guglielmo Gonzaga, no. 9; the 'Gonzaga dynasty' (Casa Gonzaga), no. 10; Prior of Barletta, no. 12; Isabella Madrucci, no. 14; Portia della Vale, no. 15; Zanna Vialarda, no. 16.

11 Sonnet by S. Nuvolone, first two quatrains: 'Se come al suon d'una celeste Cethra, / Quel Re, di cui tu serve il nome altero, / Pote bearsi: ergendo il bel pensiero, / A lodar sempre il regnator de l'Ethra; / Così la Musa tua (per cui si spetra) / Qualunque l'ode alpestro animo, & fero / Mentre altrui porge honor gradito & vero, / A se medesima, immortal gloria impetra'; sig. [R i]^v.

Salamone Rossi

In 1589 Salamone Rossi, often considered the first Jewish composer in his time, though as we know from Sacerdote he obviously was not, dedicated a collection of three-voice *canzonette* to the Mantuan duke Vincenzo Gonzaga (see Figure 17.1), the first of thirteen collections he published. Encouraged by the duke, and as a member of the court where he served as violinist and composer, he went on, in his early years, to publish three books of five-voice madrigals (1600, 1602, and 1603). This was not, to be sure, music in a liturgical setting, but it demonstrated the ability of Jews to write counterpoint. In a foreword to the composer's later sacred works, Leon Modena (d. 1648) alludes to a period of transition from musical non-learning among the Jews to the renewal of their ancient skills after having been influenced by their 'neighbours'. Adverting to 'the science of music', Modena writes that 'their [i.e. the Jews] ears eventually picked up a trace of it from their neighbours as the remnant of the city [Jerusalem] in these generations at the end of time'.¹² By 'these generations' Modena appears to be referring to the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; and by 'the end of time', to a messianic era in which the Jews will renew their ancient skills of writing art music.

Modena had a keen interest in music, both as practised in the synagogue (he was cantor, from 1612 until his death in 1648, in the Scuola Italiana, or Italian synagogue, in Venice) and as composed.¹³ He played a major role in introducing art music into the synagogue after the precedent of music in the Temple. In 1605, while in Ferrara, he writes of having 'decided on a meeting place and engaged a teacher who came, every day', to impart the rudiments of music to certain members of the congregation who were 'without knowledge of it, ... which causes them great pleasure and delight'.¹⁴ They learned enough for Modena to encourage 'six or eight of them' to perform, in the prayer services

12 Modena, from his foreword to Rossi's *Ha-shirim asher li-Shelomo* [Songs of Solomon] (Venice: Pietro e Lorenzo Bragadini, 1623), fol. 3^r. See Rossi, *Complete Works*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 100, 13 vols., ed. Don Harrán (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1995; Madison, WI, 2004), vol. 13a, 176-86 at 177.

13 On Modena and music, see Don Harrán, "'Dum recorderemur Sion': Music in the Life and Thought of the Venetian Rabbi Leon Modena (1571-1648)", in *Association for Jewish Studies Review* 23 (1998), 17-61; idem, 'Jewish Musical Culture: Leon Modena', in *The Jews of Early Modern Venice*, ed. Robert C. David and Benjamin Ravid (Baltimore, MD, 2001), 211-30; idem, 'Was Rabbi Leon Modena a Composer?', in *'The Lion Shall Roar': Leon Modena and his World*, ed. David Malkiel (Jerusalem, 2003), 195-248.

14 Modena, letter to Judah Saltaro da Fano; see *Igrot Rabbi Yehudah Arie'el mi-Modena* [Letters of Rabbi Leon Modena], ed. Yacob Boksenboim (Tel Aviv, 1984), 110-11 at 110.



FIGURE 17.1
Frans Pourbus the Younger, *Duke Vincenzo I Gonzaga, at the age of about 38-40, with the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece*, c. 1600-1602. WITH PERMISSION FROM THE FEDERAZIONE D'ARCO IN MANTUA

for holidays and festivals, 'songs and praises, hymns, and the melodies *Ein ke-Eloheinu* (There is none like our God), *Aleinu le-shabbeah* (It is our duty to praise [the Lord of all things]), *Yigdal* (Magnified [and glorified be the living God]), *Adon 'olam* (Lord of the universe), and others in honour of the Lord, observing the order and relation of the various voices according to the aforementioned science'.¹⁵

Yet the Ferrarese rabbi Moses Coimbram opposed art music in the synagogue, rallying others against it. Modena described his animosity:

A man arose to expel them [the singers]. With the speech of his lips he reacted by saying it is not right to do this [after Exodus 8:2: *And Moses said: it is not right to do this*], for rejoicing is prohibited, and hymns are prohibited, and praises when presented according to the science of the said song [viz., art music] are prohibited ever since the Temple was

¹⁵ Modena, from a response to a question about the legitimacy of performing art music in the synagogue; see Modena, *She'elot u-teshuvot: Ziknei Yehudah* [Questions and Responses of the Elders of Judah], ed. Shlomo Simonsohn (after London, British Library, ms Add. 27148) (Jerusalem, 1955), 15-20 at 15. The question and response were also included, seventeen years later, in the prefatory matter to Rossi's 'Songs of Solomon' (*Complete Works*, 13a, 193-211).

destroyed, in compliance with [the words] *Rejoice not, Israel, for joy, as do other peoples* [Hosea 9:1]. Though most of them [the singers] were scholars of Torah, he made them an object of scorn in the eyes of the multitude who heard their voices.¹⁶

Coimbram 'spoke outdoors and on the streets', he castigated Modena and the singers for having 'sinned to our Lord God', he asked how 'scholars whose task it is to guide others in preserving tradition' could openly commit this offense, and he cited Psalms 137:4 (*How can we sing the song of the Lord in a foreign land?*) and passages 'in the writings of the learned [Hebrew] sages' to make his point that the introduction of art music into the prayer services was an intolerable 'transgression of customs and change of laws'.¹⁷

To disprove the arguments of the opponents, Modena wrote a detailed *responsum* in which he showed that no unimpeachable legal jurisdiction could be invoked, in the biblical and rabbinical tradition, for excluding art music from the synagogue. He then submitted the *responsum* to five leading Venetian rabbis for their ratification, which was unanimous.¹⁸ It is here that Salamone Rossi, whom we already know as a composer of secular works, enters the picture. During this period Rossi met Modena, maybe in Ferrara when Modena was there as a young rabbinic scholar (1604-7) or in Venice during one of Rossi's visits to supervise the printing of his collections (three of them are signed from Venice)¹⁹ and consult with Modena on the forthcoming publication of his Hebrew songs. His fame as a talented Jewish composer would have spread among the Jewish communities in upper Italy, especially Venice.²⁰

16 From the question put to Modena; *She'elot u-teshuvot*, 15.

17 From the aforementioned letter to Judah Saltaro da Fano, whose help Modena sought in defending the use of art music in the synagogue; *Igrot Rabbi Yehudah Arie'el mi-Modena*, 110.

18 One of the approbations was signed by Judah Saltaro da Fano and another by Ben-Zion Tzorfat, to whom Modena appealed for support in a separate letter; *Igrot Rabbi Yehudah Arie'el mi-Modena*, 111-12.

19 His first book *a 5* (1600), his fourth book of instrumental works (1622), and his book of *madrigaletti* (1628).

20 There were connections on Modena's wife side with the Copia family in Venice; around 1614 Sarra Copia married Jacob Sulam, whose brother Moses, in Mantua, was Rossi's patron. After 1618 Modena was a regular visitor to Copia's literary salon in the Venetian ghetto. On Modena's relations with Sarra Copia, see *Sarra Copia Sulam, Jewish Poet and Intellectual in Seventeenth-Century Venice* [her works in verse and prose along with writings of her contemporaries in her praise, condemnation, or defense], ed. and trans. Don Harrán (Chicago, IL, 2009), 511-14.

Modena gradually 'implanted' in Rossi's head the idea of writing and publishing a collection of sacred works for use in the synagogue.²¹ Rossi hesitated, anticipating resistance: an occasional performance of part songs in the synagogue or in a private setting was one thing, but a printed edition, exposing him to public opinion, and possible rabbinical condemnation (as happened, before, in Ferrara), was quite another. With no experience in writing music to Hebrew texts, it was, as he admitted, no easy task: he 'toiled' until he found the right way to order his works. 'Day by day', Modena says, Rossi 'would enter into his notebook one or another psalm of David; or a certain prayer text; or praises, hymns, and songs to God. Eventually he succeeded in gathering some of them into a collection',²² which he called the 'The Songs of Solomon'. Yet he dillydallied on their publication.

Though Rossi originally 'had agreed to give them to the press', his lingering fear of how they would be received appears to have made him have second thoughts. Modena and others stepped in to boost his confidence. 'From the time I numbered among his friends', Modena writes, 'I entreated him earnestly and pleaded with him until he reached that crucial stage I had hoped he would be with us here [*us* refers to the various admirers of Rossi in Venice]: he came [to Venice] and consented to discharge his vow to print as he had promised'. Modena offered his support as both a rabbinical authority and an expert Hebrew editor; indeed, at the composer's behest, he readied the works for publication and, lest any 'mishap' come to them, 'proofread' them and 'kept [his] eyes open for typographical errors and defects'.²³

In anticipation of protest, Modena assembled a battery of prefatory materials of a magnitude uncommon to printed collections of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music. It included a dedication by Rossi, a foreword by Modena, three poems in praise of the composer (at least one by Modena), Modena's early *responsum* on art music together with its approval in five rabbinical declarations (as originally issued in Ferrara), and, at the end, a statement of copyright. The collection was published in 1623, and since there are no denigrating remarks about it in the literature, its reception appears to have been positive.

Through the 'Songs' Modena envisioned a renaissance of art music among the Jews. He had spoken, in the foreword to the collection, of the 'science of music' cultivated 'in ancient Israel' when 'all lofty sciences flourished' and of the loss of these sciences because of 'the events of our foreign dwellings and of

21 In the first of three prefatory poems to the 'Songs of Solomon' there is mention of their having been 'sown' and 'planted'; fol. [2]^v.

22 Foreword to the 'Songs', fol. 3^r.

23 Ibid.

our restless running over the lands'. He pinned his hopes on Rossi, who as a new Solomon 'is alone exalted in this wisdom', to restore the ancient music to its erstwhile eminence.²⁴ In a dedicatory poem to the composer, Modena said of him that

After the glory / of the people / was dimmed
 Completely / for many days / and many years,
 He restored / its crown [viz., music] / to its original state
 As in the days / of Levi's sons / on the platforms.
 He set to / printed / *musikah* (art music)
 The words / of his (David's) psalms / and [set them] to cheerful tunes.²⁵

Modena thought that Rossi's works would inaugurate a trend. 'You will teach them to your children', he writes, 'for them to understand the science of music, the knowledgeable man imparting it to the student, as was said of the Levites'. He was certain that with the publication of the 'Songs' 'those who study music will increase in Israel, singing to the magnificence of our God by using the 'Songs' and others like them'.²⁶ His prediction of their immediate influence was overly optimistic: it is not until the emancipation of the Jews in mid-nineteenth-century Italy that the synagogue more regularly incorporated works of polyphony into its prayer services.

Davit Civita

Civita (date of birth unknown, died perhaps in 1630) was also associated with Mantua, where he seems to have been born or was at least resident. In necrological records for the city, he is said, in 1630, to have lost a daughter aged six and to be domiciled in the Contrada del Grifone, one of twenty districts in Mantua (it includes the ghetto, erected in 1612).²⁷ Civita's only collection, *Premittie armoniche a tre voci*, was published in 1616; of the three voices (canto, alto, basso plus basso continuo), the canto is no longer extant. Civita dedicated the collection to the Duke of Mantua Ferdinando Gonzaga, hoping that Ferdinando would find the collection attractive enough to commission other works. 'I truly entreat Your Highness', he wrote in the dedication, 'willingly to

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ 'Songs of Solomon', fol. 4^r (stanzas 6-8 out of twenty).

²⁶ Ibid., Modena's foreword, fol. 3^v.

²⁷ Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, *Registri necrologici*, n. 34, specifically for 30 April 1630.

receive these first flowers produced by the hope to be able to serve you at present'. Civita produced them not only as 'first flowers', but also as 'a young man', probably in his teens. To ingratiate himself into the duke's favor he pleads, with due modesty, his 'little understanding', saying 'my knowledge is inadequate'. Yet his limited experience could be remedied, Civita notes, if he were to be admitted into the duke's service, whereby he promises to 'render unto [him] those fruits that [his] intellect will produce with the cultivation of continuous labors'.²⁸ His aim to please the duke dictated his choice of poetry, drawn from the fashionable poets of his day: Giovanni Battista Guarini (three poems), Ottavio Rinuccini (two), Ansaldo Cebà (two), Giambattista Marino (two), and Torquato Tasso (two). No wonder that of the seventeen poems all but four appeared in additional settings by earlier and later composers, altogether 139 works. But Civita's efforts failed: beyond this first collection no more is known of Civita as a musician or for that matter in any other capacity.

Despite the missing canto, three works—nos. 4, 5, and 15—can be partially reconstructed. They have ABB for their musical form, employing *Stimmtausch* (voice exchange) in the B section. The BB sections are complete (see Example 17.1).

In their light style and charming content Civita's works may be considered *canzonette*. It is unfortunate that the dedicatee did not think highly enough of the collection to encourage Civita to improve on the 'first flowers' offered him and write a later one, as he said he would after his 'cultivation' of music through 'continuous labors'.

Allegro Porto

Porto (born in the early 1590s and active in the 1620s) was the composer of three collections. Yet he appears to have composed others: from the opus number of the first of them, opus 4, a total of six collections can be estimated. No more is known of these earlier collections than the description of the first extant collection, *Nuove musiche* (1619), as a 'libro secondo'. It was dedicated to Count Alfonso da Porcia, 'first chamberlain of the Most Serene Highness of Bavaria' (presumably Maximilian I, duke of Bavaria from 1597 to 1651). Porto

28 Order of quotations (separated by ellipsis points) has been altered here. 'Ben supplico l'A.[l'etza] V.[ostra] a ricevere in grado questi primi fiori generati da la speranza di poter attualmente servirla. ... & di poca inteligenza non posso appagare la mia volontà perché il sapere non vi giunge, ... Io Giovanetto ... le renderò poi quei frutti che produrrà il mio intelletto col nutrimento delle continue fatiche'; dedication to *Premittie armoniche a tre voci*, sig. [B 1]^v.

EXAMPLE 17.1 *Davit Civita*, Pargolett'è colei, in *Premittie armoniche a tre voci* (1616), no. 4, bb. 5-20. The A section ends in b. 8; the B section covers bb. 9-19, with the repeat of the B section, in which the canto becomes the alto and the alto the canto, starting in b. 20

Ma ne- l'a - ni-m'io sen - to E gran fo-co

Ma nel-l'a - ni-m'io sen - to E gran fo-co

Ma ne- l'a - ni-m'io sen - to E gran fo-co

3 4 [3]

10

e gran pia-ga e gran tor-men - to, e gran tor-men -

e gran pia-ga e gran tor-men - to, e gran tor-men -

e gran pia-ga e gran tor-men - to, e gran tor-men -

4 5 4 [3] 3 4 4 3

15

to, Ma nel-l'a - ni-m'io sen - to E gran fo-co

to, Ma nel-l'a - ni-m'io sen - to E gran fo-co

to, Ma nel-l'a - ni-m'io sen - to E gran fo-co

6 4 [3]

appears to have served Alfonso in the past, noting that the reason for dedicating the collection to him was the ‘many obligations, debts, and proper duties [he] dutifully owe[s him]’ for ‘the remarkable favors and kind affection’ the count showed him. The place of this service was not Munich, where Maximilian I resided, but ‘the miraculous, lovely, and beautiful city of Venice’, where the chamberlain may have had lodgings for a longer or shorter period in the early seventeenth century.²⁹ From Porto’s laudatory description of Venice one might assume that it was not there that he ordinarily resided—his next publication, by the way, was signed Trieste. From the composer’s connections with Maximilian I and, in his third collection, with Emperor Ferdinand II, Holy Roman emperor from 1619 to 1637, it is more likely that Trieste, under Austrian control since the later fourteenth century, was his place of residence and perhaps his birthplace.

From Porto’s mention of his having been ‘favoured’ by the count who ‘deigned ... to receive from [him] some affectionate, albeit meager service’, one may assume that whatever he was requested to do for the count cannot have been of major significance. Alfonso da Porcia may have used Porto as an intermediary in a business affair or asked him to compose one or more works for a particular entertainment. Alfonso was not an affluent ruler, but the majordomo in the house of an affluent ruler. Even so, he wielded considerable power as one who knew and could influence others. This explains Porto’s pandering tone—the composer describes the count not only as his ‘most revered patron’ (in the title) but also as having an ‘august name’ and being a ‘Most Kind and Most Humane Lord, of supreme wits and of sublime knowledge’ (in the dedication).³⁰ Porto then comes to the point: he asks to be renewed in Alfonso da Porcia’s ‘good graces’ for the count to be the ‘protector and defender’ of his works ‘before slanderers and malicious persons’. With the count’s name on the publication, these would not dare to open their mouth against them.³¹

Porto dedicated his second collection (1622) to Giovanni Sforza, count of Porcia, Alfonso’s brother. In the dedication he describes himself as ‘young and inexperienced’, hoping that Giovanni Sforza will forgive him any defects in the works as the result of his immaturity. Porto’s connections with the Sforza

29 ‘gl’oblighi, & i debiti, & i dovuti ossequij, ch’io meritevolmente le devo; mercè (dicasi pure) a’ segnalati favori, e cortesi affetti mostratomi. ... nella miracolosa vaga, e bella Città di Venetia’; from the composer’s dedication to the *Nuove musiche*, sig. [B 1]^v.

30 The title has ‘Patron Collendissimo’ while the dedication has (in reversed order) ‘sotto l’Augusto suo nome’ and ‘Cortesissimo & Humanissimo Signore’.

31 First and second quotation in reversed order: ‘e rinnovo nella sua buona gratia ... & esserne Protettore, e Diffensore appresso li Maledici, & Invidiosi ... non ardiranno però aprir la bocca contro di quelle’; from dedication, sig. [B 1]^v.

family appear to date back many years: in 'earlier days', he reminds the dedicatee, he was a member of his household and enjoyed the 'honour' and 'favour' of his 'many loving and gracious commissions'. It is not clear if these 'commissions' were requests to supply music or to meet other demands as a jobber or merchant. Otherwise it is hard to understand why, if the count had asked him to compose works, supposedly for the purpose of enjoying them, Porto thanked him for having condescended 'to listen to some' of them. The cognitive inconsistency may be due to excessive deference, as is clear from Porto's describing Giovanni Sforza no less glowingly than as a 'maecenas and father of *virtuosi*', in the sense of those displaying *virtù*, or physical and mental prowess, and as possessing a 'kind spirit' and 'greatness of soul'.³²

The dedication reveals the content of the collection and its origins. When 'in days past, I was in your household', Porto writes, 'you deigned to entrust me with some of your poetic compositions, charging me with putting them to music'. The collection consists of four works, and of the four, three are set to poems by Sforza, whose name appears on their first page. Several years appear to have intervened between the composition and the publication. The work on the pieces was not easy: Porto spoke of the 'bitter efforts' he invested in their preparation. Not only was the expression meant to evoke proper sympathy on the part of the recipient, but it signaled the difficulties inherent in the poems themselves: they departed from the conventions of the simple madrigals one finds in the *Nuove musiche* in their extensive form and often cumbersome content. Three works were not enough to form a collection, as Porto must have realized after completing them. So he supplemented them with 'some other madrigals drawn from the prologue of the rustic fable called "The Widowed Shepherd", a work of Signor Dionisio Rondinelli'. These 'other madrigals' amount to no fewer than eleven strophes, which occupy nearly twice as many measures as the longest poem of the three by Sforza.³³

32 'giovane innesperto ... E se per caso per mia innavertenza ò per poco sapere vi scorgesse qualche menda, mi voglia, non solo come huomo iscusare ... (mentre alli giorni passati mi ritrovavo in casa sua) ... dell'honore, & gratia che ella mi fa ... tanti amorevoli e cortesi inviti ... e sì come non si è sdegnata d'ascoltar alcune delle musiche mie compositioni ... Mecenate e Padre de Virtuosi' (the quotations appear in reversed order); from dedication to *Madrigali di Allegro Porto Ebreo. Lib.[ro] 1*, sig. C 2^r.

33 'havendo lei (mentre alli giorni passati mi ritrovavo in casa sua) degnata di confidarmi alcune sue Poetiche compositioni imponendomi che le delessi ridurre in Musica ... queste accerbe mie fatiche ... alcuni Altri Madrigali cavati dal Prologo della favola Boscareccia detta il Pastor Vedovo opera del Signor Dionisio Rondinelli' (the quotations appear in reversed order); from dedication, sig. C 2^r.

Porto appears to have chosen the dedicatee of the collection in an attempt to renew the connections that once bound the two in earlier years, as becomes clear from the closing words of the dedication: 'It remains for me to entreat Your Most Illustrious Lordship to deign to show me the favour of including me in the number of your servants'.³⁴

The dedicatee of the third collection (1625), a second book of madrigals for five voices and basso continuo, was Emperor Ferdinand II. One might conjecture a connection with the imperial court through a piece of indirect evidence: the second work in the collection from 1622, a *caccia*, appears in an earlier setting for nine voices by Giovanni Valentini (d. 1649) published in 1619, the year Valentini took up residence at the Viennese court under Ferdinand who, himself, moved to Vienna in the same year as emperor. The scoring of the last work (of the seventeen) for three voices plus two *cornetti* and basso continuo may have been a gesture to awaken favour with Emperor Ferdinand: wind instruments were often used in the vocal and instrumental works of the Hapsburg composers, among them Valentini, Antonio Bertali (d. 1669), Giovanni Battista Buonamente (d. 1642), and Giovanni Priuli (d. 1626).

Like Civita in his *Premittie armoniche a tre voci*, Porto chose fashionable poets for his *Nuove musiche*. Of the sixteen works, six were written to verses by Guido Casoni, five to those of Giovanni Battista Guarini, and three to those of Gabriello Chiabrera. Other settings of nine of the poems, by composers before and after Porto, number 114. The collection from 1622 is remarkable in its contents, the first three works, as said, to poems by Giovanni Sforza and the fourth to a poem by Dionisio Rondinelli. Of these, no. 2 is a *caccia* (in three parts) with a refrain and no. 3 a *lamento* in dialogue partly in prose and partly in verse: the participants are a father, his son, Death, a 'believer' (*religioso*), a chorus of men, and a chorus of angels. In its form and content the piece resembles a dramatic *lauda*, one among several species of the *lauda spirituale* introduced by Filippo Neri (d. 1595), in Rome, in the mid-sixteenth century. The plot revolves around the impending death of the son. One of the sections is a *lamento* proper in which the father predicts his son's death.³⁵ The fourth work is an encomium to 'Spring', in eleven stanzas, constructed in eleven *partes*. In stanza 11 the composer makes use of the *ruggiero* melody, as suggested by the leading character

34 'Mi resta supplicar V.[ostra] S.[ignoria] Illustrissima degnarsi farmi gratia di connumerarmi nel numero dei suoi servitori'; from dedication, *ibid*.

35 For this piece see Don Harrán, 'Allegro Porto, an Early Jewish Composer on the Verge of Christianity', in *Italia: studi e ricerche sulla storia, la cultura e la letteratura degli ebrei d'Italia* 10 (1993), 19-57.

Ruggiero.³⁶ Because the poetry of the collection was unique, no other composers tried writing additional settings. Porto's collection from 1625 marks a retrenchment by comparison with the earlier collections: now only two of the works could be identified for their poets (the two are by Giovanni Battista Guarini). The tendency toward anonymity goes hand in hand with the light, trivial character of the verses. They seem to designate a reversion to *poesia per musica*, as in the *frottola* and early madrigal. One work stands out for including four sets of dynamic signs for *piano*: *p*, *pp*, *ppp*, *pppp*. They underscore the four levels of expiration in the last verse ('I'm fainting, I'm failing, I'm dying, farewell!').³⁷

To what extent was Porto Jewish? Though described as Jewish (*hebreo*) in the title to his *Nuove musiche*, the only signs of his Jewishness are confined to two veiled references to the God of the Hebrews in the dedication to count Alfonso di Porcì. In the first of them Porto says that it is only right for the dedicatee to accept the works being offered him, for even 'God, our highest joy, does not sometimes disdain little burning lights and a small smoke of fragrances', by which he implies the altar sacrifices in the ancient Temple (see Leviticus and the talmudic tractate Kodashim). In the second, Porto asks the dedicatee to favour him by accepting his madrigals as willingly as mighty God accepted the offerings of his servants. 'May these bitter efforts of mine', he writes, 'be accepted by you with a kind eye no less than the Great God once took pleasure more perhaps in the fruits of the land offered to Him by a rough hand than in the fat offerings consecrated to Him by opulent persons'. In defending the poor against the prosperous Porto could have been referring to such biblical passages as 'be just to the poor and the destitute' (Psalms 82:3-4) or 'blessed is the man who fears the Lord. ... Wealth and riches are in his house and his righteousness lasts forever' (Psalms 112:1, 3). The Great God would appear to be the Hebrew God who commanded the faithful to offer sacrifices on His altar. It is the same Hebrew God who, as a 'Supreme Majesty', is entreated by Porto, at the end of the dedication, 'to grant' his patron 'the summit of every desired happiness'.³⁸

36 The name Rugier comes from the Italian epics *Orlando innamorato* by Matteo Maria Boiardo (d. 1494) and *Orlando furioso* by Ludovico Ariosto (d. 1533).

37 'Io svengo, io manco, io moro, ... a Dio!'

38 'quasi già son affidato, anzi accertato che saranno queste accerbe mie fatiche con occhio benigno da quella accetate non men di quello che il grand'Idio già si compiaceva forssi più delle Premittie della terra offertegli da roza mano, che de i pingui holocausti sacratigli da persone opulente; Le accetti dunque ... E qui per fine me l'inchino e rinnovo nella sua buona gratia, augurandole da N.[ostro] S.[ignore] il Colmo d'ogni felicità'; from dedication to *Nuove musiche*, sig. [B 1]^v.

(5)

Cant 2^{da} Chora 8

שְׁמִיכֶם
לֵב יְהוָה
בְּחַיִּים חַיִּים
בְּחַיִּים חַיִּים
בְּחַיִּים חַיִּים
בְּחַיִּים חַיִּים
בְּחַיִּים חַיִּים
בְּחַיִּים חַיִּים
בְּחַיִּים חַיִּים
בְּחַיִּים חַיִּים

FIGURE 17.2 MUS 101 of the Eduard Birnbaum Music Collection, no. 5. תְּשִׁישׁ הָהָן. COURTESY KLAU LIBRARY, CINCINNATI, HEBREW UNION COLLEGE—JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION. EDUARD BIRNBAUM MUSIC COLLECTION. PHOTOGRAPHY BY ARDON BAR-HAMA

Birnbaum Manuscript 101

Manuscript 101 of the Eduard Birnbaum collection, in the Klau Library of The Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati, Ohio), has twenty-one pieces of music set to Hebrew texts for eight voices in two choruses (see Figure 17.2). However, of the eight only one survives: the soprano of the second chorus or, in a single example, the soprano of the first. The manuscript appears to be related to Rabbi Leon Modena and the ‘music academy’ he formed in Venice in 1628 to accommodate the Jewish musicians who fled Mantua after the imperial armies, upon the death of Duke Vincenzo II, invaded and ransacked the city in 1628. We learn about the academy from a passage in *Via della fede mostrata à gli ebrei* (1683) by Giulio Morosini (d. 1683), formerly Samuel Naḥmias, who, before converting to Christianity, studied with the rabbi. After naming Modena as *maestro di cappella*, Morosini says that shortly after the academy was founded, singers and instrumentalists provided music for the para-liturgical festivities held in Venice, in the Spanish synagogue, to mark Shemini ‘atzeret (The Eight Day of Solemn Assembly) and Simḥat Torah (Rejoicing in the Law):

Since, in that year [1628], two affluent and munificent persons, of whom one belonged to the same academy, were chosen as bridegrooms,³⁹ [a practice] already described for this festival [Simḥat Torah], the musicians performed double choruses, as is our custom, in the Spanish synagogue, richly arrayed and adorned with jewels and much silver plate. During the two evenings, i.e., Shemini ‘atzeret and Rejoicing in the Law [Simḥat Torah], within the octave of the festival [of Sukkot], they sang in polyphony, to Hebrew words, part of ‘Aravit [the Evening Service] and various psalms, and, on the last day, Minḥah [the Afternoon Service], i.e., Vespers, with festive music that continued several hours into the night, in the company of many noble lords and ladies, and to such great applause that many captains and policemen had to be stationed at the doors to assure a peaceful turn of events. There were instruments, among them an organ, introduced into the synagogue [for the occasion], though playing it is not permitted by the rabbis because of its being an instrument ordinarily played in our churches.⁴⁰

39 Honorary functionaries in the prayer service for Simḥat Torah: the first concluded the annual cycle of Torah readings, the second initiated the new one beginning with Genesis, ch. 1.

40 ‘In quell’anno essendo stati per Sposi già descritti in questa festa due persone ricche e splendide, delli quali uno era della medesima Accademia, fecero nella Scuola Spagnuola

Elsewhere, in a chapter on Simḥat Torah, Morosini compares the celebrations to a quasi-carnival, with everyone singing according to the customs of his own rite and, should instruments be absent, simulating their sounds:

In cities where the Jews have a ghetto synagogues are kept open [on Simḥat Torah], for the convenience of the women, all day and all night long. They are heavily illuminated with lights, candles, and torches. Married women as well as widows and spinsters assemble there in large numbers for the privilege of kissing the covering of the Torah books on display. In many places I saw spinsters honour the Torah by singing, dancing, and prancing. Moreover, in many places, particularly in the city of Venice, a kind of half carnival is held on this evening, for many [Jewish] spinsters and wives wear masks in order not to be recognized and they go around to see all the synagogues. Out of curiosity, Christian ladies and gentlemen also converge on the synagogues at this time, perhaps more than on other feasts, to see the decorations and precious objects of the luminous synagogues and the fatuous gaiety of the Jews on this day. ... In attendance are Jews of all the different nations, Spanish, Levantine, Portuguese, German, Greek, Italian, and others, and they all sing according to their own customs. Since they do not employ instruments, some clap their palms, raising their hands; some slap their thighs; some snap their fingers, imitating castanets; and some play the guitar, scratching their jacket. With these sounds, leaps, and dances, and with distortions of the face, the mouth, the arms, and all members [of the body], they cut such an appearance as to suggest no less than a mad carnival.⁴¹

(ricchissimamente apparata, et adornata di gran argenterie, e gioie) fare due Cori ad usanza nostra per li musici, e le due sere cioè nell'ottava della festa שמני עצרת *Scemini Nghatzèret*, e תורה שמחת *Allegrezza della Legge*, si cantò in musica figurata in lingua ebraica parte della ערבית *Ngharbith*, e diversi Salmi, e la מנחה *Minchà*, cioè il Vespere dell'ultimo giorno con musica solenne, che durò alcune hore della notte, dove vi concorse molta nobiltà di Signori, e di Dame con grand'applauso, sì che vi convenne tenere alle porte molti Capitani e Birri, acciò si passasse con quiete. Tra gl'istromenti fu portato in Sinagoga anche l'Organo, il qual però non fu permesso da i Rabbini, che si sonasse per essere instromento che per ordinario si suona nelle nostre Chiese'; Morosini, *Via della fede mostrata à gli ebrei*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1683), vol. 2, 793.

⁴¹ 'Nella Città, dove gli Ebrei hanno Ghetto, si tengono le Sinagoghe aperte per tutto il giorno, e per tutta la notte per commodità delle donne, e sono molto illuminate di lumi, candeie, e torcie. Vi concorrono molte tanto maritate, quanto vedove e zitelle per haver merito di baciare la veste de i libri della Legge che sono esposti: et in molti luoghi vidi le zitelle per honore della Legge cantare, ballare, e danzare. Parimenti in molti luoghi, in

It is easy to imagine the joyful, frolicsome celebrations, as recorded by Morosini, in the Spanish synagogue of Venice, with their colorful assembly of male and female Jews and of Christian spectators, their mixture of languages (Italian, Spanish, Hebrew, possibly Yiddish), the different texts and melodies the nations employed in the prayer services, the use of instruments, the dancing, the noise, the excitement, the confusion, and the splendour.

Several of the texts could be traced to biblical passages, as, for example, nos. 2 ('U-va le-Tziyyon go'el'): Isaiah 59:20-21, Psalms 22:4, Isaiah 6:3; 8 ('Barukh Adonai Elokei Yisra'el'): Psalms 106:4; and 16 ('Attah Adonai tishmerem'): Psalms 12:8, 6:10, 12:9. Of the *piyyutim*, no. 21 ('Yigdal') could be identified for its author, Daniel ben Judah (c. 1300). As it turns out, five of the texts are known in parallel settings by Salamone Rossi in his 'Songs of Solomon': *Keter* (nos. 6 and 18 in the Birnbaum manuscript), *Barekhu* (no. 9), *Elohim hashivenu* (no. 10), *Ein keloheinu* (no. 12), and *Yigdal* (no. 21).⁴² Unlike Rossi's constantly varied vocal parts, the music of the manuscript has very little fresh material in any of the twenty-one works: they reduce to a small set of melodic and rhythmic formulas reworked in constant variation. Thus no. 1 harps, at the beginning, on the motive *b'-a'-c"-b'*, as do nos. 2-4, 6-7, and so on. The melodic motives throughout are transformations of the patterns *b'-a'-c"-b'* or *b'-a'-c"-#b'* or *b'-c"-#a'-f"-#b'* or *a'-g'-b'-a'* (identical with *b'-a'-c"-b'*, but now one step lower) or *a'-b'-g'-a'-b'*, and so forth in a continuous series of minuscule alterations. Rhythmically, too, the same basic formations are hammered out over and again. Musical consistency is usually a positive value, but too much of it, as in the present manuscript, leads to tedium. The one or more composers, if they were members of the academy, or even if they were not, must have been singers or instrumentalists only indifferently schooled in the rudiments of composition.

particolare nella Città di Venetia, si fa in questa sera [*the eve of Simḥat Torah*] come un mezzo Carnevale, perchè molte zitelle e spose si mascherano per non esser conosciute, e vanno a veder tutte le Sinagoghe. Concorrono anche alle Sinagoghe in questo tempo Dame, e Gentiluomini Christiani per curiosità quasi più che nell'altre feste per vedere gli apparati e le ricchezze delle Sinagoghe così illuminate, e la sciocca allegria degli Ebrei in questo giorno. ... intervenendovi di ogni sorte di natione, Spagnuoli, Levantini, Portoghesi, Tedeschi, Greci, Italiani, et altri, e cantando ogn'uno ad usanza propria: e perchè non adoprano instromenti, chi batte le palme alzando le mani, chi si batte le coscie, chi con le dita fa le castagnuole, chi suona la chitarra grattandosi il giubbone, fanno in somma con questi suoni, salti, e balli, con sconcerti di faccia, di bocca, di braccia, e di tutte le membra tal mostra, che sembra per appunto una mattaccinata di Carnevale': Morosini, *Via della fede*, vol. 2, 789-90.

42 In 'Songs of Solomon' respectively nos. 2, 26, 8, 7, and 28.

Can the Missing Vocal Part Be Reconstructed?

Rossi's 313 works are complete except for his fourth collection of instrumental works (1622), extant in the basso continuo. As was said above, the other composers' works are fragmentary: Sacerdote's six-voice madrigals lack all voices except for the quinto; Civita's three-voice *canzonette* plus basso continuo lack the top voice; Porto's collection of three-voice madrigals plus basso continuo from 1619 also lack the top voice; his collection of five-voice madrigals from 1622 and a similar collection from 1625 are extant in the alto and tenor; the Birnbaum manuscript lacks seven of its eight voices. Can these works be performed?

In Civita's collection from 1616 and Porto's from 1619 the top voice could be reconstructed by following the motives and voice leading of the other parts (Example 17.2). Not so in the remaining collections for several voices by Porto, Sacerdote, and the Birnbaum manuscript. There is evidence for the performance of single voices from polyphonic works to an improvised basso continuo. Lodovico Viadana (d. 1627) took a strong stand against this practice, which seems rather to speak for its currency in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. He went out of his way to provide a substitute repertory for it in his *Concerti ecclesiastici* (1602) for one to four voices, writing in the foreword: 'I saw that singers wishing to sing to the organ, either with three voices or with two or a single one by itself, were sometimes forced by the lack of compositions suitable to their purpose to take one, two, or three parts from motets in five, six, seven, or eight'.⁴³ He advised against it because of musical deficiencies: passages of rests when the other parts are active, missing cadences, lack of continuity, and breaks in the verbal sense.

Giulio Caccini, in the preface to his collection of monodies *Nuove musiche* (1602), remarked on the common practice of singing madrigals for several voices to a single one. He wrote:

Before embarking on the collection, my colleagues told me that they had never heard the harmony of a single voice, sung to a simple stringed instrument, with such power to move the passion of the mind as those

43 '... volendo alle volte qualche Cantore cantare in un Organo ò con Tre voci, ò con Due, ò con una sola erano astretti per mancamento di compositioni à proposito loro di appigliarsi ad Una ò Due, ò Tre parti, di Motetti à Cinque, à Sei, Sette, & anche à Otto'; Lodovico Viadana, *Cento concerti ecclesiastici, opera duodecima, parte prima: concerti a una voce con l'organo*, ed. Claudio Gallico (Mantua-Kassel, 1964), from the foreword 'A' benigni lettori', 11.

EXAMPLE 17.2 *Allegro Porto*, Tra Mirti pargoletti, in *Nuove musiche* (1619), no. 2, bb. 1-7, with canto 1 in a hypothetical reconstruction

C1 Hypothetical reconstruction

Tra Mir - ti par - go-let - ti, Tra

Tra Mir - ti par - go-let - ti, Tra

Tra Mir - ti par - go-let - ti, Tra

6 6

3

Mir - ti par - go-let - ti, Tra Mir - ti par - go-let - ti Su'l

Mir - ti par - go-let - ti, Tra Mir - ti par - go-let - ti, Su'l

Mir - ti par - go-let - ti, Tra Mir - ti par - go-let - ti, Su'l

6 6 6

6

Li - do ap - pres-so

Li - do ap - pres-so

Li - do ap - pres-so gl'an

3 4 3

EXAMPLE 17.3 *Salamone Rossi, Ohimè, se tanto amate, from Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci (1600), bb. 1-9*

The image displays a musical score for a five-voice setting of 'Ohimè, se tanto amate' by Salamone Rossi. The score is written on five staves, each with a different clef (Soprano, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, and Bass). The lyrics are in Italian and are written below each staff. The music is in a common time signature (C) and features a mix of whole, half, and quarter notes, with some rests. The lyrics are: 'Ohi - mè, se tan - to a - ma - te Di sen - tir' for the first staff, 'Ohi - mè, se tan - to a -' for the second, 'Ohi - mè,' for the third, 'Ohi - mè, se tan - to a - ma -' for the fourth, and 'Ohi - mè, se tan - to a - ma -' for the fifth. The score continues with a second system of five staves, with lyrics: 'dir 'ohi - - - - - mè'', 'ma - te Di sen - tir dir 'ohi - - - - - mè'', 'Di sen - tir dir 'ohi - - - - - mè'', 'te Di sen - tir dir 'ohi - - - - - mè'', and 'te Di sen - tir dir 'ohi - - - - - mè''.

madrigals [from which the single voice was extracted]. The reason was both their new style and the practice at that time of performing madrigals printed for several voices to a single one. It never occurred to them that the artful combination of the parts [of madrigals] among themselves might allow the single part of a soprano when sung alone to have any power in itself.⁴⁴

44 'a quei tempi, non havere udito mai armonia d'una voce sola, sopra un semplice strumento di corde, che havesse havuto tanta forza di muovere l'affetto dell'animo quanto quei madrigali; sì per lo nuovo stile di esse come perche costumandosi anco in quei tempi per una voce sola I madrigali stampati a più voci, non pareva loro, che per l'artificio delle

EXAMPLE 17.4 *Salamone Rossi, Ohimè, se tanto amate, monodic arrangement by the composer for canto and chitarrone, bb. 1-9*

The image shows a musical score for a monodic arrangement of 'Ohimè, se tanto amate' by Salamone Rossi. The score is written for two staves: the top staff is for the voice (canto) and the bottom staff is for the chitarrone. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are written below the voice staff. The score consists of two systems of music. The first system contains measures 1 through 4, and the second system contains measures 5 through 9. The lyrics are: 'Ohi - mè, se tan - to a - ma - te' and 'Di sen - tir dir 'ohi - - - - - mè'.

In a collection of madrigals for four voices, the composer Pietro Maria Marsolo (d. c. 1615) wrote that 'all of them can be sung to four voices or a solo voice and some of them to two voices'.⁴⁵ Other composers, among them Rossi, complied with the urge for solo song by preparing arrangements of their own works. Rossi's potential for the 'new style' is evident in the pseudo-monodies, for voice and chitarrone, of six madrigals in his first book *a 5* (1600) (for a portion of one of these madrigals, see Example 17.3, and for the same portion of its monodic arrangement, Example 17.4).⁴⁶

Vincenzo Galilei (d. 1591), in a quest for compositions for himself to perform as a bass, prepared arrangements of madrigals and *villanelle* by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (d. 1594), Orlando di Lasso (d. 1594), Alessandro Striggio (d. 1592), and Giovanni Ferretti (d. after 1609) for bass and lute, placing them in

parti corrispondenti fra loro, la parte sola del soprano di per se sola cantata havesse in se affetto alcuno'; Giulio Caccini, *Le nuove musiche* (Florence: I. Marescotti, 1602), ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock, 2nd ed. (Middleton, WI, 2009), from the 'Prefazione a i lettori', 43-56 at 45-46.

45 Pietro Maria Marsolo, *Li madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1614).

46 The six madrigals from *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1600) are *Ohimè, se tanto amate* (Giovanni Battista Guarini), *Cor mio, deh non languire* (idem), *Anima del cor mio* (unidentified), *Udite, lacrimosi* (Guarini), *Tirsi mio, caro Tirsi* (idem), *Parto, misero, o taccio?* (idem). See Rossi, *Complete Works*, vol. 1, 44-47 (madrigal), 48-50 (monody); 50-53 (madrigal), 48-50 (monody); 54-56 (monody); 56-60 (madrigal), 61-63 (monody); 64-67 (madrigal), 68-70 (monody); 71-74 (madrigal), 75-77 (monody); 78-80 (madrigal), 81-82 (monody).

a handwritten appendix to the first volume of his *Fronimo*, a manual of rules for intabulating music for lute.⁴⁷ For their full effect, one might imagine these pseudo-monodies as garnished, in performance, with appropriate ornaments, according to the instructions found not only in the preface to Caccini's *Nuove musiche* but also in manuals by Giovanni Battista Bovicelli (fl. in the 1590s) and Giovanni Luca Conforti (dates unknown) and in practical collections by Antonio Brunelli (d. around 1630).⁴⁸

That is the best one can do for these collections until the missing parts are found. One can only hope that they *will* be found.

47 Vincenzo Galilei, *Il Fronimo* 2 vols. (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1568-69). For the handwritten appendix of twenty folios to the first volume of the *Fronimo*, which Galilei entitled *Arie e danze intavolate per liuto*, see Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Landau-Finally Mus. 2. For a description of the contents of the manuscript, see Bianca Biancherini, *Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze* (Kassel, 1959), 132-33. Claude V. Palisca described these supplementary works as pseudo-monodies, assuming that Galilei 'customarily sang to the lute popular songs, madrigals, and other vocal compositions' as preserved in the appendix; see Palisca, 'Vincenzo Galilei's Arrangements for Voice and Lute', in *Essays in Honor of Dragan Plamenac*, ed. Gustave Reese and Robert J. Snow (Pittsburgh, PA, 1969), 207-32 at 223, and idem, 'Vincenzo Galilei and Some Links between "Pseudo-Monody" and Monody', in *The Musical Quarterly* 46 (1960), 344-60.

48 Giovanni Battista Bovicelli, *Regole, passaggi di musica, madrigali, e motteti passeggiati* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1594); Giovanni Luca Conforti, *Breve e facile maniera d'esercitarsi ad ogni scolaro, non solamente a far passaggi sopra tutte le note che si desidera per cantare ...* (Rome: s.l., 1593); Antonio Brunelli, *Varii esercitii ... per 1, e 2 voci, cioè soprani, contralti, tenori, et bassi, per i quali si potrà con facilità acquistare la disposizione per il cantare con passaggi* (Florence: Pignoni, 1614).

The ‘Other’ Coastal Area of Venice: Musical Ties with Istria and Dalmatia

Ivano Cavallini

Linguistic and Cultural Frame¹

Between 1409 and 1420, Istria and Dalmatia were definitively annexed to the territory of the Republic of Venice. During those years, new forms of international competition compelled the Serenissima to expand its control of mainland territories and ports around the Adriatic Sea in order to secure its commercial dominance in trade with the Near East. Venice, it bears remembering, was the only European state founded on the domination of the sea, and its mainland territories served to render navigation safe. Nevertheless, the Republic’s desire to conquer the coast extending from the Po River all the way to Albania and parts of Greece was constantly challenged by the Austrian government, which held control of Trieste, Rijeka (Fiume), and the county of Pazin (Pisino), situated in the heart of the Istrian mountains.

The influence of Venetian culture was noteworthy in these regions. Even today, more than two centuries after the fall of the Republic, the Slovenian and Croatian dialects spoken along the coast contain a wide variety of Venetianisms, developed via contact with so-called ‘Venetian colonization’.² The gothic appearance of the palazzi in coastal cities, which, in contrast with those in the backcountry of the present-day Veneto, faithfully replicate the architecture of Venice, can deceive even anthropologists and cultural historians about the ethnic and linguistic composition of Istria and especially Dalmatia. It is, in fact, necessary to carefully evaluate the role of Italian as *Umgangssprache* and *Kultursprache*, for it was used as both the official language of the state and a language of culture, in conjunction with Slovenian and above all with the

1 The names of Slovenian and Croatian places and authors are frequently recorded in Italian on the title pages of the sixteenth-century books. For clarity, their Italian names are therefore included in parentheses, where bibliographically relevant.

2 Gianfranco Folena, ‘Introduzione al veneziano “de là da mar”’, in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo xv*, ed. Agostino Pertusi (Florence, 1973), vol. 1, 297–346; Sante Graciotti, ‘Le molte vite dell’italiano “de là da mar” fra Quattrocento e Cinquecento’, in *Atti e Memorie della Società Dalmata di Storia Patria* 34 (2012), 9–26.

Croatian variants *ćakavjan* and *štokavjan*, which became literary languages at the end of the Quattrocento.³ Indeed, it is impossible to separate these two components: Venetian-Italian on the one hand and the Croatian spoken in Dalmatia on the other. Many native intellectuals in the region wrote in both languages and in Latin, the language of international communication—an example of literary trilingualism, unusual in sixteenth-century Europe, that is not comparable with the spoken plurilingualism of other countries. This is particularly evident in the case of Dubrovnik (Ragusa), where these three written languages, each having local origins, coexisted with the spoken monolingualism of all the city's inhabitants, whose mother tongue was Croatian.⁴ In the 'Slavic Athens', Latin traced its origins back to the Roman legacy of which the patriciate was proud, as attested by Ilija Crijević's (Elio Lampridio Cerva, 1463-1520) statement 'non tam Romam, quam Rhagusam esse romanam puto' ('I consider Dubrovnik more Roman than Rome [itself]'; *De Epidauro*); Italian, which derived from Romance language, disappeared towards the middle of the fifteenth century while Croatian was the common language.

None of the three languages, therefore, can be considered to be entirely imported and all are, together, an expression of the same culture. The difference between them is one of function, for each was used selectively for different literary genres. Traditional scientific treatises destined for the European market were in Latin; learned essays on the problems of modern culture were in Italian, which had become the *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean; and theatrical prose was in Croatian, since it was spoken by all classes of Ragusan society. In the realm of poetry, however, the situation is more complex. Poetry was written in all three languages: in Latin, which tended to be used for humanistic compositions; in a sophisticated Italian based on Bembo's Petrarchism; and in Croatian, based on Petrarchism with the addition of popular expressions. This functional distinction did not reflect a hierarchy of value, nor did it express national affinities in any strict sense. For example, Nikola Nalješković (1505-87) and Sabo Bobaljević (1530-85), who used the Italianized pennames Nale and Bobali, were capable of composing lyrics in all three languages. Moreover, regarding the circulation of the madrigal, it bears emphasizing that the earliest experiments with Petrarchan models appeared in the *Canzoniere raguseo* (1507), written entirely in Croatian. Interestingly, Italian poetry written

3 Marin Franičević, *Povijest hrvatske renesanse književnosti* [History of Croatian Literature during the Renaissance] (Zagreb, 1983).

4 Sante Graciotti, 'Per una tipologia del trilinguismo letterario in Dalmazia nei secoli XVI-XVIII', in *Barocco in Italia e nei paesi slavi del sud*, ed. Vittore Branca and Sante Graciotti (Florence, 1983), 321-46.

in Italian language, and inspired by Petrarch, can be found in the works of the aforementioned Nalješković, Bobaljević, and Dinko Ranjina (Domenico Ragnina, 1536-1607).⁵ In fact, one under-explored sector of the contact between the two Adriatic coasts is the poetry by Istrian and Dalmatian poets set to music by Italian composers. Two examples in this vein: a pair of poems by Giovan Antonio Pantera from Novigrad (Cittanova), prelate of the cathedral of Poreč (Parenzo), appear in two books of madrigals, published in 1552 and 1554, by the Calabrian Gian Domenico Martoretta. Ludovik Paskalić/Ludovico Paschale (c. 1500-51) from Kotor (Cattaro, in present-day Montenegro), was one of the most renowned authors of Italian poetry in Dalmatia to be translated into English by the Elizabethan playwright Thomas Lodge. Paskalić's *Rime volgari* (Venice, 1549), dedicated to the noble woman Martia Grisogono from Zadar, drew the attention of Camillo Perego, Francesco Menta and Giovanni Battista Pace.⁶

Professional Music

Discussion of the regions' music, in the context of ties to Venice, is quite complicated. First and foremost, regarding the professional status of musicians and composers, it should be noted that Venice's lack of a court had a negative impact in its 'maritime realms' ('domini da mar'). In these locations, there was less lay patronage than on the mainland and, like in other Venetian provinces, there are no dedications in printed music to the *capitani*, who governed local cities for two-year terms. The information assembled here comes primarily from the context of the chapels at Koper, Piran, Cres, Zadar, Šibenik, Split,

5 Josip Torbarina, *Italian Influence on the Poets of the Ragusan Republic* (London, 1931), Sante Graciotti, 'Plurilinguismo letterario e pluriculturalismo nella Ragusa antica (un modello per la futura Europa?)', in *Atti e Memorie della Società Dalmata di Storia Patria* 9 (1997), 1-16.

6 Panthera's texts are in Gian Domenico Martoretta, *Secondo libro di madrigali cromatici a quattro voci* (Venice, 1552; RISM L 353) and *Terzo libro di madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice, 1554; RISM L 354). Ennio Stipčević, 'Influssi veneziani nelle musiche dei maestri dalmati del Cinquecento', in *Musica e Storia* 6 (1998), 227-36. Two poems by Paskalić appear in Camillo Perego, *Madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice, 1555; RISM P 1320), another two in Francesco Menta, *Madrigali a quattro voci* (Rome, 1569; RISM M 2276), and one in Giovanni Battista Pace and Giovan Donato Vopa, *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1585; RISM 1585³⁰). Ennio Stipčević, 'Kotorski pjesnik Lodovik Paskalić (Lodovico Paschale), zadranka Martia Grisogono i nekoliko renesanskih talijanskih skladatelja' [The Kotor Poet Lodovik Paskalić (Lodovico Paschale), Martia Grisogono from Zadar, and a few Italian Renaissance Composers], in *Arti Musices* 43 (2012), 65-87.

Trogir, and Hvar (Capodistria, Pirano, Cherso, Zara, Sebenico, Spalato, Traù, and Lesina). On the one hand, the *maestri di cappella* adapted to the unfavourable conditions they found in the churches of these small and medium-sized centres. On the other hand, numerous artists sought employment elsewhere, above all in Italy and Austria, as evidenced by the biographies of Andrea Antico (Motovun/Montona, c. 1480-after 1538), Jacques Moderne (Buzet/Pinguente c. 1495-after 1560), Francesco Sponga Usper (Poreč, c. 1560-1641) and Vinko Jelić (Rijeka, 1596-1636). Antico and Usper both worked in Venice, Moderne in Lyon, and Jelić in the court chapel in Graz.⁷

Another serious shortcoming with which musicians operating in the two regions had to contend was the difficulty of publishing music. Save a few works by Julije Skjavetić (Giulio Schiavetto, active in the years around 1560) and Andrija Patricij (Andrea Patrizio or Petris, active in the first half of the sixteenth century), the publication of sacred and secular polyphony with any regularity began only in the 1570s. Institutional conventions adopted from the capital, and certain connections with Venetian nobility, bear witness only occasionally to an influence from the 'centre' over the stylistic choices of the *maestri* on the opposite coast. For this reason Istria and Dalmatia cannot be considered 'peripheral' in an artistic sense. Venice, a city dedicated to publishing, served primarily to channel various musical genres cultivated in Italy, which were widely disseminated throughout many western and central European countries.⁸ Research conducted in the archives of the regions' chapels has brought to light not only a large quantity of old manuscripts, but also

7 Giuseppe Radole, 'Musica e musicisti in Istria nel Cinque e Seicento', in *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria* 65 (1965), 147-213; Janez Höfler, *Glasbena umetnost pozne renesanse in baroka na Slovenskem* [Art Music of the Late Renaissance and Baroque in Slovenia] (Ljubljana, 1978); Koraljka Kos, 'Style and Sociological Background of Croatian Renaissance Music', in *The International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 13 (1982), 55-82; Ivano Cavallini, *Musica, cultura e spettacolo in Istria tra '500 e '600* (Florence, 1990); Ennio Stipčević, 'La cultura musicale in Istria e in Dalmazia nel XVI e nel XVII secolo. Principali caratteristiche storiche, geopolitiche e culturali', in *The International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 23 (1992), 141-52; idem, 'La Serenissima, l'Istria e la Dalmazia. Contatti e interferenze musicali nel Cinque e Seicento', in *The International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 24 (1993), 23-44; Vjera Katalinić, 'Social Status of Music and Musicians along the Eastern Shores of the Adriatic in the 16th Century', in *Musica e Storia* 6 (1998), 501-20.

8 Bojan Bujić, 'Humanist Tradition: Geography and the Style of Late Sixteenth-Century Music', in *Gallus Carniolus in evropska renesansa/Gallus Carniolus und die europäische Renaissance*, ed. Dragotin Cvetko and Danilo Pokorn (Ljubljana, 1991), 7-22.

choir books published by Giunta and the expensive editions of motets prepared by Ottaviano Petrucci and Moderne, kept today in Koper and Split.⁹ Alongside these incunables are works of sacred polyphony from the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, plus a series of manuscripts of various types that also contain translations from Glagolitic into Latin of monophonic works and *cantus fractus*.

Reconstructing the list of chapel masters remains, to this date, an extremely difficult task. In the best cases, such as Koper, Piran, Split, and Dubrovnik, there are registers and expense records. In other cases, scholars must trust the *Acta Provinciae Dalmatiae Istriae et Epyri* compiled by the regions' Franciscan monks.¹⁰ Many *maestri* were in fact monastics and were able to launch their carriers while residing in their respective monasteries with very limited living expenses in comparison with their lay colleagues. The *Acta* supplies the appointments conferred by their respective orders, which vary according to the importance and the fame a composer acquired: titles given were *magister cantus*, *pulsator organi*, and *magister musices* (the last reserved for the most renown musicians). Among the composers linked to prominent people from northern Italy and Venice, Skjavetić and Patricij bear note. A few extant works by Skjavetić—a resident of Šibenik who served Bishop Girolamo Savorgnan during the Council of Trent—remain, including a collection of *Madrigali a quattro et a cinque voci* (Venice, 1563; RISM S 1536), as well as two other madrigals for five voices in the anthology *I dolci et armoniosi concerti. Libro secondo* (Venice, 1562; RISM 1562⁶), which also contains works by the Venetian composers Andrea Gabrieli, Gioseffo Zarlino, and Claudio Merulo. Later, again in the company of Venetian authors as well as that of the celebrated Flemish composers Cipriano de Rore, Adrian Willaert and Giaches de Wert, Skjavetić published two *greghesche* for four and five voices in the collection compiled by the poet and actor Antonio Molino, *Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghe-*

9 Cyril Petešić, 'Nekoliko priloga poznavanju naše muzičke prošlosti' [Some Contributions to Knowledge about Our Musical History], in *Rad* 165 (1965), 199-219; Ivano Cavallini, 'Il libro per musica nel litorale istriano tra Cinquecento e Seicento', in *Il libro nel bacino adriatico* (secc. xv-xviii), ed. Sante Graciotti (Florence, 1992), 99-110; Metoda Kokole and Alenka Bagarič, *La musica veneziana nell'Istria settentrionale. Guida alla mostra* (Ljubljana, 2004).

10 Dragan Plamenac, 'Tragom Ivana Lukačića i njegovih suvremenika' [Tracing Ivan Lukačić and His Contemporaries], in *Rad* 351 (1969), 63-90.

sche (Venice, 1564; RISM 1564¹⁶).¹¹ Finally, in 1564, he published his ‘first book’ of *Motetti a cinque et a sei voci* (Venice).¹²

Skjavić’s four-voice madrigals are syllabic in style, while his works for five voices contain more complex counterpoint that is in line with the genre’s descriptive demands. His motets, in contrast, have a more elaborate structure. Some are characterized by rigid canonic technique, with the cantus firmus sung in long notes by the tenor in the style of the Franco-Flemish masters (cf. *Asperges me Domine*), others paraphrase their liturgical sources and treat imitation freely. The *Pater noster*, however, is set up as probable a reference to the comparable model by Willaert (see Example 18.1).¹³

Andrija Patricij, a nobleman from the island of Cres and relative of the philosopher Francesco Patrizi, earned the esteem of Antonino Barges, *maestro di cappella* at the Frari.¹⁴ Patricij, a very skilled amateur, placed four madrigals on texts by Petrarch and Sannazzaro in a collection by Barges, a pupil of Adrian Willaert, titled *Primo libro di villotte a quattro voci* (Venice, 1550; RISM B 992). In the ‘sweet compositions of the magnificent nobleman’ (‘soavi compositioni del magnifico cavaliero’), as Barges writes in his dedication, the voices possess ample melodic freedom governed by madrigalisms, even if they often observe the rhythm of the verses and their respective caesuras.¹⁵

After Francesco Bonaldo (1520/30-after 1571), the Flemish musician who served as *maestro di cappella* in 1560-61, Koper’s duomo conferred the post to Silao Casentini (c. 1540-94) in the years 1571-73, 1577-78, and 1580-88. Previously a member of Lucca’s Cappella Palatina, in 1570 Casentini entered the service of Ferdinand of Austria, to whom he dedicated his *Primo libro de’ madrigali a cinque, con uno dialogo a sette* (Venice, 1572; RISM C 1436). Due to the incom-

11 See also the contribution by Daniel Donnelly to this volume and the essay by Katelijne Schiltz, “‘Mi ho scritto e sembra scrivo greghe rime galande’: Sprachwitz und Musik in der venezianischen Gregeschca”, in *Wiener Quellen der älteren Musikgeschichte zum Sprechen gebracht*, ed. Birgit Lodes (Tutzing, 2007), 361-79.

12 Not listed in RISM, see <<http://www.printed-sacred-music.org>>; no other books with five- and six-voice motets by him have survived or might even have been composed.

13 Adrian Willaert, *Opera omnia*, ed. Hermann Zenck (Rome, 1971), vol. 2; Dragan Plamenac, ‘Su Julije Skjavić (Giulio Schiavetti) e i “Motetti a cinque et a sei voci” del 1564’, in *Subsidia Musica Veneta* 2 (1981), 21-38.

14 So too, later, did the first Istrian and Dalmatian composers of sacred monody. At the Frari, Franciscans Gabriello Puliti (c. 1575-1644) and Ivan Lukačić (1587-1648) enjoyed the support of Giacomo Finetti (also a Franciscan). Indeed, Lukačić, active in Split, probably studied with Finetti.

15 Koraljka Kos, ‘Madrigali Andrije Patricija i Julija Skjavića u svom vremenu’ [Madrigals of Andrija Patricij and Julije Skjavić in Their Time], in *Rad* 377 (1978), 277-314.

EXAMPLE 18.1 *Julije Skjavetić / Giulio Schiavetto, Pater noster (prima pars)*

The image displays a musical score for 'Agnus Dei' by Franz Schubert. The score is written for a vocal ensemble and piano accompaniment. The vocal parts are in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The piano accompaniment is in G major and 4/4 time. The score is divided into two systems. The first system shows the vocal parts entering with the lyrics 'Pa - ter no - ster qui es in coe - lis, Pa - ter'. The piano accompaniment provides a harmonic foundation. The second system continues the vocal parts with the lyrics 'Pa - ter' and 'no - ster qui'. The piano accompaniment continues with a steady harmonic pattern.

Vocal Parts:

- Soprano:** Pa - ter no - ster qui es in coe - lis, Pa - ter
- Alto:** Pa - ter
- Tenore:** Pa - ter
- Basso:** Pa - ter no - ster qui

Piano Accompaniment:

- Right Hand:** Provides harmonic support with chords and moving lines.
- Left Hand:** Provides harmonic support with chords and moving lines.

[illegible]

ster qui es in coe - - lis;

ster qui es in coe - lis;

Pa - - ter no - ster qui es in

es in coe - - - lis; San - cti -

in coe - - - lis; San - cti - fi - ce -

es in coe - lis; San - cti - fi - ce - tur no - men

EXAMPLE 18.1 *Julije Skjavić / Giulio Schiavetto, Pater noster (prima pars) (cont.)*

16

San-cti-fi - ce - tur no - men tu - um;

San - cti - fi - ce-tur no -

coe - lis; San - cti - fi - ce - tur

fi - ce - tur no-men tu - um;

tur no - men tu - um; Ad -

tu - um, san - cti - fi - ce - tur no-men tu -

21

Ad-ve - ni - at re-gnum tu - um; Fi -

men tu - um, no - tu-um; Ad - ve - ni - at

no-men tu - um;

Ad - ve - ni -

ve - ni - at ad - ve - niat re - gnum tu - tum,

um;

26

- at vo-lun - tas tu

re-gnum tu - um; Fi -

Ad - ve - ni -

at re-gnum tu - um; Fi -

ad - ve - ni - at re - gnum tu -

Ad - ve - ni - at re - gnum tu - um; Fi -

EXAMPLE 18.1 *Julije Skjavić / Giulio Schiavetto, Pater noster (prima pars) (cont.)*

30

- a, sic - ut in coe -
 - at vo - lun - tas tu -
 at re-gnum tu - um; Fi - at vo - lun -
 - at vo - lun - tas tu - a, sic ut in coe - lo
 - um,
 at vo - lun - tas tu - - - - a,

35

- lo et in ter - ra, sic - ut in coe - lo et in
 - a, sic - ut in coe - lo et in ter - ra, sic - ut
 tas tu - a, sic - ut in coe - lo et in ter -
 et in ter - ra,
 sic - ut in coe - lo et in ter - ra, sicut in
 sic - ut in coe - lo, sic - ut in coe - lo et in ter - ra,

40

ter - ra, sic ut in coe - lo et in ter - ra.
 in coe - lo et in ter - ra, sic - ut in coe - lo et in ter - ra.
 ra, et in ter - ra.
 sic - ut in coe - lo et in ter - ra.
 coe - lo, sic - ut in coe - lo, sic - ut in coe - lo et in ter - ra.
 sic - ut in coe - lo et in ter - ra, et in ter - - - ra.

plete nature of the collection, two of whose partbooks have been lost, the only madrigals by the *maestro* to be preserved in their entirety are the two works posthumously included in the *Quinto libro* (Venice, 1611; RISM C 1434) of his son Marsilio, who moved to Gemona del Friuli.

Casentini's biography prompts us to consider the issue of patronage for composers who worked along the border between Venetian and Austrian Istria. Silao, for example, moved to Trieste, a city under Austrian rule, for a brief period in 1576-77, and Marsilio, born there in 1576, spent the majority of his life in Friuli. None of their published works carry dedications to Venetian authorities, although some bear dedications to the archdukes Charles II and Ferdinand. Aside from the private generosity of noblemen and Venetian Istria's high prelates, the Serenissima's rulers almost never granted any compensation in public form to composers for the publication of their works. The case of the Archduchy, however, is different. Marsilio Casentini included two celebratory pieces by Silao in his above-mentioned *Quinto libro*, to honour both his father and the archduke Charles, who died in 1594 and 1595 respectively. As a matter of fact, the publication had precise political aims, intended to reaffirm Trieste's fidelity to the Habsburgs during a moment of political tension between the Archduchy of Carinthia, Carniola, and Trieste on the one hand and the Republic of Venice on the other. The poems Silao used—*Ninfe che nel più ameno letto d'Adria* and *Colli e voi piaggie apriche*—highlight an invitation to the nymphs of the Adriatic to pay homage to Charles II, the sunny nature of the gulf, and the ancient submission of Trieste's citizens to Austria (1389), which held the outlet to the sea: 'Così disse e la fronte / Chinò Tergesto all'hor da l'orizzonte / E quanto cinge e serra / S'udì Carlo intonar l'acqua e la terra' ('Thus he spoke, / and Tergesto bowed his head to the hour from the horizon, / and how he encircles and then contains / one could hear Charles tuning up the water and the earth'). The final verses refer to the myth regarding Trieste's origins established by the geographer Marcianus, who recognized the semi-god Tergesto as the city's founder and namesake (Tergeste i.e. Trieste), to celebrate the benefits of Austrian rule over that strip of the Adriatic sea.

It bears note, in this context, that Silao's madrigals were published at a politically difficult moment. Trieste's community, afflicted by ruthless competition from Istrian ports, turned to the Austrian government to prohibit the acquisition of imported goods. In 1609, the decree was imposed with force—that is, with the help of Uskok privateers (from the Croatian *skok* = jump or assault) who were ready to slaughter offending 'cragnolini' (Slovenians) who went to Istria. This had disastrous effects, culminating in a siege of Trieste by Venetian ships and in a gradual disinterest on the part of the Habsburgs in this type of economic protectionism. The music of the madrigals enhances the political

message of their texts, which may have been brought to Marsilio's attention by a government official. In the second madrigal, *Colli e voi piaggie apriche*, the words 's'udì Carlo intonar [l'acqua e la terra]'; are set homorhythmically, recalling the union between the maritime city and the Archduchy's provinces (see Example 18.2).¹⁶

The choices of Nicolò Toscano (c. 1530-1605)—the Dominican who is remembered for his role as judge in the contest between the composers Achille Falcone and Sebastiano Ravalle—are of an entirely different nature. Employed by the Duomo in Koper from 1581 to 1598, the Sicilian *maestro* published his *Canzonette ... Libro primo a quattro voci* (Venice, 1584; RISM T 1021) and dedicated the collection to the marquis Gioan Nicolò Gravisi. A member of the Accademia Palladia in Koper, Gravisi was a man of letters and a lover of the 'science of music', as Toscano's dedicatory letter declaims. The *canzonette*, all strophic and in two parts, alternate syllabic and imitative passages similar to the madrigal, without employing the Venetian fashions found in Willaert's *villanesche* and in *giustiniane*, *mascherate*, and *greghesche*. The poems, organized in four stanzas, mix expressions borrowed from southern Italy with more refined verses based on amorous themes filled with metaphorical references to nature and mythology (Jove, Typhon, Icarus, Phaethon, Tantalus). There may be references to Vecchi and Marenzio to be uncovered, as well as to the more local Mattia Ferrabosco (1550-1616). A 'Capelsinger' in Graz, Ferrabosco dedicated his *Canzonette a quattro voci* (Venice, 1585; RISM F 260), published one year later, to the Caesarean nobleman Ivan Khisl, governor of Postojna in Slovenia.¹⁷

Music, Protestants, and the Policy of the Catholic Church

Venice was always tolerant of the diverse denominations in which its citizens were involved, as is illustrated by the various sacred books belonging to Protestant and Orthodox faiths that the city published continuously over the course of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, some cases of heresy and the formation of reformed groups in the provinces, who looked to the poverty of the early Christians and treated baptism as a free choice, caused much uproar

16 Ivano Cavallini, 'La diffusione del madrigale in Istria: i Casentini e Gabriello Puliti', in *Muzikološki Zbornik* 23 (1987), 39-70.

17 Ivano Cavallini, 'Tradizione colta e influssi villaneschi nelle canzonette di Nicolò Toscano', in *Gallus Carniolus in evropska renesansa/Gallus Carniolus und die europäische Renaissance*, 157-67.

EXAMPLE 18.2 *Silao Casentini, Colli e voi piagge apriche, madrigal dedicated to Charles II, Archduke of Austria*

Col - li e voi piag - gie a - pri -

Col - li e voi piag - gie a - pri -

Colli e voi piag - gie a - pri -

che Ve - sti - te - vi di fior ve - sti - te - vi di fior d'her - bet -

che Ve - sti - te - vi di fior ve - sti - te - vi di fior d'her -

che Ve - sti - te - vi di fior ve - sti - te - vi di fior d'her - bet -

Ve - sti - te - vi di fior ve - sti - te - vi di fior d'her -

Ve - sti - te - vi di fior d'her - bet -

te e spi - che

bet - te e spi - che E di ro - se

te e spi - che E di ro - se e

bet - te e spi - che E di ro - se e

te e spi - che E di ro -

EXAMPLE 18.2 *Silao Casentini, Colli e voi piaggie, madrigal dedicated to Charles II, Archduke of Austria (cont.)*

7

E di ro - se e vio -

e vio - le

vio - le

vio - - e

se e vio - - e

8

9

le Spi - ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor spi -

e vio - le Spi - ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor spi -

vio - - - le Spi - ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor spi -

vio - le Spi - ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor spi -

vio - - - le Spi - ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor spi -

11

ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor più che non suo - - le Così dis -

ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor più che non suo - le Così dis -

ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor più che non suo - le Così dis-se e

- ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor o - dor più che non suo - le Così dis -

ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor più che non suo - le

EXAMPLE 18.2 *Silao Casentini, Colli e voi piaggie, madrigal dedicated to Charles II, Archduke of Austria (cont.)*

14

se e la fron - te Chi - nò Ter - ge - sto al - l'hor da l'o-ri-zon -

- se e la fron - te Chi - nò Ter - ge - sto al - l'hor da l'o-ri-zon -

la fron - te Chi - nò Ter - ge - sto al - l'hor da l'o-ri-zon -

se e la fron - te Chi - nò Terge - sto al - l'hor da l'o-ri-zon -

Chinò Ter - ge - sto al - l'hor da l'o-ri-zon -

17

te E quan - to cin - ge e ser - ra e quan - to

te E quan - to cin - ge e ser - ra e

te E quan - to cin - ge e ser - ra

te E quan - to cin - ge e ser - ra e quan - to cin - ge e ser -

te E quan - to cin - ge e ser - ra e quan - to cin - ge e

19

cin - ge e ser - ra S'u - di s'u - di

quan - to cin - ge e ser - ra S'u - di s'u - di Car - lo into-

e quan - to cin - ge e ser - ra s'u - di s'u - di Car - lo into-

ra S'u - di s'u - di s'u - di Car - lo into-

ser - ra S'u - di s'u - di s'u - di Car - lo into-

EXAMPLE 18.2 *Silao Casentini, Colli e voi piaggie, madrigal dedicated to Charles II, Archduke of Austria (cont.)*

s'u - di Car - lo in-to-nar s'u di Car - lo in-to-nar l'ac -
 nar s'u di Car - lo in-to-nar s'u di Carlo in to-nar l'ac -
 nar s'u di Car - lo in-to-nar s'u di Car - lo in-to-nar l'ac-qua e la
 nar s'u di Car - lo in-to-nar s'u di Car - lo in-to-nar l'ac -
 nar s'u di Car - lo in-to-nar s'u di Car - lo in-to-nar l'ac -

24. - qua e la ter - ra Co-sì dis - ra.
 qua e la ter - - ra Co-sì dis - ra.
 ter - ra l'ac-qua e la ter - ra Co-sì dis - se e ra.
 qua e la ter - - ra Co-sì dis - ra.
 - qua e la ter - ra ra.

and unsettled even the dogate. In agreement with the church of Rome, the government began to monitor the reformers, especially in the years after the Council of Trent, which provoked the flight of Pier Paolo Vergerio jr. (1498-1565), a bishop of Koper who was accused of apostasy, to Tübingen as well as the condemnation of the bishop of Split, Anglican Marco Antonio de' Dominis (1561-1623), who was burned *post mortem* together with his books and his portrait in 1624. Vergerio and Dominis, however, represent the tip of the iceberg: they are only two of many calling for reform, who some European countries regarded with sympathy. Revolts of miners (lead by Michail Gaysmair) and peasants (lead by Matija Gubec) along the boarders in Südtirol, Slovenia, and Croatia represented a serious social danger for the Republic of Venice as well.

It is consequently easy to understand the wide diffusion of Glagolism from Istria to the surroundings of Trieste, and its official and exceptional acceptance on the part of the Vatican during the seventeenth century.¹⁸

In this regard, it bears noting that Primož Trubar (1508-86), an advocate for Lutheranism among the southern Slavs, studied at the Glagolitic school in Rijeka and at the University of Vienna. Exiled by the imperial government, he returned to Trieste, and under the protection of bishop Pietro Bonomo, he obtained permission to preach in Slovenian. His ideas quickly spread around Istria where they found first-class followers: Baldo Lupetina (1503-56) in Labin (Albona), his nephew Matija Vlačić or Matthias Flaccius Illyricus (1520-75), editor and co-author of the majestic *Centuriae Magdeburgenses* (1569-74), Giambattista Goineo (c. 1515-after 1579) from Piran and the aforementioned Vergerio. The glagoljaš (Glagolitic and in general Slavic priest) Stjepan Konzul (1521-after 1579) was an ardent reformer in his native Buzet, and in Pazin (Pisino), the heart of Istrian Lutheranism. He sought refuge first in Ljubljana and later in Regensburg as a kantor and organist. Together with Anton Dalmatin (beginning of the sixteenth century-1579), Konzul translated no less than six books into Italian to spread evangelism around the Venetian coast. Numerous prayers, hymns, gospels, catechisms, and songs in the languages and alphabets used in Istria and Dalmatia—Slovenian, German, Italian, Croatian in Glagolitic, Cyrillic and Latin scripts—were issued by the presses of the city of Urach at the so-called South Slavic Bible Institute, with the financial support of Baron Hans Ungnad von Sonnegg, thanks to the work of these two intellectuals. This is evidenced by the following books: *Register und summarischer ... aller der Windischen [Slovenian] Bücher, die von Primo Trubero [Primož Trubar] bis auff diss 1561 ... in der Crobatischen Sprach mit zweyerley Crobatischen Geschrifften, nämlich, mit Glagolla [Glagolitic] und Cirulitza [Cyrillic], werde getdruckt (dise Sprach und Buchstaben, brauchen auch die Turcken)* (Tübingen, i.e. Urach, 1561), *Ena molitov* [a prayer] ... *Oratione de persecutati e forusciti per lo Evangelio* (Tübingen, 1555), *Artikuli ili deli prave krstianske Vere, is Svetoga Pisma ... sada vnove is Latinskoga, Nemskoga i Kraiskoga jazika va Hrvacki verno stimačeni. Po Antonu Dalmatinu i Stipanu Istrianu* [Articles or parts of the authentic Christian faith from the saint letters ... now in Croatian faithfully translated by Anton Dalmatin and Stjepan [Konzul] from Latin, German, and

¹⁸ In its literal sense, the term Glagolitic chant denotes the singing of the Glagolitic priests who lead the Christian liturgy in the Croatian version of the Old Church Slavonic language from books written in Glagolitic script.

Slovenian languages] ... *auss dem Latein und Teütsch in die Crobatische Sprach verdolmetscht, und mit Glagolischen Buchstaben getruckt* (Tübingen, 1562).¹⁹

Among the primary causes for the failure of this reform movement was the staunch opposition of the Office for the Propagation of the Faith, and also the lack of a court capable of supporting the evangelists (the Habsburg archdukes were always Catholic oriented). For this reason, no traces of Trubar's *kantuali* remain in Istrian and Italian libraries, such as *Ene duhovne peisni ... Geistliche Lieder in der Windischen Sprach* [Slovenian] from 1563 (Tübingen) and *Eni psalmi ta celi Catechismus, inu tih vegshich Gody, stare inu nove kerszhanske peisni od P. Truberia ... Der ganz Cathechismus, ettlich Psalm. Christliche Gesäng, die man auff den fürnembsten Festen singet, in der Windischen Sprach* (Tübingen, 1567).²⁰ In compensation, to bring the Slovenians and Croats back to the Catholic faith and, through them, to maintain the region's defences against the Turks (*antemurale christianitatis*), the papal Curia promoted an emended edition of the missal, the *rituale*, and the breviary in the Slavic ('sclavica') language with Glagolitic and Latin characters only some decades after the Council of Udine held in 1596: *Missale romanum slavonico* (1631), *Rituale romanum slavonico* (1648), and *Breviarium romanum slavonico ... editum illyrica lingua* (1640). The Curia also established a few Illyrian colleges in Italy, the most famous of which was in Loreto, to send priests into overseas provinces.

The circulation of Catholic songs in native Croatian languages is linked to an oral tradition that is commonly called Glagolitic, from the name of the alphabet invented by Cyril and Methodius of Thessaloniki that was used from the eighth century onwards to Christianise the Slavic people.²¹ Vestiges of this tradition can be seen today in the diaphonic music from the Island of Krk (Veglia) and from the region of Zadar. A few sixteenth-century fragments are retraceable in sacred dramas from the Kvarner region in the northern Adriatic Sea, such as the *prikazanje* (sacred drama) *Mukaod Spasitelja našega* (The Passion of Our Redeemer). In the music of this *prikazanje* from 1556, traditional Gregorian chant merges with popular expressions. The quasi-rhomboidal form of the neumes has some affinity with German notational systems, and the work is preceded by instructions that eliminate any doubt about which

19 *Beseda in knjiga. Slovenska protestantska reforma xvi. stoletja/Parola e libro. La riforma protestante slovena del sedicesimo secolo* (Trieste, 1985).

20 Andrej Rijavec, *Glasbeno delo na Slovenskem v obdobju protestantizma* [Music in Slovenia in the Protestant Era] (Ljubljana, 1967).

21 Vinko Žganec, 'Pjevanje u hrvatskoj glagoljaškoj liturgiji' [Plainchant in Croatian Glagolitic Liturgy], in *Sveta Cecilija* 40 (1970), 16-19; Salvatore Perillo, *Le sacre rappresentazioni croate* (Bari, 1975); Ennio Stipčević, *Renaissance Music and Culture in Croatia* (Turnhout, 2015), 105-8.

parts of the text were intended to be sung. The stage directions specify the speaking roles *reci* (to say) and *govoreći* (to speak)—‘Tu Isus reci Magdaleni i materi govoreći’ (Here Jesus says to Magdalene and his Mother speaking [singing]), ‘Tu jur počni Juda proklinat i plakat k škalam grede i reci’ (‘Here Judas begins cursing and crying at the stairs and saying [singing]’)—but this cannot be taken literally since they are followed by melodies. The same usage can be found in certain Roman sacred dramas, such as the *Rapresentatione della Resurrectione di Christo* (s.l., s.d.), dating from the first years of the Cinquecento and attributed to Castellano de’ Castellani, which contains stage directions clarifying the meaning of these expressions. A prime example are the words that appears before Psalm 95: ‘David canta e dice: *Cantate Domino canticum novum*’. Another useful stage direction appears in the *Resuscitatione de Lazaro*, staged in the Coliseum in 1515: ‘Marta et Madalena a Lazaro morto dicono in musica.’²² This synonymy also helps us to identify the sung parts in the free Croatian version of Poliziano’s *Orfeo* (*Orfej*), written and staged in Dubrovnik around 1533 by Mauro Vetranović (1482-1576). Here, the gerund ‘govoreći’ (speaking) must be translated as singing: ‘Orfeo dođe prid vrata od pakla ištući Euridiću, žalosno udara u liru govoreći’ (‘Orfeo comes to the door of hell looking for Euridice, and with sadness he plays the lyre singing’).

The religious concessions made to the regions’ Slavic-speaking inhabitants came at the end of a period of rigid control that began in 1579 with the censorship of Agostino Valier, bishop of Verona, and concluded with the abolition of the Aquileian Rite. The Council of Udine (1596) sanctioned the elimination of liturgical books not approved by the papal Curia, like theses of the ancient Aquileian Rite. Valier, in the role of visiting apostolic, was greeted with great pomp when he entered Koper’s Duomo, where a motet accompanied by instruments was performed under the direction of Silao Casentini.²³ But his report to the Holy Office indicates that heresies had taken root everywhere: especially in Pula (Pola), Labin, and Vodnjan (Dignano), a city that maintained contacts with Protestants in Austrian Istria. In light of these censures, it is understandable that Gabriello Puliti, *maestro di cappella* in Koper, offered a volume of music for four voices, *Psalmodia vespertina* (Venice, 1614; RISM P 5651), to a supporter of the Counter-Reformation in Carniola (Krajska region) in 1614. The collection’s dedication to Jakob Reinprecht, abbot of the Cistercian monastery

22 Francesco Luisi, ‘Vedrete recitar con dolce canto. Note sulla rappresentazione della “Risuscitatione di Lazaro” al Colosseo’, in *Santi e martiri in scena. Atti del xxiv Convegno Internazionale del Centro Studi sul Teatro Medioevale e Rinascimentale*, ed. Myriam Chiabò and Federico Doglio (Rome, 2001), 239-96 at 236-39.

23 See also Baccio Ziliotto, ‘Capodistria’, in *La Venezia Giulia* (Trieste, 1975), 56.

of Stična in Slovenia, and also the clarification that the volume contains psalms 'iuxta ritum Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae', suggests that Catholic censorship remained strict.

The issue can also be seen in Puliti's *Secondo libro delle messe a quattro voci*, published in 1624 (Venice, 1624; RISM P 5658). This book consists of two four-voice masses, both with a continuo partbook, entitled *Messa concertata* and *Messa da choro* respectively. The first is a motto mass. Instead of a cantus firmus, it has a head motif that appears in each movement sustaining the structure of the polyphony (cf. the incipitarium: Kyrie, Tenor: *f g a b b c'*; Gloria, Bass: *f g a b b c'*; Credo, Tenor: *c' b b a g f*; Sanctus, Tenor: *f g a b b c'*; Agnus Dei, Tenor: *a g f e d*). The motif recurs not only at the beginning of the five mass movements, but also internally within the Credo, where it is repeated as separate monody before each verse on the words 'Haec est fides catholica'. These words are drawn from the creed of St. Athanasius of Alexandria. The so-called Athanasius Symbol, well-known by Orthodox, Catholic, and Lutheran churches, is one of the three ecumenical creeds placed at the beginning of the 1580 *Book of Concord*, the collection of doctrinal statements of the Lutheran Church. Its last line contains the phrase Puliti uses as a *memento* in his Credo: 'Haec est fides catholica, quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit' (This is the Catholic faith; which except a man believe truly and firmly, he cannot be saved).

Puliti's Credo is unusual in other respects as well. As a simple descending or ascending one-voice melody, the head motif on Athanasius Symbol is conceived as a refrain that alternates with the verses of the creed featured in chordal blocks or contrapuntal passages (see Example 18.3). Only at the end, as a logical conclusion of the narrative, do the voices come together homophonically in joyful triple mensuration. Table 18.1 gives the antiphonal shape of the music, in which the words of St. Athanasius appear eleven times as monody (on the left side), while the majority of the prayer's verses are in polyphony (on the right side).

This unusual kind of tribute to the Catholic profession of faith, both before and after the Council of Trent, together with other interpolations was definitively forbidden by diocesan synods held in several bishoprics. Even though it was normal to add some Marian tropes to Gloria from the time of Johannes Ciconia and Guillaume Dufay, the Counter-Reformation banished the insertion of unofficial lines in the Credo, and declared contrapuntal imitation unacceptable, aiming to avoid obscuring the words 'Credo in unum Deum'.

A Croatian translation of the Athanasius Symbol appears in three catechism books, published in Glagolitic, Cyrillic, and Latin scripts (Urach, 1561, 1561, and 1564) by the above-mentioned reformers Stjepan Konzul and Anton Dalmatin

EXAMPLE 18.3 *Gabriello Puliti, Messa concertata, Credo, bb, 1-24*

Cre - do.

Cre - do. Haec est fi-des ca-tho - li-ca.

Haec est fi-des ca-tho - li-ca. Cre - do.

Cre - do.

Cre - do. Haec est fi-des ca-tho-li-ca. Cre - do, cre-do in u-num De-um, Pa-trem om-

Cre - do. Cre - do, cre-do in u-num De-um, Pa-trem om-

Cre - do. Cre - do,

Cre - do. Cre - do,

ni-po-ten - tem, cre-do in u-num De-um, Pa-trem om-ni - po-ten -

ni-po-ten - tem, cre-do in u-num De-um, Pa-trem om-ni - po-ten -

cre-do in u-num De-um, Pa-trem om-ni-po-ten -

cre-do in u-num De-um, Pa-trem om-ni - po-ten -

#

EXAMPLE 18.3 *Gabriello Puliti, Messa concertata, Credo, bb. 1-24 (cont.)*

12

tem, fa - cto-rem coe-li et ter-rae, vi - si - bi - li-um om - ni-um et in - vi - si -

tem, vi - si - bi - li-um om - ni-um et in - vi - si -

tem, vi - si - bi - li-um om - ni-um et in - vi - si -

tem, fa - cto-rem coe-li et ter-rae, vi - si - bi - li-um om - ni-um et in - vi - si -

15

bi - li-um. Et in u-num Do-mi-

bi - li-um. Et in u-num Do-mi-num Je-sum Chris-tum,

bi - li-um. Et in u-num Do-mi-num Je-sum Chris-tum,

bi - li-um. Et in u-num Do-mi-

19

num Je-sum Chris-tum, Fi-li-um De-i u-ni-ge-ni -

Fi-li-um De-i u-ni-ge - ni - tum.

Fi-li-um De-i u - ni-ge-ni-tum.

num Je-sum Chris-tum, Fi-li-um De-i u-ni-ge-ni -

EXAMPLE 18.3 *Gabriello Puliti, Messa concertata, Credo, bb. 1-24 (cont.)*

22.

tum. Et ex Pa-tre na-tum an-te om-ni-a sae-cu-la.

Et ex Pa-tre na-tum an-te om-ni-a sae-cu-la.

Et ex Pa-tre na-tum an-te om-ni-a sae-cu-la. Haec est fi-des ca-tho-li-ca.

tum. Et ex Pa-tre na-tum an-te om-ni-a sae-cu-la.

TABLE 18.1 *Layout of the Credo from Gabriello Puliti's Messa concertata*

**Head motif on 'Haec est fides catholica', Four voices
sung by**

Tenore	Credo
Alto	Credo
Canto	Credo in unum Deum etc.
Tenore	Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine etc.
Canto	Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto etc.
Tenore	Crucifixus etiam pro nobis etc.
Alto	Et resurrexit etc.
Tenore-Basso	Et in Spiritum sanctum, Dominum etc.
Alto	Et unam sanctam catholicam etc.
Tenore	Confiteor unum baptisma etc.
Canto	Et vitam venturi saeculi amen
Canto-Alto-Tenore-Basso	Amen

and based on the Slovenian version by Primož Trubar (Tübingen, 1550). The text is the final result of a fruitful comparison between the original Latin and other versions in Slavic languages. Its importance is also outlined on the title-page: *Katehismus. Iedna malahna kniga v'koi yeszu vele potribni i koristni naucz i artikuli prave ksrrianske vere s kratkim tlmatsenyem ... I ta prava vera od stana Bosyega, ili bitya u svetoj Trojcz, od svetoga Atanasia ... sada najprvo iz mnozih*

yazik v'harvaczki iztumatsena (Catechism. A little book in which there are necessary and useful precepts of the authentic Christian faith with short comments ... And the authentic faith in in God's existence, or his existence in the Holy Trinity, of St. Athanasius ... now, according to several languages, for the first time explained [translated] in Croatian).

Perhaps Puliti was forced to insert these words by a prominent local figure of the Roman Church, or by the dedicatee Francesco Corelio *utriusque legis* doctor (i.e., doctor of both laws, canon and civil). Lutherans believed in self-sufficient reading of the text *via* the Holy Spirit, refusing both the authority of the Pope and the Church hierarchy. Probably, the 'trope' is given as a reaction to the incorrect approach of the Croatian followers of Luther in Istria and Croatia proper. With regard to the Athanasius Symbol, accepted by Christianity, the line 'Haec est fides catholica' must be interpreted only in a narrow sense, i.e., as 'universal faith'. This is the etymology both of the Greek term *katholikos* and the Latin *catholicus*. Nevertheless, during the Council of Trent the Roman Church misappropriated the title Catholic and appointed itself as the one and only Catholic Church.

In other words, Puliti's mass is an example of cosmopolitan polyphony deprived of its own aesthetic autonomy. Charged with new meaning through the words of St. Athanasius, that is the supremacy of the Roman Church transformed into Catholic (i.e., universal), the Credo functions as a warning for the Croatian people. Probably, the fear of new censorship induced the Franciscan to highlight submission to the Vatican's policy through this contradictory manipulation of *Professio fidei*, aiming to reaffirm the Roman Church's power over the multilingual society of Italian, Slovenian, and Croatian rebellious Protestants, settled from Graz to the coastal area.²⁴

Intermedi and Incidental Music between Autonomy and Imitation

The second half of the century also witnessed a rich development in theatrical activities, enhanced with music, both 'diegetic' and in the form of *intermedi* between the acts. From north to south, *commedie* and *favole pastorali* imported from Italy, via Venice, provided coastal authors with models on which to base their works. In Koper, a 'societas juvenum' was active in 1483. This group of young patricians was later transformed into a Compagnia della Calza, similar

24 Cavallini, *Musica, cultura e spettacolo in Istria tra '500 e '600*, 31-34. Gabriello Puliti, *Il secondo libro delle messe* (1624), ed. by Ennio Stipčević, Monumenta Artis Musicae Sloveniae 48 (Ljubljana, 2006), xv-xvii.

to those in Venice. The precocious case of the Island of Hvar aside, where a permanent theatre was founded at the arsenal in 1612, theatrical productions were staged in piazzas during the summer and at the residences of wealthy families during the winter.

After the experiments of Pietro Pola, who gathered several friends together to put on dance shows and various types of performances ('choreis, comoediis diversarumque operum'²⁵) in 1567, Koper saw the staging of Girolamo Vida's (1563-91) pastoral drama *Filliria* (1585), with scenery by Gioan Nicolò Gravisi and the collaboration from other members of the Accademia Palladia as well. Performed for the Venetian *podestà* Giovanni Malipiero and dedicated to Vicenza's Accademia Olimpica, *Filliria* was adorned with choral performances at the conclusion of each act. Inspired by Tasso's *Aminta*, to comment on the plot the author substituted the *intermedi* through a singing chorus hidden behind the set.²⁶ Exception to this off-stage placement was made only for Amore and Selva, the allegorical characters who sing on stage at the end of the story. Ottonello de' Belli's (1569-1625) *Selve incoronate*, a tragicomedy based on Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Pastor fido*, was premiered in 1590. Admired by Guarini himself at a production in Venice, this work, too, bears no musical trace of the chorus of courtiers, shepherds, and the Echo of the woods described in the text. In fact, the extraordinary case of Florence excepted, music was always treated as an ephemeral element, like stage directions and lighting.

Productions of Tasso and Guarini were not limited only to Koper. In Dubrovnik, Dominko Zlatarić (1558-1613) circulated a Croatian translation of *Aminta* under the title *Ljubmir*. Elected dean by the students of medicine and philosophy at the University of Padua, the Ragusan published his version in 1580, a year before the original Italian edition appeared in print. Equally famous was the *Pastor fido*, a version of which by Frano Lukarević (1541-98), was published in 1592 under the title *Vjerna pastijer*. Ragusans' admiration for Italian theatre and music also extended to *intermedi*, which became common in the middle of the Cinquecento, even if the term *intermedij* appears for the first time in the pastoral dramas *Flora* (s.d.) and *Filide* (1584) by Antun Sasin Bratosaljić (1518-95). Even Paskoj Primović (1565-1619) surrendered to the commixture of music and theatre typical of pastoral dramas with his *Evridice*. In this 1617 publication, Ottavio Rinuccini's *Euridice*, 'Prinesena ... u iesik dubrovački is iesika latinskoga' ('translated in Ragusan [Croatian] language

25 Quoted in Baccio Ziliotto, 'Accademie e accademici a Capodistria (1478-1807)', in *Archeografo Triestino* 66 (1944), 117.

26 *Filliria ... di Gieronimo Vida* (Venice, 1587), A6: 'Il choro non è apparente, ma canta per ragion di musica dietro la scena'.

from the Latin [Italian]'), is referenced in the scenic formulas that precede the opera.²⁷

The community of Cres turned, too, to *intermedi* based on the performance of monody and polyphony in 1586-88, to honour Sebastiano Quirini. During his tenure, Quirini, a government official from an ancient Venetian family, instituted a series of economic reforms that were beneficial to the island and to other places around the Kvarner Gulf. For this reason, the authorities of Cres dedicated a volume of *intermedi* to him. The works, composed by several unknown amateurs, were collected in 1588 by the nobleman Stefanello de Petris, a relative of Andrija Patricij and the philosopher Francesco. The *Ghirlande conteste al chiarissimo signor Sebastiano Quirini* (the term *conteste* derives from the Latin *contexere*, meaning to weave) are scenes that aptly portray the island's antiquity, the glories of Venice and Quirini's magnanimity.²⁸ Figures from mythology and metamorphic scenes alternate, designed to astonish the audience, but the publication makes no mention of the comedies into which the spectacles were inserted. The only text quoted is Ludovico Fenaruolo's *Sergio* (1562), which originally represented Venice but in this case it depicts Cres. The titles of other dramatic works were probably well-known and thus the island's playwrights did not need to reprint them, instead believing it opportune to create an homage with *intermedi* composed expressly for Quirini. The third garland, an *intermedio* led by a singer dressed as Apollo, was written to praise the Quirini family. An enormous shield stood out against the backdrop of Venice's Piazza San Marco, according to Petris's description. Like in a *tableau vivant*, Apollo with his lute appeared with the muses Calliope, Urania, Terpsichore, Euterpe, and Erato. Called forth by the god, who swept over the shield moving from low to high and then from right to left, they entered one by one from the sections that formed the fields and the three-star design of the Quirini coat of arms. At each station along the route, from the bottom up to the sky, Apollo invited the muses, who seemed to be suspended on air around the shield, to sing polyphonic pieces. The spectacle concluded with a final apotheosis for nine voices.

In distant regions of Dalmatia, in Korčula (Curzola) and Lastovo, the ancient Mediterranean tradition of the *moresca* is still alive today. The *moresca* is a spectacle choreographed with song and acting. The action is divided into episodes, termed *kolap* (from the Italian *colpo*), which involve stock characters:

27 Bojan Bujić, 'An Early Croat Translation of Rinuccini's "Euridice"', in *Muzikološki Zbornik* 12 (1976), 16-30, idem, 'Pastorale o melodramma? Le traduzioni croate di "Euridice" e "Arianna" per le scene di Dubrovnik', in *Musica e Storia* 6 (1998), 477-99.

28 Cavallini, *Musica, cultura e spettacolo in Istria tra '500 e '600*, 137-63.

the black king, the white king, and Otmanović with his daughter Bula, over whom two groups of soldiers fight. Some of these *kolap* bear the names of bassi a discanto popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, like Ruggiero (here *Ruđer*) and dance steps like the Spagnoletto (here *Španjoleta*).²⁹ Alongside this tradition stood Dubrovnik's refined theatre, in which choreography was adopted for pastoral dramas before the middle of the century. It is difficult to say to what extent the two traditions were connected, but as far as Dubrovnik is concerned, the tradition of pantomime accompanied by music is clearly derived from theatrical forms cultivated in Siena and also, in part, in Venice.

Inspired by primitive Moorish dance, a weapon dance recalling the moves of combat, the *moresca* entered Italian theatre, taking on a variety of names including *ballo d'Etiopia*, *abbattimento*, and *giostra*. It frequently depicted scenes such as satyrs dancing, a knight killing a dragon to save a young girl, Cupid or shepherds against wild men, prisoners being freed by soldiers, peasants fighting with hoes or sticks, and hermits—seduced by a nymph—fighting, crossing their sticks like swords. Italian theorists of Renaissance dramaturgy sought to justify the introduction of these episodes, which were added as divertissements at the end of each act in both tragedies and comedies and bore no relation to the main plot. The dramatic tools of Siena's contemporary theatre, however, were very different. The Tuscan town developed a special kind of theatrical genre, in which the *moresca* was in fact linked to the core of the drama's plot, as seen in works by authors of the *pre-Rozzi* academy like Francesco Fonsi (*Comedia in moresca Lucia* [1521], *Comedia in moresca pietà di Venere* [1521]), Giovanni Roncaglia (*Scanniccio* [1527]), the Accademia degli Intronati (*I prigionieri*), and Alessandro Piccolomini (*L'amore costante* [1536]). In contrast, in other parts of the country, for reasons of realism music performed during the acts was limited to short citations of popular songs in comedies and simple serenades in pastoral dramas, to depict the lives of shepherds and nymphs in the woods. Like Sienese writers, Ragusans combined the tradition of the chorus with the *moresca*, placing importance on the musical pantomime as a pivotal dramatic tool. Instead of the term *moreska*, adopted by folk plays in Dalmatia, Nikola Nalješković and Marin Držić (Marino Darsa, 1508-67), the creators of the modern Croatian pastoral drama, preferred the term *boj bije*, or in plural form *boj biju*, meaning 'he fights' or 'they fight'. This synonymy is evident in the title page of Držić's *Tirena*, which states that the *moresca* was a symbol of Dubrovnik's culture (see Figure 18.1): *Tirena comedia Marina Darxichia prikasana u Dubrovniku godiscta M.DXLVIII u kojoj vlasi boi na nacin od morescke i*

29 Grozdana Marošević, 'Korčulanska moreška, ruggiero i spagnoletta' [The Moorish Dance of Korčula, Ruggiero, and Spagnoletta], in *Narodna Umjetnosti* 39 (2002), 111-39.

TIRENA COMEDIA MARINA DARXICHIA

PRIKASANA VDV
brouniku godiscta. M. D XLVIII

VKOIOI VLASI BOI NA NACIN
od morescke'; i Tanaz Na
Nacin pastirschi;



FIGURE 18.1 *Marin Držić, title page of Tirena comedia Marina Darxichia prikasana u Dubrovniku godiscta M.DXLVIII u koioi vlasi boi na nacin od morescke i tanaz na nacin pastirschi (Venice, 1551)*

tanaz na nacin pastirschi ('Tirena of Marin Držić, a comedy [pastoral] staged in Dubrovnik in 1548, in which the Morlacks [called also Vlachs] fight in the manner of the *moresca* and dance like shepherds').³⁰

Staged at least twice between the years 1549 and 1551, *Tirena* has some similarities with the comedies of the *pre-Rozzi* academy of Siena, for example, the peasant struck by Cupid's arrows, the parody of the pastoral idyll, and the *moresca* play. Furthermore, the musical pantomime is retraceable within *Tirena's* plot. In Act four, the shepherd Ljubmir is struck by a stone thrown by a satyr; he faints, and a nymph comes to rescue him. Before the end of the play there is another battle between satyrs and shepherds, which is stopped by a nymph's intervention, whose words help to restore peace in the woods.³¹ The same happens in other pastoral dramas by Držić in which morlacks or satyrs represent uncivilized people, or otherness, vs. kind shepherds and nymphs, who symbolise the grandeur of cultivated Dubrovnik, seen as a *locus amoenus*. For example, *Venere i Adon* (1551) is full of vocal music sung by different characters and the sixth scene of the first Act contains a nymph and satyr dance. Five satyrs come on stage, stopping the dance to kidnap the nymph. Soon after, the kind satyr fights and saves her.³²

30 This unknown unicum of Marin Držić's *Tirena* (Venice, 1551) was discovered and edited by Ennio Stipčević (Zagreb, 2008). Marin Držić, we should remember, was both a writer and a musician, as the *Genealogia di Darsa* (1603), written in Italian by his nephew Jero, attests: 'musicus eccellentissimo [che] sonava d'ogni sorte d'instrumenti'. Držić worked as an organist and studied at the University of Siena between 1538 and 1541. During this time, he performed a comedy (perhaps *Aurelia*) at the house of Buoncompagno della Gazzaia, so it is undeniable that he was familiar with the Tuscan centre's theatrical repertoire. See also Lovro Županović, *Hrvatski pisci između riječi i tona* [Croatian Writers between Word and Sound] (Zagreb, 1989), 186–94.

31 'Ovdi Ljubmir boj bie satirom, koj ga napokon jednom stjenom udari izmete ga ter padne na zemlju kako martav a Vila ga nahodi i nad njim plače, govoreći' ('Here Ljubmir fights against the satyr, who then blesses him with a stone and [Ljubmir] falls down as if dead; a nymph finds him and cries saying'); 'Ovdi dobar čas boj bju u to izidu tri satiri i na njih udare i u troje boj bju, a Vila im iz gore govori na rječi od koje se ustave' ('Here they fight for long time; three satyrs come out and hit them, until, from a higher place, the nymph says words through which the fighting stops').

32 'Opet se odkrije šena i satir s vilom tanca, pak dotrče pet satir i hoće mu vilu ugrabiti i s svijema boj bije, i odrve im se vilu shrani' ('The stage opens again and the satyr dances with the nymph; then, five satyrs come out and they want to rape the nymph; the satyr fights against all of them and wins saving the nymph'). See Ivano Cavallini, 'Il ruolo della musica nel teatro pastorale raguseo del Cinquecento', in *Musica e Storia* 8 (2000), 417–54.

Between 1540 and 1550, Nikola Nalješković wrote four pastoral dramas under the title of *komedije*.³³ In the third, the satyrs meet the shepherds and fight for the nymph; immediately after, a wise old man obliges them to dance for the girl.³⁴ Nakješković travelled to Venice several times, and his name is quoted in the *Dialoghi della naturale philosophia umana* (1573) of his family friend Antonio Brucioli. Even though his career bears no trace of contact with theatrical activities in Venice, the Ragusan writer composed four pastoral dramas in the form of eclogues at the same time Andrea Calmo wrote his analogous book of *Giocose, moderne et facetissime egloghe pastorali* (1553).

On the Traces of Traditional Music in Dalmatia and its Presence in Venice

Unfortunately, the music for the *moresche* by the two Ragusans was never transcribed. Nonetheless at least three traces of the commixture between folk and art musics in Dalmatia during the sixteenth century remain. The first has to do with a rare example of popular songs printed in a Croatian literary text; the second concerns the Venetian reinvention of dances called *schiavenesche* (the term *schiaivo*, or the analogous *schiafone*, does not mean slave but rather Slav); and the third is the parody of foreign-speaking Dalmatians who took up residence in Venice in the Riva degli Schiavoni and in the confraternity named the 'Scuola dalmata'.

In a letter to his colleague Mikša Pelegrinović (Michele Pellegrini, c. 1500-62), included in the piscatory eclogue *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje* (Fishing and Fishermen's Conversations, Venice, 1568), Petar Hektorović (Pietro Ettoreo, 1487-1572) writes that he did not compose, but rather transcribed in white mensural notation, as faithfully as possible, the music sung by two fishermen from the Island of Hvar during a sailing voyage in 1557.³⁵ Given that the dia-

33 These pastorals have survived in manuscript form under the title *Komedija I, II, III, IV*. They were published in *Pjesme Nikole Dimitrovića i Nikole Nalješkovića* [Poems of Nikola Dimitrović and Nikola Nalješković], ed. Vatroslav Jagić and Đuro Daničić, *Stari pisci Hrvatski* 5 (Zagreb, 1873).

34 'Odi se satiri i mladici udare i bijući se ono izide jedan starac i govori' ('Here satyrs and youths fight and during the fight a old man comes out and says'), 'Ovdi se uhvate igrat' i satiri i mlaci, pak svršivši tanac, [starac] vili govori' ('Here satyrs and youths start dancing, at the end of this dance [the old man] says to the nymph').

35 Bojan Bujić, 'Music, Ethos, and the Historical Past in Hektorović's Fishing and Fishermen's Conversations', in Petar Hektorović, *Fishing and Fishermen's Conversations*, trans. Edward D. Goy (Stari Grad, 1997), 159-76.

logues and the accounts of fishing in *Ribanje* are realistic and thus only partially related to the idyllic eclogues of Jacopo Sannazzaro and Andrea Calmo, it is possible that the songs *bugarščica Kada mi se Radosave vojevoda odilijaše* (When Duke Radosav Was Leaving) and *pisan I kliče djevojka* (The Maiden Cries Out) are pseudo-popular in nature and are not derived, as it has been believed, from the superius of some madrigals. The *bugarščica* is a narrative song, syllabic and monotonous in nature, with melismas at the end of each verse. Even though Hektorović notes that this folk-tune should be sung 'na sarbski način' (in the Serbian manner), this is not an indication of a precise ethnicity. Instead, the caption reflects the diffusion of musics brought by immigrants from the Balkans, normally called *Serbs* or *Morlacks*, who came to Dalmatia to flee Turkish domination. The *pisan*, on the contrary, is an amorous song whose melody is lyrical.³⁶ Its performance, as described by the author from Hvar, needs separate consideration. While the *bugarščica* is sung by the fisherman Nikola alone, the *pisan* is performed with the other fisherman Paškoj, despite the fact that the transcription only includes two monodic works. One can thus hypothesize that the part the author recorded is that of the top voice, while the other voice would have been improvised in long notes like in modern Dalmatian folk music.³⁷

In Italy, beyond the *salto schiavonesco* in Alessandro Caràvia's *Calate fantastiche che canta Naspo bizaro* (Venice, 1565) and in notary Cesare Nappi's *Egloga rusticale* (ms. 1508³⁸), the *Pavana sesta detta la Schiavonetta*, which is part of the Paduan Giulio Cesare Barbetta's *Primo libro dell'intavolatura de liuto* (Venice, 1569; RISM B 903), and the *Aria della marchetta Schiavonetta* in Venetian Marco Facoli's *Secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo* (Venice, 1588; RISM F 93) do not contain elements that can be ascribed to a popular matrix.

The genre of *letteratura schiavonesca* (verses with unwritten music), which circulated in Venice during the first half of the century and then disappeared with the death of the actor-author Zuan Polo (1540), represents another type of imitation. The Venetian piazza was the favoured stage for all types of linguistic counterfeits in the foreign languages and dialects spoken in Italy. And the Dubrovnik-born *buffone* Polo was most interested in the parody of the

36 Jerko Bezić, 'Approaches to the People's Musical Life in Dalmatia (Croatia) in the Past and Present', in *Narodna Umjetnosti* 33 (1996), 75-88 at 76-79.

37 Ennio Stipčević, *Aurea Aetas: The Golden Age of Music in Croatia. Essays on Renaissance and Baroque Music* (Zagreb, 2005), 8-9, 46-48.

38 The manuscript was edited by Ludovico Frati, 'Un'egloga rusticale del 1508', in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 20 (1892), 186-204 (verses 146ff.).

schiaivone, as indicated by his poems dedicated to the character Rado, the Croatian braggart who speaks a pidgin of Venetian and Italian mixed with terms and syntax taken from the eastern shores of the Adriatic. Examples hereof can be found in *Libero del Rado stixuso* (1533), *Libero de le vendete che fese i fioli de Rado Licca Micula de Stizoso* (1535), *Testamento de Zuan Polo* (s.l., s.d.). To these works, we can also add the anonymous *Strambotti de misser Rado* (s.l., s.d.), *Frotole nuove de Lazaro da Cruzola* (1547), *Lamento de Stana schiavona* (1548), *Taritrion, taritrion caco dobro salzigon con molte altre canzon in schiavonescho* (s.l., s.d. [*caco dobro* = how good it is]), *Mariazo ... di donna Rada bratessa* (s.l., s.d. [*bratessa* from the Croatian *brat*, which recalls brother, but in this context it means sister]).³⁹

In *Rado stixuso*, Zuan Polo appears dressed as a poet laureate holding a viola da braccio. He is described in this way even by the chronicler Marin Sanudo, who discusses in detail Polo's practice of singing verses in *schiaivonesco* accompanied by the bagpipe, played by his colleague Grgur. Polo himself writes of this practice, too, in his *Libero de le vendete* (II, 59). In this case as well nothing remains of the music played by the actor, who named himself Ivan Pavlavicchio da Raguxi (Ivan Pavlović from Dubrovnik). Nor did *schiaivonesco* enter the polyphonic repertoire, which did, in contrast, adopt the stereotypical characters of the German, the Greek sailor, and the Turk after the battle of Lepanto (1571).⁴⁰ The only influence of the 'parlaura dalmatina' is found in certain characters of Andrea Calmo's comedies *Travaglia*, *Rodiana*, and *Spagnolàs*.

Academies and Philosophical Debates on Music

Around the middle of the sixteenth century, during the troubled years of the Council of Trent, numerous academies were founded around Italy, with a particular concentration in the large and small cities of the Venetian Republic.⁴¹ The Serenissima did not have a court, and the only central organization dedicated to advanced study was the University of Padua, a favourite of the people from Istria and Dalmatia, whose names are marked in contemporary records

39 Listed in Manlio Cortelazzo, 'Il linguaggio schiaivonesco nel Cinquecento veneziano', in *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 130 (1971-72), 113-60.

40 Cf. the chapter 'Zuan Polo, il canto alla schiaivonesca e lo spettacolo veneziano ai primi del Cinquecento', in Ivano Cavallini, *I due volti di Nettuno. Studi su teatro e musica a Venezia e in Dalmazia dal Cinquecento al Settecento* (Lucca, 1994), 13-24.

41 See also the chapter 'Music and the Academies of Venice and the Veneto' by Iain Fenlon in the present volume.

with the label 'natio dalmata'. Following the model of the learned courtier, overseas intellectuals developed the habit of meeting to debate about all forms of knowledge and to organize spectacles with music, emulating princely courts. Among the aims of these associations, two emerge with particular clarity in the Republic's maritime territories: the wish to serve the state with science and technology and the desire to deal with political and artistic themes, updating ancient philosophical thought to create new ruling classes.

The transition from humanistic learning to the encyclopaedic study of the new sciences is notable in Koper's Accademia Palladia, created around 1567 under the support of the noble Pietro Pola, whose house Puliti described as an 'accademia di musica'.⁴² After the failed experience of the earlier Accademia dei Desiosi, suspected for heresy by the Catholic polemicist Girolamo Muzio (1496-1576), the Palladia gave life to a series of dialogues in the 1580s, at the conclusion of which the academy's members entertained themselves by singing madrigals set to music by anonymous composers—probably local chapel masters.⁴³ The only known composer to have had fruitful contact with the Palladia in the early years of the seventeenth century was Gabriello Puliti, who earned the title 'accademico armonico detto l'allegro' on his arrival in the capital of Venetian Istria (the adjective *armonico* is synonymous with music, and *allegro* is the composer's epithet). This academic name appears on the title page of his second book of madrigals for five voices, *Baci ardenti* (Venice, 1609; RISM P 5649), even though the name of Palladia is not quoted.

Traces of the themes debated at Koper's academy can be found in Girolamo Vida's treatise *Sileno* (s.d., but 1589), which contains the responses of Ottonello de' Belli, and in the anthology of treatises *Dieci de' cento dubbi amorosi* (Padua, 1621, posthumous). In the *Dubbi*, dating from sometime between 1586 and 1591, Vida includes a long dissertation on the platonic topic of beauty. Following the neo-humanistic structure of a question-and-answer dialogue, three members respond to a question about which of the three beauties of man—that is, the beauty of the body, of the soul and of the voice—has the greatest influence on moral well-being. In their response, the members analyse the gnoseological processes connected to the eye, the mind and the ear. To demonstrate the voice's power over the soul, and the power of a song that sweetly enralls its

42 See the dedicatory letter in Gabriello Puliti, *Sacri accenti. Libro quarto delli concerti a una voce* (Venice, 1620; RISM P 5656). Metoda Kokole, "Servitore affetionatissimo Fra Gabriello Puliti" and the Dedicatees of his Published Music Works (1600-1635), in *De Musica Disserenda* 3/2 (2007), 107-34 at 116-17.

43 Baccio Ziliotto, 'Accademie e accademici a Capodistria (1478-1807)', in *Archeografo Triestino* 66 (1944), 115-279 at 117-49.

listeners, Giambattista Zarotti carries out a long excursus on the concept of the harmony of the world. In addition to detailed analysis about the theories of Boethius and Ficino, he includes a table based on the correspondences between the muses that produce universal harmony (as Plato teaches in *The Republic* x, 617b and Macrobius writes in his *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*) and the ancient Greek musical modes according to the enneachords of Pliny and Martianus Capella. Zarotti adds to this the sephiroth of Jewish kabbalah, the creatures who gifted man with the virtues.⁴⁴

Despite the presence of a conspicuous number of humanists, there are no traces of stable academies in other cities along the coast, with the exception of Dubrovnik. The free republic was avant-garde in its imitation of the institutions and culture of Italy and Venice, its primary rival in the Mediterranean. Ragusan intellectuals' thriving contact with Venice, and also with Padua, Rome, and Naples, fostered the birth of the Accademia dei Concorde (Akademija Složnih) in 1556, under the guidance of Sabo Bobaljević, who boasted the friendship of Annibal Caro, Domenico Venier, and Benedetto Varchi. The city's most prominent petrarchists were Dominko Zlatarić, Frano Lukarević, Miho (Michele) Monaldi and Dinko Ranjina—all of whom were capable of writing poetry in Italian and Croatian, also on the themes of daily life.⁴⁵ These scholars' particular inclination for civic duty led to the publication of treatises on the philosophy of politics, commerce, and law. Regarding the use of music within this same milieu, essays by Nikola Vitov Gučetić (Nicolò di Vito Gozze, 1549–1610) are important. Gučetić was a student of Camillo Camilli and a connoisseur of Italian culture, even if, like many other distinguished Ragusans, he never lived in Italy. Elected ruler seven times, the Ragusan patrician published six treatises, including the dialogue *Dello stato delle repubbliche secondo la mente di Aristotele* (Venice, 1591). In this essay, the author adapts certain assertions

44 The sephiroth appear in Francesco Giorgio Veneto's (1466–1540) *De harmonia mundi* (1525) as well. Shunned by the church as heterodoxy, the treatise of Giorgio, a friar from the abbey of San Francesco della Vigna in Venice, appears under the category of 'Musica' in the list of publications put out by the Venetian Accademia della Fama, supported by Federico Badoer (*Somma delle opere*, Venice, 1558), who intended to prepare a translation from Latin into Italian to disseminate Giorgio's ideas. See Ivano Cavallini, 'Musica e filosofia nell'Accademia Palladia di Capodistria: considerazioni sul dialogo "Dieci de' cento dubbi amorosi" (1621)', in *Studi Musicali* 16 (1987), 229–45. The *Somma* is recorded by Lina Bolzoni, 'L'Accademia Veneziana: splendore e decadenza di una utopia enciclopedica', in *Università, accademie e società scientifiche in Italia e in Germania dal Cinquecento al Settecento*, ed. Laetitia Boehm and Ezio Raimondi (Bologna, 1981), 117–68.

45 Rafo Bogišić, 'Akademija Složnih (dei Concorde) u Dubrovniku 16. stoljeća' [The Sixteenth-Century Academy of Concorde in Dubrovnik], in *Croatica* 24–25 (1986), 47–68.

from Book VIII of Aristotle's *Politics* to the context of his homeland to justify educating young people in the liberal arts. Among which he inserts the practice of playing instruments, like the lute and the viola, to compose and sing canzoni, sonnets, and the 'stanza toscana'. Here, behind the archetype of harmony, which connects the body and the mind, lies the issue of class. Noble youth were obliged to learn music not as a profession but as an *otium* in the manner of Castiglione's courtier, to raise the spirit. According to the myth of Athena, Gučetić rejects wind instruments, which at that time were played by professional ensembles employed by the state and were thus unsuitable for the ruling class.⁴⁶

In contrast, in the treatise *Irene overo Della bellezza* (Venice, 1599), Gučetić's friend and colleague Michele Monaldi (1539-92), who was praised *post mortem* in the 'Illyrian verses' (Croatian poems) of Zlatarić, sets his dialogue between Panfilo and Irene in the peace of a garden. Inspired by Bembo's *Asolani*, Monaldi's work discusses music in its eighth *ragionamento*. One of the treatise's particularly innovative aspects is its separation of the arts into *attive* and *fattive*, or diachronic and synchronic. Poetry and music belong to the first, for they are immaterial products of the mind that unfold over time; the visual arts, consisting of material objects, belong to the second. The influence of Christian Neo-Platonism can be seen in the reason for which God created music, the symbol of harmony, which allowed man to discover moral well-being via the beauty of proportions. Aside from the resemblance of this precept to that of St. Augustine on the *donum Dei* leading to the *laudatio Dei*, the treatise's complex classification of the relationship between text and music anticipates the achievements of modern linguistics.⁴⁷ Music signifies 'per natura', the author writes, seeing as it deals only with the realm of sound, while words signify 'per positione', not having any connection to things. In fact, this meaning of music coincides with that which developed according to cultural traditions accumulated over the centuries, while words designate by convention concrete objects and abstract concepts. The two realms (or the signifier and the signified, in modern terms) meet in onomatopoeia. There, the author highlights that music has the power to emphasise the meaning of words and writes: 'i musici si servono come di una misura del parlare nei loro canti, accomodando le armonie e i ritmi per far sì ch'el canto significhi quel ch'essi intendono' ('musicians make

46 Stanislav Tuksar, *Croatian Renaissance Music Theorists* (Zagreb, 1980), 115-36, Monika Jurić, 'Paideia and the Neo-Platonic Ideas on Music Education and Culture in Renaissance Dubrovnik in the Works by Nicolò Vito di Gozze (Nikola Vitov Gučetić)', in *The International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 44 (2013), 3-17.

47 *Sancti Augustini Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 99:5; 150:8.

use of one measure of speaking in their singing, adjusting the harmonies and rhythms such that the music signifies what [the musicians] mean').⁴⁸

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Despite the difficulty of classifying the art music of Istria and Dalmatia according to degrees of subordination, adaptation, and autonomy from Venice and from Italy, it is clear that the threat of invasions from the Ottoman Empire contributed to creating conditions favourable for a Slavic-Romance cultural symbiosis.⁴⁹ Obviously, this is not to say that the Republic of Venice governed its colonies generously, as they were considered above all a stronghold for the conservation of its maritime supremacy. Nevertheless, the people it subjugated conserved Eastern customs and life styles that were very different from those of the neighbouring Balkans. For this reason, along the strip of coast between Koper and Dubrovnik the use of the ancient Byzantine eulogy to praise the *basileus*, subsequently inherited by the Doge, remained intact all the way down to the seventeenth century. Sung in Latin or in 'sclavica lingua' (Slavic language), as documents regarding the voyage of Doge Pietro Orseolo II (991-1008) to Osor attest, and as it is also attested a century later in Martino da Canal's *Les estoires de Venise* and later still in Ivan Lucić's (Giovanni Luccio, 1604-79) *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae* (Amsterdam, 1666), the 'lauda' maintained its primitive form: 'Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat. Serenissimo Domino nostro (name of the Doge) Inclyto Duci Venetiarum salus, virtus et imperium'. For the political reasons mentioned above, this public display of jubilation, performed monophonically or polyphonically for two or more voices, must have sounded more magnificent than it does now.⁵⁰

48 Michele Monaldi, *Irene overo Della bellezza* (Venice, 1599), 145a; Tuksar, *Croatian Renaissance Music Theorists*, 105-13.

49 Žarko Muljačić, 'Die slawisch-romanische Symbiose in Dalmatien in struktureller Sicht', in *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 5 (1967), 51-70.

50 Ivano Cavallini, 'Antiche acclamazioni con musica in Dalmazia e Istria', in *Studi in onore di Giuseppe Vecchi*, ed. Ivano Cavallini (Modena, 1990), 39-52.

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General Index

- Aaron, Pietro 9, 120, 243, 259, 265, 270n152,
280, 345, 347-48, 350-55, 357, 360n69
Compendiolo di molti dubbi 354
Libri tres de institutione harmonica 353
Lucidario in musica 354
Toscanello in Musica 120, 352, 354
*Trattato della natura et cognitione di tutti
gli tuoni* 350, 354-55
- Abbatini, Antonio Maria
Apparuit Deus Moysi 394
- Abondante (dal) Pestrin, Giulio 160, 171-72,
179, 181, 198
- Academies
Aldina 112, 116
Concordi (Dubrovnik) 13, 525
Costanti (Vicenza) 4, 104, 106, 108
Desiosi (Koper) 524
Elevati (Padua) 4, 106-8
Eterei (Padua) 4, 106-8
Filarmonica (Verona) 4, 8, 117-20, 287,
430
Fiorentina (Florence) 99-100
Infiammati (Padua) 4, 100, 102-4, 116
Intronati (Siena) 4, 102, 103n15, 518
Invaghiti 472
Moderati (Verona) 120
Novelli (Verona) 120
Olimpica (Vicenza) 4, 108-10, 516
Palladia (Koper) 13, 503, 516, 524
Rinascenti (Padua) 108
Umidi (*see* Accademia Fiorentina)
Unisoni 110
Uniti 112
Veneziana 349, 362
Venier 428
Vittoria (Verona) 118-19
- Agee, Richard J. 335, 337
- Agostini, Lodovico 441-42, 446-49, 464-67
Amor m'ha bastonat 442, 449
Chi lexe qua' 467
Libro secondo de madrigali à quattro voci
447
*Musica ... sopra le rime bizzarre di M.
Andrea Calmo* 442, 447, 449, 465-66
Paxe no trovo 447
- Sapiè cari Signori* 465
Varde qua drento 466-67
- Agricola, Alexander 353
- Agustin di Frari 255
- Alberti, Innocenzo 107
- Alberto *francese* (Alberto da San Marco) 7,
23, 214n37, 215-16
- Alessandrino, Pietro 258
- Alexander III (Pope) 131
- Alfani, Guido 154n16
- Alfonso da Ferrara 308
- Alfonso da Porcia 478, 480
- Al-Ghazali 241
- Almerigo, Iseppo 159, 161, 167-68, 171-72, 178,
181
- Alvise dei Santi Apostoli (*see* Dalle Villotte,
Alvise)
- Altan, Girolamo 166
- Amadi, Agostino 185
- Amadino, Ricciardo 210, 344, 390n52
- Anacreon 411
- Andrea da Fivizzano 209
- Anerio, Giovanni Francesco
Magnificat 394
- Angiolelli, Antonio Maria
La Lidia 110
- Anglicus, Robertus 240
- Annibaldi, Claudio 154n15, 174n29, 397
- Anonymous
Ayme sospiri 455-56
Gaude virgo (from *Liber processionum*,
1542) 56-57
Muta pensiero 402
Regina caeli (from *Liber processionum*,
1542) 56-57
Salve regina (from *Liber processionum*,
1542) 56-57
Tu m'arobasti 451
- Ans, Zuanne 255, 264n126
- Antegnati, Costanzo 319, 430
*L'Antegnata: Intavolatura de ricercari
d'organo* 430
Salmi a otto voci 390n50
- Antegnati, Graziadio 315n78, 418, 430n20
- Antenoreo, Onofrio 400, 405

- Antico, Andrea 13, 322, 327-30, 344, 496
 Antonio (organist at San Salvador) 158, 160
 Antonio Dona' di Nicolò 160
 Anzolo di Andrea 166
 Aquinas, Thomas 240-41
 Aragona, Cardinal Luigi, d' 288
 Arcadelt, Jacques 118, 265, 335n35
 Il primo libro di madrigal a quatro voci
 102, 332-33
 Il quinto libro di madrigali a quatro voci
 161
 Arentino, Pietro 102, 244, 266-67, 269n150,
 271, 278, 286, 357-58
 Ternali in gloria de la Reina di Francia 265
 Ariosto, Ludovico 107, 120
 Orlando furioso 483
 Aristotle 241, 440n2
 Politics 440n2, 526
 Armonio, Giovanni 24, 281
 Artusi, Giovanni Maria 352, 366, 443-44
 L'Artusi 352
 Arzignan, Zuanne 167
 Asola, Giovanni Matteo 120, 162, 344, 390
 Assisi, Ruffino d' 208, 400
 Attaignant, Pierre 8, 322
 Augustin di Nicolò 157, 165, 169, 180
 Averroes 241
- Baccusi, Ippolito 97, 119, 193-97, 208-9, 262,
 366
 Missa Sancti Stephani 97
 Motectorum cum quinque sex et octo
 vocibus 166, 193
 O lumen ecclesiae 97
 Badoer, Federico 5, 112, 114, 117, 225, 525
 Badoer, Sebastiano 156, 158
 Baffo, Antonio 317
 Balbi, Alvise (Luigi) 166, 176, 185, 190-201, 433
 Balbi di Piero, Alvise 166
 Balbi, Lodovico 97, 208, 248
 Baldassare da Imola 281
 Baldi, Bernardo 361
 Balsamino, Simone 210, 299
 Novellette 210
 Baglioni di Michelangelo, Donato 166
 Bakfark, Valentino 299
 Banchieri, Adriano 242, 260n112, 262, 394
 Baptista da Verona 287
 Barbarigo, Agostino 214
 Barbaro, Daniele 102, 109
 Barberijs, Melchiorre 163
 Barbetta, Giulio Cesare 169, 179, 181, 299
 Primo libro dell'intavolatura de liuto 522
 Barbieri, Girolamo 171
 Bargagli, Scipione 3, 100-1, 121
 Barges, Antonio 167, 183n48, 208, 220,
 225n63, 498
 Barignano, Pietro 265n131
 Baron Gritti, Giulio 166
 Baroncini, Rodolfo 6, 254n88, 274n6, 429
 Barozzi, Lorenzo 158
 Barozzini di Beneto, Bartolomeo 166
 Barré, Antonio 447
 Bartolini, Orindio 167-68
 Basadonna di Luca, Marin 158
 Bassano (family) 8, 192, 277, 287, 311, 416
 Bassano, Alvise 277n19
 Bassano, Antonio 312
 Bassano, Giovanni 6, 34, 129, 142-43, 163, 168,
 195, 197, 200, 242, 309, 311-12, 383, 386,
 388, 425, 432-36, 439
 Beata virgo et martyr Iustina 142-43
 Concerti ecclesiastici 385
 Madrigali et canzonette 163, 201n
 Motetti, madrigali, et canzoni francese ...
 diminuiti per sonar con ogni sorte di
 stromenti 433
 Motetti per concerti ecclesiastici 142, 435
 Ricerate, passaggi et cadentie 166, 433
 Bassano, Hieronimo (Jeronimo) 310-11
 Bassano, Giacomo 310-11
 Bassano, Santino 312
 Bassano, Santo 195n89, 310-11
 Battista da San Pantalon 255
 Begotto (see Thiene, Marco)
 Belegno di Marc'Antonio, Bernardin 158
 Bella, Gabriel 21
 Bellamano, Franceschina 243, 299
 Bellasio, Paolo 119, 171
 Bellavere (Bell'haver), Vincenzo 146, 155,
 160, 164, 171, 319, 442, 449, 456, 458
 Nu semo tre vechieti 442, 449, 456
 Questo Re glorioso 146
 Bell'haver, Giovan Battista 187
 Belli, Giulio 97, 208
 Bellini, Gentile 62, 135
 Procession in Piazza San Marco 62n44,
 278-79, 298, 426

- Belloni di Giacomo, Nicolò 166
 Belloni di Giovan Battista, Vincenzo 166
 Bembo, Alvise 158
 Bembo di Pietro, Torquato 158
 Bembo, Marco 158, 177
 Bembo, Pietro 99-100, 102-4, 116, 281, 347,
 364, 494
 Asolani 526
 Prose della volgar lingua 99-100
 Benedetti, Giovanni Battista 364
 Benedetti, Rocco 230n2, 269
 Bentivoglio (family) 350
 Beolco, Angelo ('Il Ruzzante') 103-4
 Berchem, Jacquet de 158
 Berlendi, Antonio 177
 Bernardino da Pavia 360n69
 Bernardo d'Allemagna 319
 Bernardo di Frari 255
 Bernstein, Jane A. 329-32, 337, 341, 342n59
 Bertali, Antonio 482
 Bertoldo, Sperindio 161
 Bessarion, Cardinal 114, 116
 Bevilacqua, Count Mario 119
 Bianchini, Domenico ('Rossetto') 163, 166,
 169, 179, 299
 Bianchini, Tizian 301
 Bianchino da Fontenella 269
 Biblioteca Marciana 2, 5, 112
 Bindoni, Agostino 331
 Bindoni, Gabriel 196
 Bisan, Zanin 400
 Blackburn, Bonnie J. 7, 292-94, 297-98,
 308-9, 325, 348n15, 353, 356n50, 356n53,
 358
 Blanco, Gasparo 319
 Blanco, Giovanni 285
 Blessi, Manoli (*see* Molino, Antonio)
 Bobali (*see* Bobaljević, Sabo)
 Bobaljević, Sabo 494, 525
 Boccaccio, Giovanni 99
 Boethius 241, 247n60, 359, 362n80, 525
 Boiardo, Matteo Maria
 Orlando innamorato 483
 Bolani di Andrea, Stefano 158, 180
 Bombi, Andrea 465
 Bona, Valerio 97
 Bonagiunta, Giulio 9, 159, 164, 168-70, 188,
 248, 249n67, 341-42, 445, 457
 Daspuò ch'al mio dolor 442, 446, 449
 E vorave saver, colonna mia 445
 Nu semo tre vechieti 442, 449
 Bonaldo, Francesco 498
 Bonardo, Francesco 462
 Amur se mi til dao 462
 Se la bellezza fusse pers'al mondo 444
 Bonardo, Iseppo 159-60, 165, 183n49
 Bonaventura da Bagnoregio 241
 Bondioli, Giacomo
 Psalmi tum alterno tum continuo choro
 canendi cum basso ad organum 373
 Bonfanti (family) 192
 Bonfanti, Michiel 160, 171
 Bonifacio, Bartolomeo 374-78, 388, 392
 Bonomo, Pietro 508
 Bontempelli dal Calice, Bartolomeo 166
 Bonzanino, Agostino 119
 Boorman, Stanley 325n13, 326, 336, 338n50,
 403-4
 Booth, Michiele 166
 Borgia, Lucrezia 103, 244
 Borso, Giacomo 167
 Bosch, Laux (= Luca Pos) 284
 Botero, Giovanni 147
 Bottegari, Cosimo 265, 270
 Bovicelli, Giovanni Battista 436-37, 492
 Regole, passaggi di musica 436-37
 Boyleau, Simon de 161
 Bozi, Paolo 162
 Bozza, Bortholetto 233n12
 Bozza, Francesco 199-200
 La Fedra 200
 Bragadin, Alvise 158
 Bragadin, Lorenzo 281
 Bragadin di Girolamo, Giovanni 158
 Bragadin di Polo, Giovan Battista 158
 Bratosaljić, Antun Sasin
 Filide 516
 Flora 516
 Bressan, Francesco 319
 Bressan, Iseppo 160
 Brocco, Giovanni 398, 404
 Alma svegliate hormai 404
 Brown, Howard Mayer 437
 Brucioli, Antonio
 Dialoghi della naturale philosophia umana
 521

- Brunello, Giorgio 452
 Brunetti, Giovanni
 Salmi spezzati concertati 373
 Bryant, David 10-11, 95, 262n122
 Bulghat, Johannes de 335n37
 Buonamente, Giovanni Battista 482
 Busnoys, Antoine 274
 Busti, Bartolomeo 168
 Buus, Jacques 119, 168, 171, 220, 281, 286,
 319n94, 331, 418

 Caccini, Giulio 270, 488
 Le nuove musiche 488, 492
 Calmo, Andrea 11, 247, 263-64, 266, 442,
 447-49, 452-53, 455-56, 464-67, 521
 Bizzarre, faconde, et ingegnose rime
 pescatorie 464, 466
 Chi lexe qua' 466, 467
 Giocose, moderne et facetissime egloghe
 pastorali 521
 La Spagnolas 453
 Lettere 426
 Non ve maravegiè 465
 Rodiana 523
 Travaglia 523
 Cambio, Perissone (Pierreson) 169, 220,
 224-25, 248, 264, 299
 Camilli, Camillo 525
 Canal, Floriano 430
 Canal, Pietro 268
Cancionero de El Escorial 455-56
 Cangiasi, Giovanni Antonio 97
 Capella, Martianus 525
 Capello (family) 186
 Capello, Betta 187n57, 190
 Capello di Alvise, Girolamo 159
 Capello di Giovanni Battista, Silvano 159
 Capello di Piero, Giovanni 158
 Capello, Fiorenza 190
 Capello, Fiorenza Girolama 188
 Capello, Paulo 159
 Capello, Silvano 174, 186-90
 Capello, Simon 159
 Capello, Vettor 159
 Capello, Zan Battista 188
 Capirola, Vincenzo 280
 Cappella Giulia 358
 Cappella Marciana 347, 364, 366

 Cappella Palatina (Lucca) 498
 Cappello, Antonio 219n50
 Capponi, Filippo 246, 264n126
 Capponi, Neri 111, 167, 176, 181, 244n53, 289
 Cara, Marchetto 398, 404-5, 414
 Caràvia, Alessandro 522
 Caro, Annibal 525
 Carpaccio, Vittore 61, 138
 Carpenello, Giorgio 256, 260
 Carrara, Michele 164, 169, 179, 198
 Cartari, Giuliano 97
 Casali, Giambattista 358
 Casentini, Marsilio 502
 Quinto libro 502
 Casentini, Silao 498, 502, 510
 Colli e voi piaggie 502, 504-7
 Ninfe che nel più ameno letto d'Adria 502
 Primo libro de' madrigali a cinque, con uno
 dialogo a sette 498
 Casoni, Guido 482
 Castellanus, Petrus 210, 324-25
 Castello, Dario 439
 Castello, Francesco 167
 Castiglione, Baldassare 452, 456, 526
 Il libro del cortegiano 101
 Cattin, Giulio 395, 398, 400
 Cavatoni, Pietro
 Scielta de madrigali a cinque voci 120
 Cavazzoni, Girolamo
 Ricercari, canzoni, himni 418
 Cavazzoni, Marco Antonio 222, 241, 248,
 264-65, 272, 280-81, 348, 417, 430
 Recerchari, motetti, canzoni 417
 Cazzati, Maurizio
 Messe da capella a quattro voci 374
 Cebà, Ansaldo 478
 Cerva, Elio Lampridio (Ilija Crijević) 494
 Cesena, Pellegrino 398, 404
 Chrysostom, John 241
 Chamaterò, Ippolito 119
 Charles II, Archduke of Austria 128, 502,
 504-7
 Charles IX (King of France) 146
 Cherea (see De' Nobili, Francesco)
 Chiabrera, Gabriello 482
 Chiozotto, Zuanne 255
 Christine of Lorraine 297

Churches

- San Bartolomeo 63
 San Basilio 66
 San Basso 46, 86
 San Benedetto 54
 San Cassiano 319
 San Daniele 53, 320
 San Fantin 63, 82, 165, 241
 San Francesco della Vigna 48
 San Geminiano 19, 286, 319
 San Geremia 52, 54, 65
 San Giobbe 96, 159, 167, 171
 San Giorgio in Alga 377
 San Giorgio Maggiore 48, 61
 San Giovanni (Laterano) 161
 San Giovanni Battista in Bragora 318-19
 San Giovanni Decollato 92, 185
 San Giovanni Elemosinario 245
 San Giovanni Evangelista di Torcello 65
 San Giuliano (San Zulian) 67, 89, 391
 San Giuseppe (Brescia) 430
 San Gregorio 46, 63, 162, 188
 San Lorenzo 46-47, 56, 60, 62, 65
 San Matteo 46
 San Matteo di Mazzorbo 61
 San Maurizio 91, 188, 192, 197, 201
 San Nicolò dei Mendicoli 54, 87
 San Nicolò del Lido 5, 61, 97
 San Pantalon 82, 241, 255
 San Petronio (Bologna) 350
 San Pietro di Castello 20, 46, 59, 82, 210-11
 San Polo 82, 85, 208, 391
 San Provolo 46
 San Salvador (San Salvatore) 24, 46, 63, 77, 158-60, 177, 284, 319
 San Samuele 157, 171, 187
 San Sebastiano 318
 San Severo 46, 225, 361
 San Silvestro 91, 269, 273, 275, 287, 428
 San Vito 319
 San Stae 88, 92-93
 Santa Barbara (Mantua) 418, 430
 Santa Croce 46
 Santa Eufemia 167
 Santa Fosca 50-51, 60
 Santa Giustina 46, 62, 75-76, 140-44, 205, 391
 Santa Lucia 46
 Sant'Alvise 318
 Santa Maria Assunta (Torcello) 46
 Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi 82, 208, 241
 Santa Maria degli Angeli di Murano 65
 Santa Maria dei Carmini 54, 82, 208
 Santa Maria dei Servi 48, 54, 208
 Santa Maria del Giglio (Zobenigo) 83, 300, 318, 320
 Santa Maria della Celestia 65
 Santa Maria della Pietà (La Pietà) 88
 Santa Maria delle Vergini 52, 61, 64-65, 76
 Santa Maria e San Donato 47
 Santa Maria Formosa 112, 229, 267, 375, 391
 Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari (Frari) 6, 48, 54, 208, 232
 Santa Maria Maggiore (Bergamo) 189
 Santa Maria Nova 88
 Santa Marta 65
 Sant'Angelo 58, 156, 159, 167
 Sant'Anna 392
 Sant'Antonio Abate (Torcello) 76, 91
 Sant'Apollinare 277
 Sant'Aponal 83
 Santa Sofia 52, 355-56
 Sant'Erasmo 47
 Santi Cosma e Damiano 65
 Santi Giovanni e Paolo (San Zanipolo) 6, 48, 52, 54, 60-61, 62, 67-68, 82, 84-86, 95, 138, 170, 208, 210, 232, 241, 287, 325
 Sant'Orsola 65, 67, 95
 Santo Spirito (Bergamo) 430n20
 Santo Stefano 48, 54, 60, 63, 67, 76-77, 82, 85, 91, 97, 156, 193, 208, 232, 241, 312, 365-66
 San Vitale (San Vidal) 86, 286
 San Zaccaria 46-47, 55, 61, 64-65, 95
 Cicero 241
 Ciciliano, Antonio 195, 301, 303, 308
 Ciconia, Johannes 22, 511
 Ciera, Ippolito 162
 Cifra, Antonio
 Motecta et psalmi duodenis vocibus 373
 Motecta et psalmi octonis vocibus 373
 Ciminelli dell'Aquila, Serafino 395

- Civita, Davit 12, 470, 477-78, 482, 488
Pargolett'è colei 479
Premittie armoniche a tre voci 477, 482
- Claudio da Correggio 157, 339
- Clement VIII (Pope) 349
- Clerico, Paolo 108
Li madrigali a cinque voci, libro secondo
 107
- Coimbram, Moses 474-75
- Colombani, Orazio 208
- Colombo, Giovanni Antonio 160, 168-70
- Colombo, Vincenzo 286, 315, 318, 320, 431
- Colonna, Domenico 196
- Colonna, Martha 196
- Colonna, Paolo 159, 174
- Colonna, Vincenzo 157, 166, 196-98, 319
- Colonna, Zuanne 196
- Colorni, Pietro 159
- Commynes, Philippe de 128
- Compagnia dei Cortesi 77, 286
- Compagnia dei Sempiterni 276n13
- Compagnia del Fontego della Farina 95
- Compagnia di Ortolani 276
- Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio: Gabrieli* 37, 128-
 29, 132, 141, 385, 394, 429, 438
- Conforti, Giovanni Luca 492
- Contareno, Antonio 276
- Contarini, Cardinal Gasparo 235n18
- Contarini di Alessandro, Lodovico 159
- Contarini di Alvise, Alvise 159
- Contarini di Benetto, Santo 159
- Contarini di Girolamo, Dario 159
- Contarini di Nicolò, Alvise 159
- Contarini, Dionisio 159
- Contarini di Stefano, Alessandro 159
- Contarini, Federico 228
- Contarini, Giacomo 159, 183
- Contarini, Giovanni Alvise 159
- Contarini, Giulio 186
- Contarini, Pietro 24
Argo vulgare 24
- Contarini, Tomaso 276
- Contile, Luca 117
- Copia, Sarra 475n20
- Cornaro, Alvise 104
- Cornaro, Francesco 281
- Corner, Carlo 156, 159
- Corner, Andrea 159
- Corner, Giacomo 159
- Corner, Marco 160
- Corniani di Francesco, Cornelio 167
- Coronelli, Vincenzo Maria 54
Guida de' forestieri 80
- Corso, Giovan Battista 167
- Corteccia, Francesco 428n17
- Coryat, Thomas 19, 20, 72, 128, 137
- Courtois, Lambert 119
- Cremona, Secondo 167
- Crijević, Ilija (*see* Cerva, Elio Lampridio)
- Croce, Giovanni 6-7, 29, 68, 73, 129, 143,
 159-60, 162-65, 168, 174, 228-29, 242,
 255-58, 374, 378, 383-84, 387-88, 393-94
Benedictus Dominus Deus Sabaoth 141,
 143
Compietta a otto voci 374
Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci
 229n77
Missa Percussit Saul 143-44
Missa sopra la battaglia 144
Motetti a otto ... comodi per le voci, e per
cantar con ogni stromento 143
Sacre cantilene concertate a tre, a cinque, et
sei voci 393
Salmi che si cantano a terza 374
Vespertina psalmodia 374
- da Canal, Martino
Les estoires de Venise 527
- Da Lezze di Andrea, Giovanni 161
- Da Lezze (di Giovanni), Andrea 161, 181, 198,
 200
- Da Lezze di Priamo, Giovanni 161, 181
- Da Mosto, Francesco 386
- Dal Cornetto, Zuan Maria 95
- Dalla Casa, Girolamo 33-34, 129, 164, 195,
 312, 385, 416, 425, 432-36, 439
Il vero modo di diminuir con tutte le sorti di
stromenti 10, 305, 432-33, 435
- Dalla Casa, Nicolò 129
- Dalla Gatta di Sebastian, Gasparo 167
- Dalla Libera, Sandro 318, 424
- Dalla Ponta, Giovan Battista 294
- Dall'Aquila, Marco 272, 278, 280, 422
- Dalla Viola, Francesco 220, 227
- Dalle Donne, Giovanni
- Dalle Donne, Sebastiano
- Dalle Villotte, Alvise (Alvise dei Santi
 Apostoli) 233, 237, 248, 252

- Dalmatin, Anton 508, 511
 Dalza, Joan Ambrosio 423
 Dammonis, Innocenzio 135
 D'Ana (Varoter), Francesco 399, 404
 Dandolo, Giovanni 276
 Dandolo di Francesco, Alessandro 160
 Dandolo di Leonardo, Polo 160
 Darsa, Marino (*see* Držić, Marin)
 De' Barbari, Jacopo 291
 De Bassis, Andrea 282
 De' Belli, Ottonello 524
 Selve incoronate 516
 De' Castellani, Castellano 510
 Decher di Ruberto, Simon 167
 De' Dominis, Marco Antonio 507
 De' Gachi, Ventura 471
 Delfino, Domenico 114, 116
 Sommario di tutte le scienze 116
 Della Croce, Filippo 254n89
 Del Lago, Giovanni 9, 267, 269, 347-49, 351,
 354-58, 360n69, 400
 Breve introduzione di musica misurata
 357
 Epistole 357
 Della Porta, Giorgio 398
 Della Vale, Portia 472
 De' Lorenzi, Lorenzo 97
 De' Martini, Giovanni 169, 180
 De' Nobili, Francesco ('Cherea') 276
 De Petris, Stefanello 517
 De Piissimi, Angelo 252, 264
 De Rore, Cipriano 7, 27, 28, 117-18, 169,
 170-71, 181, 214, 222-25, 227-29, 239, 265,
 341, 363, 374, 418, 429n, 435-36, 497
 Io canterei d'amor 435
 Terzo libro di madrigali 155
 Desprez (Des Prez), Josquin 324, 265, 353
 Missarum liber II 355
 De' Tebaldi, Giacomo 244n54
 d'Hanna, Paolo 168
 Diedo di Alvise, Fantin 160
 Diedo di Alvise, Pietro Antonio 160
 Diedo, Girolamo 156, 219n50
 di Frari, Fabritio 265
 Diruta, Agostino
 Davidicae modulationes 373
 Diruta, Girolamo 347, 366-67, 432, 434, 436,
 438
 Dialoghi musicali 434
 Il Transilvano 10, 424, 436
 Dolce, Lodovico 112, 266-67
 Le troiane 180
 Dolfin, Andrea 184n52, 198-200
 Domenico da Pesaro 287, 315, 317-18
 Donati, Ignazio 394
 Donato, Baldassare 7, 28-29, 68, 111, 156-61,
 165, 174, 190n71, 220-21, 227-29, 239, 242,
 248-49, 254-58, 260, 263-64, 374, 429n,
 250n70, 258, 264
 Doni, Antonfrancesco 111, 184, 367
 Dialogo della musica 184n51, 367
 Donnelly, Daniel 11
 Držić, Marin 518
 Tirena 518
 Venere i Adon 520
 Dufay, Guillaume 511
 Eberle, Cristoforo 296
 Ech (family) 295
 Edwards, Rebecca A. 9, 151n6, 341n55
 Einstein, Alfred 11, 335
 Elmi, Andrea 294
 Erizzo, Sebastiano 117
 Este, Alfonso I, d', Duke of Ferrara 219,
 283-84, 287
 Este, Cardinal Ippolito I, d' 26, 406n34
 Este, Cardinal Ippolito II, d' 275n11, 359
 Este, Eleonora, d' 227
 Este, Ercole II, d', Duke of Ferrara 103, 359
 Este, Isabella, d' 103, 244, 269, 282, 284-85,
 395
 Ettoreo, Pietro (*see* Hektorović, Petar)
 Euclid 116
 Eugene IV (Pope) 207n8, 240, 413
 Fabbri, Paolo 452
 Facoli, Marco 160, 165, 167, 179-80, 420
 Aria della marchetta Schiavonetta 522
 Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli
 d'arpicordo 420, 522
 Falcone, Achille 503
 Falconetto, Giovanni Maria 104-5
 Falier di Marc'Antonio, Andrea 160, 199
 Falier, Marin 62, 384n35
 Farnese, Ottavio, Duke of Parma and
 Piacenza 27, 154, 222
 Fasuol (di Francesco), Andrea 199
 Fasuol, Augustin 255
 Fausti, Nicolò 375-76, 381

- Feldman, Martha 150n2, 152-53, 155n20, 186, 337, 357
- Fenaruolo, Ludovico
Sergio 517
- Fenaruolo, Girolamo 167, 183n48, 223
- Fenlon, Iain 4-6, 241n43
- Ferdinand II, Holy Roman Emperor 480, 482
- Ferdinand II, Archduke of Further Austria 498
- Ferrabosco, Domenico 331
- Ferrabosco, Mattia 503
Canzonette a quattro voci 503
- Ferrari, Francesco 167
- Ferretti, Giovanni 491
- Festa, Costanzo 118
- Fétis, François-Joseph 268
- Ficino, Marsilio 268
- Finetti, Giacomo 498n14
- Finetti, Mario 191
- Finetti di Andrea, Giovanni 167
- Fiorentino, Marco 261n117
- Fioretti, Giovanni 291
- Flaccius (*see* Illyricus, Matthias Flaccius)
- Flaminio, Giovanni Antonio 353
- Flangini, Benedetto 199
- Floriani, Benedetto 317
- Fogliano, Lodovico 347, 358-59, 362n80
Musica theorica 116, 358
- Fonsi, Francesco 518
Comedia in moresca Lucia 518
Comedia in moresca pietà di Venere 518
- Fonte, Moderata 150, 152, 175, 183-84
Meriti 175
- Foppis di Bortolo, Pasqualin 167
- Forlani, Paolo 192
Descrittione del ducato di Savoia 192n80
- Forté, Guglielmo 168
- Forzarito, Giacomo 161
- Foscari, Lorenzo 160
- Foscarini di Zorzi, Lorenzo 160
- Foscarini, Giacomo 230n2
- Foscarini, Piero 160
- Fossa, Federico 167
- Fossis, Pietro de 7, 23-25, 70, 210-11, 214-19, 229, 234, 239-41, 248
- Franceschi di Giacomo, Antonio 167
- Franceschi, Ettore 167
- Francesco da Milano 308
- Francesco da Montenegro 319
- Francesco Dona' di Bartolomeo 160
- Francis I (King of France) 26
- Franco, Giacomo 130, 138-39
- Franco, Jacopo 291
- Franco, Nicolo
Le pistole volgari 10
- Franco, Veronica 182
- Frangipane, Cornelio 347
Tragedia 146
- Franzin di Zan Pietro da Salò 157
- Fraunhoffer, Johannes (Hans Fronhofer) 283-84
- Frederick III (Emperor) 55
- Frizier di Andrea, Carlo 167
- Fugger (family) 222, 284
- Fugger, Jacob 429
- Fugger, Raymond 284
- Funch di Valentino, Giovanni Andrea 168
- Gabrieli, Andrea 4, 6, 33, 37, 96n52, 110, 128-29, 132, 141, 143, 162, 166, 174, 187-90, 192, 196-97, 261, 319, 366, 383, 385-86, 394, 419, 425-26, 429, 431, 434, 438, 446, 457-58, 461, 497
Aldi vel prego amandi 442
Ancor che col partire 462
Angelus ad pastores ait 129
Benedictus Dominus Deus Sabaoth 141, 143
Chie val haver cavallo 442
Chi'nde dara le borse 442
Chiraces nu la semo 442
Como viver mil posso 459
Dionorea vien te priego 442, 444, 449, 457-58
Ecco Vinegia bella 146
Fame pur canto mal 442
Felici d'Adria 128
Forestier inamorao 442
Greghesche et Iustiniane 442, 449, 453-54, 457, 460-61
Hodie Christus natus est 129
Hor che nel suo bel seno 146
Manoli chie faremo 442
O agapimù gliichi 442
O agnima morusa 442

- Gabrieli, Andrea (cont.)
O crux splendor 147
O mia canzun 442, 459-61
O mia morusa 454
Perche madonna 442
Primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci 188
Tria gerundas 442, 456
Zentil donn'e segnuri 442
- Gabrieli, Angelo 24
- Gabrieli, Giovanni 31n24, 33, 37, 43, 68, 73,
 96n52, 128-29, 131, 132, 148, 159, 166,
 168-71, 174, 178, 181, 187, 189-90, 192,
 196-99, 201, 318-19, 364, 383, 385-88, 394,
 419, 425-27, 429, 431, 434, 438, 439
Canzoni e sonate 438
Donna leggiadra e bella 197
Dulcis Iesu patris imago 148
Fuggi pur se sai 201
In ecclesiis 148
Iubilare Deo omnis terra 129
Iubilemus singuli 131
Lieto godea 201
O magnum mysterium 37, 39-42, 129
Sacrae Symphoniae 383, 385, 427n14,
 437-38
Sonata octavi toni 437
Sonata pian'e forte 427, 437
Virtute magna operatus est 131
- Gabrieli, Trifon 191
- Gabrieli-Fais, Anzola 196n94
- Gaetano, Pietro 259m16
- Gaffurius, Franchinus 241, 350, 352-53,
 362n80, 399
De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum
 350
- Galeazzo da Pesaro 264, 267n142
- Galilei, Vincenzo 298, 364-65, 491-92
Il Fronimo 492n47
- Galli, Sisto 97
- Gallico, Claudio 411n39
- Ganassi, Silvestro 10, 34, 167, 170, 181, 272-73,
 288-89, 302, 304, 308-9, 420-22, 425
*Letitione seconda pur della prattica di
 sonare il violone d'arco da tasti* 10,
 289, 301n35, 420-21
Opera intitolata Fontegara 10, 273,
 288-90, 309, 420
Regola Rubertina 10, 289, 301-2, 420-22
- Gardano, Alessandro 342-43
- Gardano, Angelo 158, 177, 343, 347
- Gardano, Antonio 9, 30, 102, 110-11, 155n20,
 248, 322-23, 329-33, 335-36, 338-39,
 342-44, 365, 418, 444, 450, 457
- Gardelin da Bassan, Giacomo 190
- Garzoni, Tommaso 100-1, 121
La piazza di tutte le professioni del mondo
 100
- Gasparo da Cremona 118
- Gaysmair, Michail 507
- Gazza, Bartolomeo 269, 270n152
- Genova, Marcantonio 106
- Gerardus de Lisa 400
- Gero, Jan 331, 335
- Giacobbi, Girolamo 394
- Giacomo Antonio di Crosechieri 255
- Giacomo da Chieti ('Jacobus Theatinus')
 240
- Giancarli, Campaspe 271n153
- Giancarli, Catonfila 271n153
- Giancarli, Eteroclitio 164-65, 169, 179, 195,
 270, 271n153
- Giancarli, Gigio Artemio 270
- Giazotto, Remo 223
- Giorgione 289
- Giovannelli, Ruggiero 162
- Giunta, Antonio 330
- Giunti, Bernardo 199
- Giunti, Giovanni Maria 168
- Giunti, Tomaso 168
- Giustinian, Antonio 160
- Giustinian di Leonardo, Lorenzo 93, 160
- Giustinian di Piero, Alvise 160
- Giustinian, Giovanni 160
- Giustiniani, Leonardo 443
- Giustiniani, Orsatto 110
- Giusto, Paolo 319, 424
- Glarean(us), Heinrich 364
- Glixon, Jonathan 2-3, 210, 231n5, 298n23
- Goineo, Giambattista 508
- Gonzage (family) 12, 106, 472
- Gonzaga, Cardinal Ercole 106-8
- Gonzaga, Cardinal Scipione 106-7
- Gonzaga, Francesco 285n54
- Gonzaga, Federico 285
- Gonzaga, Ferdinando, Duke of Mantua 477
- Gonzaga, Guglielmo, Duke of Mantua 109
- Gonzaga, Ludovico 395

- Gonzaga, Vincenzo I, Duke of Mantua 109,
470, 473-74
- Gonzaga, Vincenzo II, Duke of Mantua 470,
485
- Gradenigo di Vettor, Giovanni 160
- Gradenigo, Paulo 164
- Grandonio, David 168
- Grandonio, Iseppo 168
- Grani di Alvise, Paulo 167
- Grassi di Alessandro, Ottavio 168
- Gravisi, Gioan Nicolò 503, 516
- Graziani, Tommaso 97
- Gregori, Josep Maria 257n100
- Grillo, Giovan Battista 170
- Grimani (family) 243
- Grimani di Girolamo, Almorò 160
- Grimani di Zuanne, Antonio 190
- Grimani, Giovanni 194, 199
- Grimani, Marino 142, 228
- Grimani, Vittorio 219n50
- Grisard, Zuanne 236
- Grisogono, Martia 495
- Grisonio, Daniele 248, 252
- Griti, Santo (*see* Bassano, Santo)
- Gritti, Andrea 2, 26, 114, 125, 218-19, 381
- Gritti, Laura 188
- Grossi da Viadana, Lodovico 97
- Groto, Luigi 244
- Guami, Francesco 167, 187
- Guami, Gioseffo (Giuseppe) 160, 168, 187, 200
- Guarguante, Orazio 184n52
- Guarini, Giovanni Battista 478, 482-83, 516
Pastor fido 516
- Guazzo, Stefano 347
- Gubec, Matija 507
- Guglielmo ('Vielmo', Guliermo) *francese*
250n71, 255-56
- Guido d'Arezzo
Regulae rhythmicae in antiphonarii sui
prologum prolatae 247
- Gutenberg, Johannes 327
- Hans Ungnad von Sonnegg, Baron 508
- Haromi, Immanuel 470
- Hartung, Andrea 294
- Harvel, Edmund 277
- Hatter, Jane 453
- Hec (family) (*see* Ech (family))
- Heisele, Iacomo 294
- Hektorović, Petar (Pietro Ettoreo) 521
- Helman, Carlo 168, 176, 178
- Helman, Guglielmo 168
- Henry III (King of France) 6, 144-47, 226
- Henry VIII (King of England) 277, 281, 310,
416
- Hieber, Zuane 295
- Hieronimo da Udene, Hieronimo (*see* Dalla
Casa, Girolamo)
- Hieronimo di Carmeni 255
- Hirschlein (possibly 'de Cervitoribus') 284
- Horace 411
Integer vitae scelerisque purus 408
Odes 408
- Ingegneri, Marco Antonio 119
- Illyricus, Matthias Flaccius 508
Centuriae Magdeburgenses 508
- Isaac, Heinrich 268, 353
- Isotta da Lendinara 268-69
- Jachet of Mantua 372
- Janequin, Clément
La guerre 429
- Jelić, Vinko 496
- Johannes de Muris 240
- Judd, Cristle Collins 339, 355, 362, 365
- Keener, Shawn 452, 457
- Khisl, Ivan 503
- Konzul, Stjepan 508, 511
- Kurtzman, Jeffrey 7-8, 415n2
- Lactantius 241
- Lando, Ortensio 264-66
- Lando di Giovanni, Francesco 161
- Landi, Stefano 258
Sant'Alessio 258
- Lantins, Hugo de 22
- La Porrée, Gilbert de ('Gilbertus Porretanus')
240
- Lappi, Pietro 166
Salmi spezzati 373
- Lardi, Alessandra 244
- Lasagnino, Lodovico 308
- Lasso, Orlando di 33, 119, 162, 188, 341, 366,
426, 491
Sacrae cantiones ... liber secundus 188

- Laudis, Francesco 163, 168-71
 Layolle, Francesco de 118
 Le Juif, Mahieu 470
 Leoni, Leone 119
 Leo x (Pope) 26, 104, 219, 281, 282n31
 Lefèvre d'Étaples, Jacques
 Musica libris quatuor demonstrata 116
 Lewis, Mary 330, 335-37
 Linarolo (family) 300-1
 Linarolo, Francesco I 300-1
 Linarolo, Francesco II 301
 Linarolo, Marco 301
 Linarolo, Ventura 301
 Linarolo, Zuane 301
 Lippomano, Andrea 114
 Lippomano, Pietro 161
 Livrieri (family) 286
 Lodge, Thomas 495
 Lodovico da Viadana 95, 97, 393, 488
 Cento concerti ecclesiastici 95, 488
 Salmi a quattro chori 393
 Lolin, Giovanni 161
 Londariti, Francesco ('il Greco', Franghiskos
 Leontaritis) 248, 264
 Loredan di Girolamo, Francesco 156
 Loredan di Lunardo, Francesco 161
 Loredan di Polo, Lorenzo 157, 161, 173, 199
 Loredan, Domenico 161
 Loredan, Girolamo 156n24
 Loredan, Leonardo 199
 Loredano, Giovanni Francescco 271n153
 Loredano, Sebastiano 271n153
 Lorenzo da Pavia 8, 282, 284-85, 297
 Loschi, Giacomo 163
 Lucić, Ivan (Luccio, Giovanni)
 De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae 527
 Luis da Milan
 El maestro 423
 Luisi, Francesco 411
 Luisini, Alvise
 Dialogo della cecità 188n60
 Lukačić, Ivan 498n14
 Lukarević, Frano 516, 525
 Lulino, Giovanni 399
 Lupetina, Baldo 508
 Lupi, Johannes 216
 Lupo, Ambrogio 277n19
 Luppato, Pietro (or Lupato) 25, 216-18
 Lupus, Joannes 216
 Lurano, Philippus de 399
 Lusitano, Vicente 359-60
 Machiavelli, Niccolò 107
 Mandragola 110
 Macque, Jean de 168
 Macrobius 241, 525
 Commentary on the Dream of Scipio 525
 Madrucci, Isabella 472
 Maffei, Alvise 200n112
 Maffei, Guglielmo 168, 199, 200
 Maffei, Lorenzo 168
 Maffon, Francesco
 Como viver mil posso 442, 449
 Maganza, Giovanni Battista (Magagnò) 266
 Magagnò (see Maganza, Giovanni Battista)
 Maggi, Giovanni 168
 Magiello, Domenico 164, 174
 Magistris, Franciscus de 291
 Magni, Bartolomeo 158, 177
 Magno, Celio
 Trionfo di Christo contra Turchi 142
 Maimonides 469
 Maler (family) 7, 284, 294
 Maler, Laux 283-84, 294
 Maler, Sigismondo 283-84, 294
 Malipiero di Alvise, Catarin 190
 Malipiero di Michiel, Catarin 156, 161,
 187n57
 Malipiero di Michiel, Ottaviano 161
 Malipiero di Vettor, Bartolomeo 161
 Malipiero, Giovanni 516
 Malipiero, Ottaviano 190
 Mantoa Benavides di Pietro, Marco 169
 Mantoano, Rubertino 308
 M[antuanus], R[ossinus]
 Da poi che'l tuo bel viso 404
 Manuzio, Aldo 112, 349
 Manuzio, Aldo the Younger 117, 349
 Manuzio, Paolo 188, 191, 349
 Manzini, Benedetto 319
 Marcellino, Valerio 199, 201
 Il Diamerone 182, 184n51
 Marcello, Nicolò 253
 Marcello di Domenico, Piero 161
 Marcello of Verona 86
 Marchesi di Bartolomeo, Stefano 169

- Marchesi di Pietro, Antonio 169
 Marchetti, Ventura 165, 167, 169, 171
 Marchetto da Padova 240
 Marco Davit di Nadin 167
 Marenzio, Luca 119, 166, 344, 503
 Maria, Joan
 Intabolutura de lauto 419
 Marini, Biagio 430
 Marini, Francesco 169
 Marino, Giambattista 478
 Marsolo, Pietro Maria 491
 Martinengo, Giulio Cesare 29
 Martoretta, Gian Domenico 495
 Maschera, Florenzio 430
 Canzoni da suonare 430
 Massa, Apollonio 188, 190, 192, 196, 199
 Massa, Lorenzo 188n60
 Massa, Nicolò 188n60, 192n83
 Massaria, Alessandro 109
 Materassi, Marco 452, 462
 Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria 478, 480
 McKinney, Timothy 365
 Medici, Cosimo I, de', Duke of Florence 99
 Medici, Ferdinando I, de', Duke of Florence 194
 Medici, Lorenzo, de' 268
 Mei, Girolamo
 Discorso sopra la musica antica, e moderna 120
 Melchiorre [Marchiò] 158, 162-63
 Memo, Dionisio 272, 281
 Memo di Zuanne, Marc'Antonio 161
 Menegazzo, Giovan Battista 159, 161, 166, 170
 Menon (see Rava, Agostino)
 Menon, Tuttovale 224-25
 Menta, Francesco 495
 Merulo, Claudio 9, 33, 111, 119, 157, 159, 161, 164, 173, 180, 187, 190, 199, 319, 338-39, 341, 364, 367, 419, 424, 425, 431, 434, 436, 497
 Donna se l'occhio mio 459
 Primo libro de mottetti a quattro voci pari 173
 Ricercari d'intavolature d'organo, libro primo 341
 Michele, Sebastiano 354
 Michiel di Alvise, Giovanni 161
 Michiel di Iseppo, Antonio 161
 Milani, Antonio 174
 Milani di Antonio, Milan 169
 Milani di Polo, Marco 169
 Minotto, Giacomo 161
 Mocenigo, Alvise 141
 Mocenigo, Filippo 162
 Mocenigo, Luigi 226
 Modena, Augustin 169
 Modena, Leon 473-77, 485
 Moderne, Jacques 13, 331, 496-97
 Mogavero, Antonio 165, 242
 Molino, Antonio ('Il Burchiella') 11, 162, 238, 442, 445-49, 453, 455-58, 464, 467, 497
 Al vostro nascimendo
 Donna zendila
 I dilettevoli madrigali a 4 voci
 Il secondo libro de madrigali a 4 voci
 Perche de la virtù
 Molino, Girolamo 112, 267-69, 349
 Rime 267
 Monaldi, Miho (Michele) 525-26
 Irene overo Della bellezza 526
 Montenegro, Domenico 167
 Monte, Philippe de 119, 163
 Monteverdi, Claudio 29, 173, 320, 344, 438
 Il terzo libro de madrigali 344
 Il quarto libro dei madrigali 344
 Il quinto libro de madrigali 344
 Il sesto libro de madrigali 344
 L'Orfeo 320, 344
 Scherzi musicali a tre voci 344
 Vespro della Beata Vergine 344
 Morales, Cristóbal de 118, 332
 Morley, Thomas 443
 Plaine and easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke 443
 Moro, Bartolomeo 169
 Moro di Zorzi, Giovanni 162
 Morosini (di Antonio), Gilio 162, 176, 181
 Morosini di Francesco, Battista 162
 Morosini, Giovanni 169
 Morosini, Giulio (Samuel Nahmias) 485-87
 Via della fede mostrata à gli ebrei 485
 Morsolino, Antonio 163, 176
 Morsolino, Giovan Battista 189
 Mortaro, Antonio 97
 Moscatello, Marco 233, 275n9
 Moscato, Judah 470

- Mosto, Francesco 161, 187
 Mosto, Giovan Battista 159, 167, 170
 Mosto, Nicolò 159, 187, 190
 Mouton, Jean 219
 Muraca, Giacomo 160, 166-67
 Muzio, Girolamo 524
- Nahmias, Samuel (*see* Morosini, Giulio)
 Nale (*see* Nalješković, Nikola)
 Nalješković, Nikola 494-95, 518, 521
 Nani (di Zorzi) (dalla Bocola), Almorò 162, 190
 Nappi, Cesare
 Egloga rusticale 522
 Nasco, Giovanni 4, 119, 287
 Nens, Joannes 216
 Neri, Filippo 482
 Ness, Arthur J. 422
 Newsiedler, Hans
 Neugeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch 423
 Nicolini, Bartolomeo 258
 Nicolò da Ponte di Pietro 163
 Novello, Lodovico 169
 Nuvolone, N. 472
- Obrecht, Jacob 274, 353
 Occagna, Gottardo 155, 169, 181
 Ogliati, Camillo 160
 Olimpo (degli Alessandri da Sassoferrato),
 Baldassare 243
 Ongaro, Giulio 2, 430
 Orio di Silvestro, Girolamo 162
 Orsini, Leone 102, 332
 Osanna, Francesco 107
 Ospedali Grandi 7, 79, 242, 416, 427
 Oth di David, Girolamo 169, 181
 Ottoboni, Gabriele 170
- Pace, Giovanni Battista 495
 Padoan, Antonio 163
 Padovano, Annibale 33, 85n, 111, 161, 281, 319, 418, 424, 429, 434
 Benedetta la gregaria 459
 Pagan, Matteo 8, 133-34, 274
 Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da 31n25, 36-37, 366, 436, 491
 Sicut lilium inter spinas 37-39
 Tu es Petrus 394
 Palladio, Andrea 102, 109-10, 144-46, 183, 227, 266, 431
- Palma, Giacomo 157, 173
 Pantera, Giovan Antonio 495
 Paolo da Lendinara 268
 Parabosco, Girolamo 33, 112, 169, 170, 183n48, 220, 224-25, 237, 245-46, 265, 267, 272, 281, 308n50, 319, 428
 I Marinaio 428
 Il Hermafrodito 428
 Il Pellegrino 428
 Il viluppo 428
 La Notte 428
 Partenio, Bernardino 191
 Paruta di Bartolomeo, Giovan Battista 162
 Paruta, Domenico 162, 188
 Paruta, Paolo 117, 121
 Discorsi politici 121
 Paschale, Ludovico (*see* Paskalić, Ludovik)
 Pasetto, Giordano 400
 Paskalić, Ludovik 495
 Rime volgari 495
 Pasqualigo, Alvise 219n50
 Pasqualigo di Pietro, Vettor 162
 Patavino, Francesco 210
 Patavino de Albis, Niccolò 400, 405
 Patricij, Andrija 13, 496-98, 517
 Patrizi, Francesco 498, 517
 Patrizio, Andrea (*see* Patricij, Andrija)
 Pavlavicchio da Raguxi, Ivan (Pavlović, Ivan) 523
 Pecorina, Polissena 111, 244, 345
 Pelegrinović, Mikša (Pellegrini, Michele) 521
 Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje (Fishing and Fishermen's Conversations) 521-22
 Pellio, Giovanni 168
 Pellizari, Antonio 108-9
 Peranda, Giovan Battista 199
 Perego, Camillo 495
 Peren, Pietro 236
 Pesaro di Benedetto, Francesco 162
 Pesaro, Galeazzo 264, 267n142
 Pesenti, Bernardo 170
 Pesenti, Michele 398, 404-13
 Inhospitas per Alpes 408-9, 411-13
 Integer vitae scelerisque purus 408-10
 L'acqua vale al mio gran foco 406
 O Dio che la brunetta mia 408
 Poiché 'l ciel e la fortuna 406-8

- Petrarch 99, 107, 120, 181, 244, 495, 498
Canzoniere 99, 266n139
- Petris, Andrea (*see* Patricij, Andrija) 13,
 496-98, 517
- Petrucci, Ottaviano 8, 12, 23, 135, 278, 322-29,
 344, 355, 399-400, 403-6, 408, 411, 413-14,
 455-56, 497
- Philoxenus of Cythera 440
- Picchi, Giovanni 158, 160, 180
- Piccinini, Alessandro 296
- Piccolomini, Alessandro
L'amore costante 518
- Piero da Oderzo 386
- Pietrasanta, Plinio 339
- Pietro da Salò 157, 264
- Pietro Orseolo II 527
- Pio da Carpi, Alberto 235n18
- Piombino, Pietro 241, 247
- Pirrotta, Nino 396-97, 420n5
- Pisani di Andrea, Beneta 163
- Pisani di Bartolomeo, Zuan 163
- Pisani, Francesco 163
- Pisani, Vettor 163
- Pisani, Zuan Andrea 190
- Pizzamano, Nicolò 163
- Pizzoni, Giovanni 170
- Plato 241, 525
Politeia 525
- Pliny 525
- Pogiana, Giulio 108-9
- Pogue, Samuel 331n28
- Pola, Pietro 516, 524
- Polentin, Piero 160
- Poliziano, Angelo 268
Orfeo 510
- Polo, Zuan 276, 522-23
Libero de le vendete 523
Libero del Rado stixuso 523
Testamento de Zuan Polo 523
- Pontio, Pietro 119
- Pordenone, Marc'Antonio 159
- Porphyry 116
- Porretanus, Gilbertus (*see* La Porrée, Gilbert
 de ('Gilbertus Porretanus'))
- Porro, Cristoforo 159, 161, 171
- Porro, Girolamo 183n49, 199
- Porta, Costanzo 97, 220, 367, 434
O chyrazza glicchi 459
- Portaleone, Abraham 469n1
- Portinaro, Francesco 4, 104, 106-8, 119, 158
- Porto, Allegro 12, 470, 478, 480-83
Nuove musiche 478, 483, 488
Tra Mirti pargoletti 489
- Pos, Luca (*see* Bosch, Laux)
- Pourbus, Frans the Younger 474
- Powers, Harold S. 365
- Pozzo, Cesare 447
- Praetorius, Michael 387, 443n6
Syntagma musicum 386
- Prizer, William F. 396, 408
- Primavera, Leonardo 159, 172
- Primović, Paskoj 516
Evidice 516
- Priuli (di Federico), Pietro 163, 174, 176, 199,
 201
- Priuli (di Girolamo), Chiara 186-87
- Priuli di Pietro, Girolamo 163
- Priuli, Giovanni 159, 386
- Ptolemy
Harmonika 116
- Puliti, Gabriello 13, 97, 498n14, 510-11, 515,
 524
Baci ardenti 524
Messa concertata 511-14
Messa da choro 511
Psalmodia vespertina 510
Secondo libro delle messe a quattro voci
 511
- Pythagoras 26, 346, 359
- Quadris, Johannes de 22
- Quaranta, Elena 3, 207
- Quartari, Vincenzo 66
- Querini, Agostino 286
- Querini, Girolamo 277
- Querini, Laura 156n24, 199
- Querini di Francesco, Giacomo 163
- Querini (di Giulio), Francesco 163, 213
- Quintilianus, Aristides 116
- Quirini, Sebastiano 517
- Radino, Gio. Maria 420
- Ragnina, Domenico (*see* Ranjina, Dinko)
- Rainer (family) 295
- Ramos de Pareja, Bartolomé 350, 358
- Rampazetto, Francesco 9, 338-39
- Ranjina, Dinko 495, 525
- Rasi, Francesco 163, 176
- Rauch (family) 288
- Rava, Agostino (Menon) 266

- Ravalle, Sebastiano 503
 Ravasio, Ugo 430
 Reinprecht, Jakob 510
 Renate of Lorraine 426
 Reynaldo di Francia 400
 Riccio, Giovan Battista 54, 170, 199
 Rimondo di Polo, Lorenzo 163
 Rinuccini, Ottavio 478
 Euridice 516
 Rivera, Benito 362
 Rivieri, Stefano 160
 Romanini, Andrea 159, 167, 171
 Romanini, Antonio 54
 Romano, Alessandro 119
 Romano, Nicoletto 233n11
 Romano, Paolo 255, 257
 Romanus, Antonius 22
 Roncaglia, Giovanni
 Scanniccio 518
 Rondinelli, Dionisio 481-82
 Rospigliosi, Giulio 258
 Rossetto, Antonio 398
 'Rossetto' (see Bianchini, Domenico)
 Rossi, Salamone 12, 470, 473, 475-77, 487-88,
 491
 Anima del cor moi 491n46
 Cor mio, deh non languire 491n46
 Il quarto libro de varie sonate, sinfonie
 475n19
 Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci
 475n19, 491
 Madrigaletti 475n19
 Ohimè, se tanto amate 490-91
 Parto, misero, o taccio? 491n46
 Tirsi mio, caro Tirsi 491n46
 Udite, lacrimosi 491n46
 Rosso, Zuanne 167, 199
 Rovasio, Claudio 169
 Rubini, Camillo 176
 Rubini di Donato, Camillo 170
 Rubsamen, Walter H. 455
 Ruffo, Vincenzo 4, 119
 Ruzini di Domenico, Carlo 163

 Sabbio, Vincenzo 430
 Sacerdote, Davide 12, 470-73, 488
 Sacerdote, Elzaphan 471n8

 Sacerdote, Leon 471n8
 Saggion, Giovan Battista 170
 Salviati, Francesco 267
 Sandelli, Bartolo (also: Bartolomeo)
 269n150
 Sannazzaro, Jacopo 498, 522
 Sanson di Leonardo, Giulio 170
 Sansovino, Francesco 52, 102, 114-15, 117, 121,
 125, 133, 185, 191-92, 205, 226, 263-64,
 267, 383
 Delle cose notabili che sono in Venetia
 264
 Dialogo de tutti le cose notabili 267
 Venetia città nobilissima 52
 Sansovino, Jacopo 19, 383
 Santa Casa di Loreto 262
 Santacroce, Francesco 400
 Santini, Stefano 107
 Sanudo, Andrea 163
 Sanudo, Gian Francesco 185
 Sanudo (di Andrea), Leonardo 151n6, 163,
 176, 181, 185, 200-1
 Sanudo, Marin (Sanuto, Marino) 55, 63, 80,
 272, 276, 280-81, 286, 425, 523
 Diarii 77, 272, 280, 425
 Sanudo, Matteo 164
 Sartori, Claudio 422
 Savioni, Pasqualin 166
 Savorgnan, Giacomo 164
 Savorgnan, Girolamo 497
 Sbughi, Cristoforo Messi 103
 Banchetti, composizioni di vivande 103
 Scaletta, Orazio 163, 168
 Effetti d'amore, canzonette a 4 voci 163
 Timpano celeste a 1, 2, 3 e 4 voci 163
 Villanelle alla romana a 3 voci 168
 Scamozzi, Vincenzo 110
 Scarelli, Paulo 161-62
 Schiavetto, Giulio (see Skjavetić, Julije)
 Schiltz, Katelijne 339n52
 Schnitzer (family) 288
 Schnitzer, Sigmund 288
 Schrattenbach (family) 288
 Sconvelt, Nicolò ('Maestro Nicolò') 278,
 283-84
 Scot, Michael 241
 Scotto, Amadio 330n24

- Scotto, Girolamo 9, 184n51, 322-23, 329-32, 335-36, 338-39, 341-43, 418, 429, 444-45, 457-58
- Scotto, Melchiorre 199, 343, 199, 343-44
- Scotto, Ottaviano 329
- Scotto, Ottaviano II 329
- Scotto, Stefano 161, 163
- scuola accollitale* (Verona) 238, 399, 408
- Scuole
- Scuola della Beata Vergine della Cintura (church of Santo Stefano) 91
 - Scuola della Beata Vergine Assunta (church of San Geremia) 54, 93
 - Scuola del Santissimo Sacramento (church of Sant'Angelo) 53, 58, 391
 - Scuola del Venerabile Sacramento (church of San Geremia) 65
 - Scuola del Venerabile Sacramento (church of San Giuliano) 67
 - Scuola di San Fantin 135
 - Scuola di San Giovanni Battista e San Giovanni Evangelista (church of San Giovanni Decollato) 92
 - Scuola di San Giuseppe (church of San Silvestro) 91, 232m10
 - Scuola di San Rocco dei Marzeri (church of San Giuliano) 89
 - Scuola di Santa Caterina (church of San Stae) 88
 - Scuola di Santa Maria dei Mercanti (church of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari) 65-66, 92
 - Scuola di Santa Maria e San Gallo degli Albanesi (church of San Maurizio) 91, 94
 - Scuola di Sant'Antonio Abate (church of San Silvestro) 233
 - Scuola di Sant'Orsola (church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo) 65, 67, 95
 - Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista 49, 61, 71, 74-75, 278, 283
 - Scuola Grande di San Marco 49, 58, 70, 74, 210, 214n37, 215, 234, 235, 277m19, 285, 310
 - Scuola Grande di San Rocco 49, 52, 58, 60, 69n71, 72-73, 111, 137, 146, 180n40, 235, 275, 280, 301, 425, 427
 - Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità 49, 71, 234, 235, 236n20, 301, 361
 - Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Misericordia 49, 70, 210, 285, 310
 - Scuola Grande di San Teodoro 49
 - scuole grandi* 2, 29, 49, 51, 58-59, 61-62, 67, 69, 71-73, 75, 79, 81, 87, 111, 133, 137, 151-52, 205-6, 212, 228, 232, 235, 282, 298-301, 304-5, 318, 427
 - scuole piccole* 2, 58, 65-67, 80, 87, 90, 93, 95, 133, 135, 137, 212, 232, 282, 299, 304-5, 427
- Sebastiano del Piombo 289
- Secchi, Pietro 170
- Segni, Giulio 281, 417
- Selfridge-Field, Eleanor 8, 10, 292, 309
- Sellas (family) 295
- Sellas, Giorgio 298
- Sellas, Martin 294
- Sellas, Matteo 298
- Serauri, Bartolomeo 167
- Seriati, Fausto 170
- Settelino, Giovanni Antonio 236, 254n88
- Sforza, Giovanni 480-82
- Siciliano, Ioanbattista (*see* Ciciliano, Antonio)
- Sigismondo da San Zanepolo 255
- Sixtus V (Pope) 362n83
- Skjavetić, Julije 13, 496-98
- Asperges me Domine* 498
 - Motetti a cinque et a sei voci* 498
 - Pater noster* 498-501
- Sonica di Francesco, Pietro 170
- Sophocles
- Oedipus Rex* 109-10
- Soranzo di Vettor, Giacomo 164
- Soranzo di Zaccaria, Matteo 164
- Soranzo, Giacomo 164, 176
- Soranzo, Mattio 155
- Spagnol, Antonio 255
- Spalenza, Pietr'Antonio 158, 442, 449
- Il primo libro di madrigali a 4 voci*
- Spataro, Giovanni 9, 280, 347-54, 356-58, 360n69
- Tractato di musica* 350
 - Utile et breve regule di canto* 350
- Speroni, Sperone 102, 116
- Spilimbergo, Irena di 269, 299
- Spilman, Dorigo 295

- Spilman, Tommaso 294
 Spinacino, Francesco 278, 423
 Intabulatura de lauto 422
 Recercare de tutti li Toni 423
 Sponga (Usper), Francesco 13, 54, 161, 171,
 191, 319, 496
 Stabile, Francesco 199
 Stampa, Gaspara 225n63, 299
 Stella, Alessandro 285
 Striggio, Alessandro 168, 171, 491
 Stringa, Giovanni 381
 Stringari, Antonio 400
 Strozzi di Camillo, Roberto 171
 Strozzi di Filippo, Ruberto 170
 Strozzi, Ruberto 176, 289
 Studenzoli, Paulo 163, 170
 Sulam, Jacob 475n20
Summa librorum 4, 116
 Superchio di Valerio, Tiberio 171
 Süsskind of Trimberg 470
- Tagiapiera, Sebastian 157
 Taglia, Pietro
 Donna curtese e bella 463
 Tagliapietra di Alvise, Beneto 164
 Tagliavini, Luigi Ferdinando 431
 Tanara, Ettore 158, 179-80
 Tasso, Bernardo 428
 Tasso, Torquato 102, 107, 478, 516
 Aminta 516
 Discorsi dell'arte poetica 107
 Gerusalemme liberata 107
 Teatro Olimpico 4, 109-10, 431
 Tebaldeo 411n39
 Techler, Magno 294
 Techler, Zuane 294
 Terence 241
 Andria 109
 Terzi, Giovanni Antonio 299
 Theatinus, Jacobus (*see* da Chieti, Giacomo)
 Theutonicus, Johannes 283
 Thiene, Marco (Begotto) 266
 Tibertino, Giuliano 308
 Tieffenbrucker (family) 7, 294, 427
 Tieffenbrucker, Leonardo 294
 Tieffenbrucker, Magno 294, 301
 Tieffenbrucker, Moisè 295n11
 Tieffenbrucker, Rigo 294
 Tieffenbrucker, Ulrich 294
- Tieffenbrucker, Vendelino 294, 296, 300n31
 Tiepolo, Baiamonte 62
 Tiepolo, Francesco 271n153
 Tigrini, Orazio 262
 Tinctoris, Johannes 241
 Tinto, Marco 286
 Tintoretto, Jacopo 137, 145, 307, 319, 427
 Tiretta, Lucietta di Girolamo 291
 Tizian (Titian) 114, 286, 428n17
 Tobanello, Feliciano
 Salmi spezzati a quattro 373
 Tolomeo, Claudio 347
 Tomasi, Andrea 171
 Tommaseo, Nicolò 258
 Torre, Alfonso de la
 Vision deleytable di philosophia 114
 Toscanella, Orazio 243, 264
 Toscano, Nicolò 503
 Canzonette ... Libro primo a quattro voci
 503
 Trasuntino (family) 286
 Trasuntino, Alessandro 286, 318
 Trasuntino, Vito 301, 316-18
 Trevisan, Marcantonio 111
 Trevisani, Girolamo 238
 Trissino, Gian Giorgio 191, 359n68
 Sofonisba 110
 Trivisan, Camillo 171
 Trivisan (di Pietro), Marco 164, 189-90
 Tromboncino, Bartolomeo 103-4, 244,
 268-70, 398, 404-5
 Gli ochi toi m'han posto 404
 Non val acqua al mio gran foco 406
 Tromboncino, Ippolito 263, 265, 270
 Tron di Alvise, Michele 164
 Trubar, Primož 508-9, 514
- Unverdorben (family) 7, 284, 294
 Unverdorben, Marco 283, 284
 Urban di Francesco 162, 165
 Usper (di Matteo), Lodovico 171, 199
 Usper, Gabriele 386n39
 Usper, Francesco Sponga (*see* Sponga (Usper),
 Francesco)
 Uttinger, Girolamo 171
- Vacca di Antonio, Baldassare 171
 Valentini, Giovanni 482
 Valenzola, Pietro 119

- Valeriano, Pierio 184, 200
 Valier, Agostino 510
 Valier (di Dolfín), Zaccaria 164, 174
 Vallaresso, Marc'Antonio 199
 Vandoli, Nicolò 158, 169
 Vanlemens di Enrico, Giacomo 171
 van Stappen, Crispin 400
 Varchi, Benedetto 100, 525
 Vasari, Giorgio 289n73
 Vecchi, Orazio 170, 503
 Vedoa di Agustin, Alvise 171
 Vendramin, Fiorenza *quondam* Nicolò 186
 Vendramin (di Marco), Francesco 79, 165
 Relatio ad limina 79
 Venier, Domenico 112, 183n48, 191, 244, 266, 525
 Venier, Sebastiano 227
 Vento, Ivo de
 La mia Chirazza tando mi contenda 442, 449
 Veraldo, Paulo 158, 161, 166-67, 178
 Verdelot, Philippe 265, 327, 335n35
 Intavolatura de li madrigali 423
 Vergelli, Paolo 155, 169
 Vergerio, Pier Paolo jr., 507-8
 Verona, Leone 471n8
 Veronese, Paolo 306, 319
 Vetranović, Mauro 510
 Vialarda, Zanna 472
 Vicentino, Alessandro 318
 Vicentino, Andrea 286
 Vicentino, Nicola 220, 262, 315-16, 318, 347, 359-61, 365
 L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica 360, 394
 Vico (di Francesco), Zuanne 155, 171
 Vida, Girolamo 516, 524
 Dieci de' cento dubbi amorosi 524
 Filliria 516
 Sileno 524
 Vidue, Hettor 168, 171
 Vignon di Ettore, Fabrizio 171
 Villani, Gabriele 169
 Vincenti, Giacomo 166, 344, 430
 Vio, Gastone 427
 Violante, Francesco 219n53, 248
 Virchi, Paolo 344
 Virgil 241
 Vitov Gučetić, Nikola (Vito di Gozze, Nicolò) 525
 Vitruvius 109, 126
 Vitturi di Daniel, Filippo 165
 Vitturi, Lorenzo 165
 Viviani di Francesco, Fabio 171
 Vlačić, Matija (*see* Illyricus, Matthias Flacchius)
 Vrinz di Gherardo, Francesco 171
 Weller, Philip 446n12
 Werrecore, Mathias Hermann 171
 Wert, Giaches de 119, 154, 262, 463, 497
 Chel bello Epithimia 463
 Secondo libro di madrigali 154
 Wilhelm v, Duke of Bavaria 258, 366, 426
 Willaert, Adrian 1, 5, 7, 9, 25-27, 29, 30-31, 33, 35, 37, 56, 70, 111, 117-18, 128, 156, 164, 167, 181, 188-89, 218-29, 239, 244, 248, 252, 256, 260, 263-65, 280, 299, 328, 331, 345-47, 351, 359, 361-65, 372-74, 378, 384-85, 393, 418, 418, 423, 429n, 459, 461, 497-98, 503
 Musica nova (1540) 417-18
 Musica nova (1559) 364-65
 Quid non ebrietas 280
 Willaert, Alvise 459
 Willemsz, Arent 262-63, 377-78
 Wraight, Denzil 314
 Zacconi, Lodovico 10, 152, 231, 237, 243, 251, 255n93, 258-59, 261-62, 347, 365-67
 Prattica di musica 10, 152n9, 366
 Zan Antonio Corona 157
 Zacchini, Giulio 163
 Zamberti, Bartolomeo 285
 Zamberti, Elena 271n153
 Zamberti di Bartolomeo, Alessandro 171
 Zampesco, Brunoro 172
 Zanata, Domenico
 Salmi spezzati a quattro voci da capella per le domeniche della quaresima 374
 Zane di Marin, Leonardo 157, 165
 Zane, Marc'Antonio 165
 Zanetti, Battista 160, 166
 Zantani, Antonio 111, 156, 165, 264, 365n96
 Zarlino, Gioseffo 4, 7, 9, 26, 28-30, 33, 35, 117, 145, 198, 219-22, 225-29, 233, 238-39, 245-47, 256-57, 271, 287, 315, 339-40, 345,

- Zarlino, Gioseffo (cont.)
 347, 357-58, 361-67, 374-75, 381, 383-84,
 392-94, 425, 434, 440-41, 455, 467-68,
 497
Della patientia 227
Dimostrazioni harmoniche 10, 219, 364
Le istituzioni harmoniche 5, 9-10, 26, 117,
 362, 364-65, 393, 440
Modulationes sex vocum 363
Musici quinque vocum moduli 362, 365
Sopplimenti musicali 10, 227, 245, 364
- Zarotti, Giambattista 525
- Zefiro, Francesco 264
- Zenaro, Giulio 159, 165
- Zeno di Francesco, Carlo 165
- Zeno (di Nicolò), Catarin 165, 185
- Zesso, Giovanni Battista 355, 400
- Ziani, Sebastiano 131
- Ziletti, Francesco 192, 199
Tractatus uniuersi iuris 192
- Ziliol (di Alessandro), Scipione 172, 181
- Ziliol di Vettor, Cesare 172
- Zimei, Francesco 278
- Zlatarić, Dominko 516, 525-26
- Zorzi, Andrea 165, 180
- Zorzi di Nicolò 274
- Zuan Maria da Brescia 301
- Zuane del Battista da Feltre 319
- Zucchini, Gregorio 96-97, 392
Exultet omnium turba fidelium 392
Harmonia sacra 96, 392
Missa quatuor vocibus 373
*Motectorum et missarum senis, septenisque
 vocibus ... liber secundus* 96
Omnes gentes plaudite manibus 392
- Zusberto, Filippo 363